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RARE BOOK

یہ کتاب اُس تاریخ کو جو سب سے آخر میں ڈالی گئی ہے
واپس کرنی ہے، ورنہ پانچ پیسے روزانہ کے حساب سے
' ہرجانہ ادا کرنا ہوگا '

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The Comrade.

RARE BOOK

A Weekly Journal

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
With thou hast, that all may share.
Proclaim it everywhere
For only live who dare!

-- Morris.

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The Week.

London, Dec. 21.

Indian Peril.

The second article appears in the *Times* on the "Indian Peril." It deals with the cause and effect of the present situation in India, which is mainly the result of the stream of badcast, with which the press and the law are powerless to cope. The consequences are an increase in serious crimes, and a growing insecurity of life and property. Only under a Government of a United India can there be the faintest hope of the nation's future. The failure of the British Government to realise the peculiar relations of the British Government to the vast masses of India explains much that is horrible. If the rapid undermining of all authority continues the will arrive when the teeming millions of the uneducated will have aught such hatred of the handful of Britishers, and such disregard of authority, that the vast mass of the population is totally unfit to part in self-government, but if disaffected it could make all government impossible. The present great change is due to the increasing disaffection of the masses by a small but influential minority who are devoting their slender means to spreading big propaganda by the inaccuracies or misstatements of writers and speakers in England concludes the article.

London, Dec. 23.

A third article in the *Times* on the "Indian Peril" deals with Nationalism emphasising the part played by Western education in the creation of Nationalism. The article admits that among 1,670,000 English literates in India are men of whom any country might be proud, who deplore the tendencies which they plainly see, but their numbers do not increase and their influence is diminishing in India and is not felt in England where determined efforts are being made to capture opinion for Nationalist purposes. The article declares that it is difficult to find a trace of the real democratic spirit among the "literate," who are not representative of India which remains an essentially aristocratic country in a sense of which Britishers at home and in the Dominions have long lost knowledge. Some of our mistakes in India, the article declares, have been due to this lack of knowledge. Were we to abdicate in favour of the Nationalists, there would not be materials to administer a democracy. The success of the present political movement would entail, an attempt to govern by the narrowest of oligarchies which, external aggression apart, would instantly crumble to pieces and violate every principle cherished by politicians at home who support disaffection. The article mentions Tripoli and the Balkan wars which it says assisted the national movement, raising Moslem Extremists to power in the councils of the community. South African grievances, it continues, are an even greater source of danger. The fact that Britishers in South Africa support the reasonable demands of the Indians, that Englishmen freely subscribe to funds for the sufferers, and that the three pounds tax is doomed cannot be made clear, and irreparable harm has already been done. Moreover party strife at home, the Ulster situation, violent strikes and the Suffragette movement can be exploited for propagandist purposes.

London, Dec. 23.

The *Times*, in the fourth and last article on the "Indian Peril" discusses the duty and policy of the Government in the present situation. It describes the check to the progress of social reforms owing to the diversion of energy and funds from the cause of the real people of India, and the resulting general lawlessness. The journal remarks:—"How many rising storms have been quieted by the tact and soothing influence of British officials is not guessed in England." Referring to the recent bank failures the *Times* expresses the fear that some ignorant victims may throw the blame on the Government and exhorts the conscientious democrat at Home to reflect upon the tumultuous forces latent in 295 millions wholly uneducated and inheriting, partly, strong fighting instincts. The welfare of 298 millions not the momentary gratification of a handful of literates must be the first duty of the Government. If they succeeded in the alienation of the masses India would become ungovernable, and it is certain that any visible weakening of the British Government of India would involve wholesale alienation. Our Government must concern itself less with politics and more with economics, must unite conflicting elements and reversing the Latin adage "unite to govern" must unflinchingly enforce law and order, realising that misplaced leniency may be cruel in the long run. There are now Native States showing a higher standard of security than some British districts. The higher branches of education must be improved, technical education

must be built up, and the preposterous misuse of English literature must be eliminated. The judicial system urgently needs overhauling. The article emphasises the loyalty engrained in the peoples of India and advises the Government frankly to explain its objects and firmly to administer the Press laws. It also advises politicians and publicists at Home to the reasonable care to ascertain the truth. The great question is, says the *Times*, can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire? The ruin or progress of India depends on the answer, which must be forthcoming in a few years.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Dec. 21.

General Limat von Sanders has assumed the command of the First Turkish Army Corps. With reference to the attitude of the Triple Entente, it is generally felt that the question has lost its acuteness and that it is improbable that Russia will insist on further satisfaction. It is thought that the arrangement with General Sanders may be modified in a manner which will completely close the incident.

Constantinople, Dec. 26.

The Russian and German Ambassadors jointly called upon the Grand Vizier yesterday to enquire regarding the progress of reforms in Asia Minor. Turkish official circles are optimistic, and hope that the matter will reach a satisfactory settlement in a few days. It is believed that the difficulty will be surmounted by the Porte appointing two European Inspectors General for the six Eastern vilayets, thus obviating the possibility of conflicts which might result from the appointment of a single European adviser with Ottoman inspectors. — *Reuter*.

Paris, Dec. 26.

In a statement before the Foreign Committee of the Chambers yesterday, M. Doumergue dwelt on the importance of continuity in foreign policy. He affirmed the Government's resolve to pursue the line of action of its predecessors in co-operating with Britain and Russia. He gave details of the agreement which has just been concluded between France and Turkey assuring the security of French interests in the East, and recounted the measures taken to develop French culture in Syria. He mentioned that French contractors had obtained a promise for the building of important railways in Anatolia, Armenia and Syria, over 2,400 kilometres long; also for the construction and exploration of ports at Jaffa, Caffa, and Tripoli in Syria, and Heraclea, and Ineboli on the Black Sea. He pointed out that the French capital invested in Turkey amounted to 3,000 million francs; hence the French Government could not remain indifferent to the detachment of several important provinces from the Empire. — *Reuter*.

London, Dec. 18.

Aegean Islands.

The Triple Alliance has not replied yet to the British proposals regarding the Aegean Islands and Albania, but they have apparently been received favourably. Greece, however, is very resentful as she contends that both South Albania and the islands occupied by Italy are purely Greek and have become New Crete's centres of incessant agitation.

Constantinople, Dec. 23.

In view of the discussion proceeding between the Powers on the subject of the proposal regarding the division of the Aegean Islands, the Porte has circumscribed the Powers, reiterating the Porte's standpoint, and emphasising that a solution which does not restore the Islands facing the Asiatic Coast, will be absolutely unacceptable to Turkey.

Rome, Dec. 19.

Albania.

It is semi-officially announced that the International Commission for the Delimitation of the Southern Frontier of Albania has concluded its labours, and has unanimously agreed to a line proposed by Great Britain in conformity with the views of Italy and Austria-Hungary.

London, Dec. 23.

Reuter learns that Greece is still officially unaware of British proposals regarding Albania and the Aegean. It is pointed out in Greek quarters that the proposed southern boundary gives Albania 140,000 Greeks out of a total of 220,000.

Allahabad, Dec. 21.

Bagdad Railway.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables: "The *Daily Telegraph's* Berlin correspondent says that according to the semi-official *Le Matin*, after the three entered negotiations between France, Germany and Turkey with regard to the Bagdad Railway, which are being interrupted by the Christmas holidays, have unfortunately not progressed as far as might have seemed desirable. In particular it is stated that there are important differences of opinion as to the construction of a harbour at Soudia and the discussion on this matter will not be resumed before the new year."

Egypt.

The first elections to the New Legislative Assembly have resulted in a sweeping victory of the Government. Less than twenty Opposition candidates were successful out of a total of 66 elected, plus members nominated by the Government.

Teheran, Dec. 26.

Persia.

It is understood that Russia intends shortly to withdraw a considerable number of troops from North Persia. Persia has agreed to increase the Persian Cossack Brigade at Tabriz from six hundred to twelve hundred with four Russian officers and eight Russian non-commissioned officers.

Allahabad, Dec. 27.

Imperial Delhi Committee.

The report by the Imperial Delhi Committee showing the progress made in connection with the affairs relating to the new capital has just been completed. The project estimated by the Engineer is also practically ready.

Turkey and Greece.

Reuter learns that Greek official circles are in no way perturbed over the purchase by Turkey of a dreadnought which was being built in Brazil, as it will not be ready for six months and Greece will have plenty of time to consider her course of action. Confidence is expressed, however, that the Greek Government will not shrink from any action necessary to ensure the country's safety. The possibility is hinted at of Greece declaring war on Turkey in order to prevent the vessel leaving England. According to diplomatic opinion, the incident may raise, in an acute form, the whole question of the disposal of other nations of the powerful warships ordered by the South American Republics.

Constantinople: The Dreadnought which Turkey has brought will be called "Sultan Osman."

Athens: M. Venizelos, Premier, speaking in Parliament to-day confirmed the purchase of the dreadnought by Turkey. He was unable to inform the House as to what steps Government were taking or had already taken to ensure Greek supremacy in the Aegean. He could only assure the Chamber that Greece was determined to maintain her supremacy and that the Greek naval authorities were absolutely calm.

France is anxious over the purchase of a dreadnought which Turkey has been enabled to acquire thanks to a loan raised in France. The "Temps" says that Turkey does not conceal her intention of declaring war on Greece in April and urges the closing of British and French money markets to Turkey.

Roi de Janiero: A semi-official communique states that Brazil was no party to the sale of the "Roi de Janiero" to Turkey, and that the builders are to supply another dreadnought to Brazil. Vice-Admiral Huethacellar has been accused for publishing a letter entailing Government's action in parting with the "Roi de Janiero."

Constantinople: Though the Turkish population is generally satisfied with the purchase of the dreadnought, financial anxiety has dropped a point and the appointment of Enver Bey as Minister of War is hardly soothing.

Constantinople: The Young Turk, Enver Bey, has been appointed Minister of War, and Colonel Djemal Bey, Minister of Works.

Constantinople: It is stated that the dreadnought "Roi de Janiero" and the battleship "Re Armstrong's" will be ready for delivery in six months.

The South African Crisis.

Victor (British Columbia), Dec. 18. Strong criticisms have been passed on the Dominion Government prohibiting the entry of artisans and laborers until March 31st.

It is acknowledged that the measure was designed to prevent a glut in the labour market and relieve the Hindu immigration problem. It prevents, however, the entry of workmen from Australia and New Zealand, while Chinese, arriving on the same steamer, enter paying a hundred pounds sterling poll-tax.

London, Dec. 19.

The release of Messrs. Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach is confirmed.

Durban, Dec. 19.

Mr. Gandhi and the other Indian leaders arrived this afternoon. They were welcomed at the station by several hundred Indians, garlanded them and handed the carriers through the Indian queue to the offices of the Indian Association.

London, Dec. 19.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, said that appointments of Mr. Esselen and Colonel Wylie should be balanced by appointments from men of European nationality. He said the Government should possess no anti-Asiatic bias. Unless the Government accept the Commission to this proposal, it was impossible to accept the Commission.

give evidence, in which event the Indians would resume their activities in order to seek arrest and re-imprisonment.

Durban, Dec. 22.

At a meeting of five thousand Indians held here yesterday, addressed by Messrs. Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach, a resolution was passed against Indians giving evidence before the Commission of Enquiry as it did not include a representative of the Indians. The resolution also urged the Government to appoint a European member acceptable to the Indians and undertook that, if this demand were granted and passive resisters discharged, passive resistance would be suspended pending the finding of the Commission, otherwise Indians would prosecute the struggle with renewed vigour.

Mr. Gandhi, wearing the dress of an indentured labourer as a sign of mourning, aroused great enthusiasm by suggesting that unless the Government granted their demands all should be ready on the first day of the new year to suffer battle and imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi announced that he would eat only one meal a day as a further sign of mourning.

Delhi, Dec. 22.

The following *communiqué* has been issued:—

The Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State since the Commission was appointed by the Government of South Africa, to investigate the disturbances in Natal and the causes which led up to them with a view to their representation before the Commission.

They have now selected Sir B. Robertson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, to appear before the Commission on their behalf. He starts at once for Durban to arrive in time for the next meeting of the Commission on January 12th.

It will be recollected that Sir B. Robertson held the post of Secretary, and officiated as member of Council in the Commerce and Industry Department from 1907 to 1911, and has, therefore, special knowledge of Indian grievances in South Africa.

Pietermaritzburg, Dec. 22.

Mr. Gandhi's wife and three other women passive resisters were released from gaol this morning. They were pulled through the town in carriages by enthusiastic Indians.

Mr. Gandhi, on arriving from Durban, was garlanded and congratulated. In his reply, he urged Indians to eschew luxuries as a sign of mourning. Addressing a larger meeting afterwards, he said that Durban Indians were more united than ever in their determination to insist upon the demands formulated at the meeting on Sunday. The meeting endorsed the resolutions passed at the Durban meeting, and decided to prosecute the passive resistance movement unless the Government yielded.

A telegram from Durban states that a cousin and son of Mr. Gandhi and eight other passive resisters, who were arrested for crossing the Transvaal border on September 16th, and initiating the present campaign, were released to-day.

The *Cape Times* says that the requests of Mr. Gandhi and others formulated at the meeting at Durban, though reasonable, constitute a courteous ultimatum, and the journal urges Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues to hesitate before committing themselves to a course which will alienate sympathy in South Africa and overseas, and appears to aim at embarrassing the Government.

Durban, Dec. 22.

The Indian leaders have written a letter to the Government recapitulating their demands. Firstly, they ask for the appointment of the two new members of the Commission preferably Sir James Rose Innes and Senator Schreiner, secondly, the immediate release of the imprisoned passive resisters, and thirdly, freedom for the leaders to visit the sugar estates and collieries for the purpose of collecting evidence. The letter points out that, while the finding of the Commission, if enlarged as suggested, will be accepted as finally settling the dispute as regards the allegations of ill-treatment of the strikers, the Commission's recommendations regarding the original grievances will not be accepted by the Indian community in derogation of its demands. The letter concludes by reiterating that failing compliance with their demands as leaders they will not countenance violence, even by way of retaliation, the passive resistance movement will be resumed and Indians will march across the Transvaal border towards Pretoria previously. It is expected, however, that the marchers will be much more numerous, the leaders asserting that from ten to twelve thousand will take part.

London, Dec. 23.

The *Durban Mercury* says that the Government would lose nothing in the general estimation by conceding the demand for the enlargement of the Commission as suggested by the Indians and for the liberation of the passive resisters. But should the Government refuse, the Indians would be wise to give their evidence before the Commission in view of the Government of India sending Sir Benjamin Robertson.

At a meeting of the Indians in London, presided over by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, a resolution was passed urging the Imperial Government to secure the appointment of representatives of India and of the Imperial Government on the Commission in South Africa.

A meeting of Indian women at Johannesburg passed a resolution requesting Government to accede to the Indian demands and urging the leaders to persevere to the bitter end. In an interview with Renter's representative regarding the article in the *Cape Times* Mr. Gandhi said nothing was further from his wish than to give the letter the form of an ultimatum. He had not the slightest wish to embarrass the Government.

Nagpur, Dec. 22.

Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner, came here unexpectedly from his tour in the Chanda district and proceeded at once to Delhi.

Sir Benjamin Robertson is now in Delhi, conferring with the Government of India regarding the South African question before he leaves for Durban. The question as to who will officiate as Chief Commissioner during his absence is now under consideration.

Durban, Dec. 22.

In an interview with Renter's representative Mr. Gandhi totally repudiated the allegation that the agitation in Natal was largely fictitious, and had been engineered by disloyalists in India, who wanted a pretext to embarrass the Government of India. His best helpers, he said, were Europeans, mostly British subjects, who knew the inwardness of the struggle as fully as himself. If the Commission of Enquiry found him guilty of complicity in such criminal folly as was alleged, he would undertake to retire not only from the movement, but also from South Africa.

Durban, Dec. 24.

It is reported from Volksrust that thirteen male and three female Indians have been sentenced to three months' hard labour for attempting to cross the Border.

On the 23rd December, His Excellency the Viceroy, replying to the joint address of the Associations representing the various Indian communities of Calcutta, said:—

As you know, there is at present one (troublesome problem) open which we all feel deeply, but for which I am still hopeful that an equitable solution may be found, and I feel that I ought to take opportunity of saying what great importance I attach to the recognition by the leaders of the Indians in South Africa of the Commission appointed by the Government of the Union. The fact that a public and judicial enquiry will be held by a Commission of whom the President is a Judge of Appeal and universally esteemed and respected to investigate the allegations that have been made, to enquire into their causes, and to make recommendations, presents an opportunity that the Indians have not had before to submit to the verdict of the world the justice of their grievances. I cannot urge too strongly upon the leaders the urgency of accepting the Commission and off setting to work at once to prepare their case for submission to it.

AN ANXIOUS PROBLEM.

The Government of India feel such deep interest in the result of this Commission that we have appointed a distinguished official, Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom I think many of you know, to be present before the Commission as the representative of the Government of India. This is one of those anxious problems to which I have just referred, but all these difficulties and problems mean a just and right adjudication between conflicting interests, in the decision of which, in the very nature of things, satisfaction cannot be given to all. But as in the past so in the future it will be my constant endeavour to bring to my task a spirit of fairness and just dealing with a true sense of duty and responsibility; and if, when I come to lay down the reins, I can feel that your sentiments continue to be such as those you have expressed to-day, I shall indeed be a happy man.

Durban, Dec. 24.

The Government has rejected Mr. Gandhi's demands for the addition of representatives of Indian interests of the Natal Commission and for the release of all the imprisoned passive resisters.

Pretoria, Dec. 24.

Replying to the letter of the Indian leaders to the Government recapitulating their demands, General Smuts said he was unable to accept the conditions under which Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues proposed to give evidence before the Commission and suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding, particularly the condition involving the appointment of additional members of the Commission in the interests of the Indian community.

The Commission was intended to have an impartial and judicial character, and in constituting it, the Government consulted neither the Indian community, the coal owners, nor the sugar planters in Natal, nor could the Government, for a moment, follow the course proposed which would give colour to unwarranted reflections upon two of the members of the Commission.

The course proposed by the letter, in the event of the Government's non-compliance, was deeply regretted, not the least in the interests of the Indian community which could not but be profoundly affected by the lawless character of the leaders' procedure, the gratuitous infliction of grave sufferings on innocent people, both Whites and Indians, and the consequent exasperation of public opinion throughout the Union.

Durban, Dec. 25.

Mr. Gandhi and others telegraphed yesterday to Lord Ampthill declaring that the people are so indignant that if an attempt is made to advise the acceptance of the present commission they will kill their leaders. "Unless there is very prompt agitation in England to support our demands," says the telegram, "the Government is not likely to accede to them."

In an interview with Reuter's representative regarding General Smuts's reply to the letter of the Indian leaders, Mr. Gandhi said he had privately communicated with the Government and thought that a way out of the deadlock was possible. The Government could without loss of prestige respond to the prayer of Indians for a representation of their interests on the Commission and he would leave no stone unturned to prevent renewal of passive resistance. He asserted his loyalty to the Imperial and Union Governments. He was deeply pained to learn that employers on the coast, for some of whom he entertained a high regard, had suffered losses.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi has asked Mr. Smuts for an interview.

It is alleged that there are signs that the movement is weakening among the rank and file.

Durban: In a letter to the Press, Mr. Gandhi denies that the march to Pretoria has been postponed because the mass of local Indians cannot be relied on to join in; on the contrary, he says the difficulty is to delay it and he has been obliged to send special messengers to issue leaflets in order to advise Indians that the march is postponed.

Referring to resolutions at the Indian National Congress, Mr. Gandhi says while the Congress is justified in asking and is bound to ask for full citizen rights throughout the Empire, South African Indians have made it clear that they are bound to recognise local prejudice and his workers will not be a party to any agitation for the unrestricted immigration of British Indians into the Union or the attainment of political franchise in the near future.

In an editorial, the London "Times" says that the change in Gandhi's attitude is welcome. Indian leaders have been clearly impressed by Lord Hardinge's appeal in Calcutta. "We fear, however, that relaxation of the tension is temporary. The sole prospect of a stable settlement lies in a determined effort by the Imperial Government. The question involves the claim of the self-governing Dominion to manage its own affairs and affects. These issues are vital to the Empire and no Government, calling itself Imperial, can afford to adopt a merely negative attitude towards them."

Pretoria: The Labour Party conference to-day, unanimously passed a resolution protesting against the system of indentured labour and condemning the use of the police and military to compel Indians to work. The conference was convinced that the presence of the Indian population in South Africa would always lead to grave difficulties and urged Government to take immediate steps to induce repatriation with adequate compensation.

A telegram to the "Times" from Durban says that confidential negotiations between Gandhi and Government continue on the point of representation on the commission of strikers on sugar estate and passive resistors.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Gandhi, dated the 2nd January.

"The Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have arrived, and were accorded a most cordial reception by the Indian community. They had a very rough passage. We are now trying to secure the addition to the Commission of at least one European member in whose impartiality we have confidence, the planters, if necessary, being allowed to nominate one on their side. I sincerely hope India will support us in this. Pray ask all not to be over-anxious on our account. We discovered on our release that large numbers of our community had shown unexpected powers of endurance of suffering, and we were astonished at the unlooked-for ability shown by indentured Indians, without effective leadership, to act with determination and in perfect co-operation and discipline. We require cheerful in our calamity preparing for and awaiting events."

Mr. Gokhale has also received the following cablegram from Messrs. Polak and Kalenbach:—"We move among Europeans, including responsible Pressmen, who privately or publicly recognise the justice of the Indian demands in regard to the Commission"



Our London Letter.

London, 19th December, 1913.

You have, no doubt, heard already by cable of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's withdrawal of his resignation of the London Moslem League Presidentship. The members of his London Committee were duly informed of this step taken by their late President in an official letter, signed by Mr. Ameer Ali himself and the "sympathetic strikers," Messrs. C. A. Latif and A. S. M. Anik; but the outside world came to know about it through the Times

of last Friday? The great national organ has again treated this rather farcical episode in its usual solemn funeral-like tone. The Right Hon'ble gentleman and his faithful colleagues have taken this step, we are told, "in response to the telegraphic appeals and resolutions of the United Provinces League, the Punjab League, the Moradabad League and other organisations in India and in view of the delicate questions that confront the Mussalman Community." The average mind fails to understand the nature of the "delicate questions that confront the Mussalman Community," which were evidently not in existence a month ago, when these gentlemen, in a body, severed their connection with the London League. It is now generally felt that the somewhat undignified manner in which the Right Hon'ble gentleman tendered his resignation and the equally unbecoming way in which he has withdrawn it have, on the whole, produced a scene in this Comic opera, which will certainly not enhance the prestige of the London League in any degree. The eyes of all thinking men are now naturally turned towards the approaching All-India Moslem League Council meeting at Agra and it is earnestly hoped, in the interest of the Indian Mussalman Community, that a definite and decisive line of future action will be then laid down.

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY.

The Society owes no little debt of gratitude to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who has made himself financially responsible for the weekly prayers on Fridays, until the Society's funds permit their securing permanent rooms in London. The attendance is increasing every week and Indian Moslems, Turks, Egyptians, Persians and Englishmen are flocking every Friday to Lindsey Hall in Kensington, where the Juma-Namaz is held. The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's sermons are thoroughly appreciated and listened to most attentively by all those present. Lord Headley generally recites the subsequent Dna in English and his genuine and enthusiastic advocacy of Islam exercise a most invigorating influence on the members of the congregation. His Lordship's four little sons were present with him at this morning's Namaz and, in spite of their tender age, followed the proceedings with real interest.

The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din has issued invitations to the members of the Islamic Society for the Majlis-un-Nikah, at the Mosque in Woking, on the 21st instant, when Princess Saliah of Egypt will be married to Ata-ur-Rahman Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Mohamed Jerunkvite, a Russian nobleman, who has recently embraced Islam.

The three vacancies on the Committee of the Islamic Society have been filled by Mr. Syed Abul Hasan Razavi, B.A., M.R.A.C. (Giren), of Hyderabad, Deccan, Mr. Murtasala, B.A. (Cantab) of Cairo and Hussein Manzalauvi Bey of Constantinople.

Indian Moslems.

RECONSTITUTION OF THE LONDON LEAGUE.

The London All-India Moslem League has been reconstituted. The resignations of the President, Mr. Ameer Ali, of Mr. C. A. Latif, the Vice-President, and of Mr. A. S. M. Anik, the honorary treasurer, have been withdrawn. At a meeting of the committee held last evening the Aga Khan was elected to the honorary presidency, in pursuance of a telegraphic intimation from India of his willingness to accept that office. The meeting passed a cordial vote of thanks to the officers for withdrawing their resignations, and also to the Aga Khan.

These satisfactory developments are a result of eager and anxious discussion among Indian Mohamedans since we announced on October 31st that the London All-India Moslem League had been split by the attempts of the advanced section of "Young Moslems" to impose their will upon the League. The hope we then expressed as being entertained by the Aga Khan—that the London League might be reconstructed on lines maintaining its position of co-ordination and co-operation with the League in India—has now been fulfilled.

This happy outcome of the differences, which were brought to a head by the demands made by Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan for the acceptance of an advanced policy, is mainly attributable to the support given to the hitherto recognized leaders by the best and most responsible Mussalman opinion in India. Among many other messages requesting Mr. Ameer Ali to continue to guide the League here were emphatic resolutions from two of the most active and important provincial leagues in Northern India, those of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Before yesterday's meeting Mr. Ameer Ali, Mr. Latif, and Mr. Anik issued a joint letter to the members of the committee announcing their readiness to continue to give the League their services in the work of Mussalman development.

The rally of moderate Moslem opinion to the more experienced leaders has no doubt been contributed to by the refusal of Lord, Crewe, and afterwards of Mr. Asquith, to grant interviews to the two "delegates," Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan, when they were in this country—a fact well known in India, though it has not been made public hitherto in this country.—Times.

TETE À TETE



It is seldom that the Honours List excites interest in the breast of anybody except the Jo-Hookams or the Government which decorates itself lavishly every half-year on the analogy of the pious boy who recited *fatiha* over his daily allowance of

Honour where Honour is due.

sweets and unequally ate them up himself. But the only two K.C.S.I.'s of the New Year's Day List are highly significant. There are some things that one would very much like to say and yet does not say because it is inexpedient to do so. If, however, someone else happens to say the same thing, one feels all the pleasure of speech without any of its awkwardness. The Mussalmans of India and particularly those involved in one way or another in the recent happenings at Cawnpore and London must have felt grateful to the *Pioneer* for a good many things it has blurted out every now and then in moments of irresponsible chagrin. It has certainly justified its name and has by its pioneer work in this connection spared others the indiscretion of exultation. The latest occasion is the comment of our contemporary on the recognition of the services of Mr. Syed Ali Imam to the Government of Lord Hardinge. His Excellency the Viceroy has never recommended any one more deserving of such honour, nor has His Majesty the King-Emperor conferred a title in India which has been better received by the people of this country. There is no honour to which Sir Ali Imam cannot add lustre, nor is there an office of responsibility to which he cannot add dignity. His position as the Indian member of the Government of India is one of great delicacy; but no greater compliment can be paid to him than this, that no one can count on the least favouritism in his discharge of duty, while all feel confident of securing fair-play. Neither the bond of religion nor other personal ties give his co-religionists and a vast number of personal friends of all classes, sections and creeds the least security that these matters count with him even a feather's weight when he is dealing with the affairs of State. He is, as he publicly said soon after his appointment, first and foremost a Minister of the Crown. But his being an Indian gives him that inestimable advantage of knowing the country intimately which none of his colleagues can share with him in anything like equal measure. His presence on the Executive Council must have assisted His Excellency the Viceroy materially when dealing with grave problems of Indian administration, and the Cawnpore settlement alike justified the new departure of Lord Morley, the choice of Lord Minto, and the confidence of Lord Hardinge. It seems most probable that at Cawnpore Sir D. C. Bailie gave Sir Ali Imam—for in deference to the one and only "Sir Syed" he does not like to be called Sir Syed Ali Imam—that ready assistance which greatly facilitates such settlements even though his absence may not make them impossible, and the then officiating Lieutenant-Governor has amply earned the goodwill of Mussalmans and in fact of all Indians. We hope an officer of Sir D. C. Bailie's ripe experience will be available for selection when the United Provinces get an Executive Council. We wish him and the new Indian and Moslem Knight, who possesses true knightly courage and knightly courtesy, still higher honours. The Privy Councillorship of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has caused universal gratification in Indian circles, for no recognition of the many merits of that lover of India could fail to be received with hearty rejoicings in this country. An added zest is given to this joy by the pain that it must have caused in some quarters not well disposed towards Indians. We expected some tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth in a newspaper office not a day's distance from Delhi; but the New Year resolutions were evidently strong enough to dictate unusual self-restraint. We also congratulate our fellow-citizen Haji Buksh Ellahie Sahab on his C.I.E. well earned by his philanthropy. But gold is gold even without the guinea stamp, and if unalloyed gold comes to the fund of public charities, the public too can impress it with its guinea stamp. The omissions, however, are as notable as some of the honours conferred on New Year's Day. When the editor of our gay and bright contemporary, *Punch*, whose witty verse runs

easily like a copious stream, and has run for a number of years without leaving the source dry, deservedly becomes a Knight one wonders why the Government of India is so chary of honouring Literature and Art, as to have neglected the *Punch*, and to be oblivious of the very existence of a Hali and an Iqbal. It is true that Art and Literature do not hanker after titles. But should titles always go to those that hanker after them, and do not Art and Literature decorate the decorations themselves? Even if Governments are unfamiliar with the names of men like Hali, a large portion of the world is all the better for their existence and this is their best reward.

We are sure Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali would be amply gratified by the following judgment passed on their work by Sir Henry Cotton who is in a better position to judge the expression made by it on the British public than those people who import their own prejudices into their retrospects and prognostications. He writes to Mr. Mohamed Ali:—"On looking back over your visit to England you must realise that your failure to obtain an interview with the Secretary of State was a matter of comparatively small importance. Of course, it would have been better to have had an interview, but it would have led to no result, and the real value of your visit lies in the general clearing of the air in regard to the attitude of Indian Moslems, and in the close relations you were able to establish with the press organisation in this country. In a very short space of time you accomplished an unusual amount of important work and have every reason to be satisfied with the general effect it produced. It remains to prosecute the campaign in India, and no doubt in subsequent years you will be able to renew it here." We hope it will be possible for these gentlemen to go to England before long to renew their work. What England and India both need is a hundred such missions in the next few years.

MEMORIES like the tails of animals, are short or long, and sometimes the length depends entirely on convenience. But we daresay people have not forgotten that not so very long

Aligarh Affairs.

ago we had to discuss in more than one issue of the *Comrade* the doctrine of some gentlemen that Aligarh affairs should remain State secrets, and the College itself should be an Isis hid by the veil. Recently, however, everybody seems to have accepted our own view of the matter that the wellbeing and progress of a public institution are hindered more by secrecy than by publicity, and that a public institution thrives best in open air. But we must say even we did not expect such rapid conversion of those who seemed to hold different views, nor can we admire the zeal of the new convert with which Aligarh affairs are being discussed to-day in the *Indian Gazette* and other vernacular papers. An important meeting of the Trustees took place on January 1st, at Aligarh, and judging from the conclusion of that meeting we decided that it would be more expedient to publish only the resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees and give no further details of the discussion. But the *Pioneer* of the 4th instant publishes under the general heading of "Indian Telegrams [From our own Correspondents]" two short but very misleading accounts of what took place at the meeting, and it is our plain duty to correct the impression likely to be created thereby on the public mind. With the exception of the resignation of H. H. the Nawab Sahab of Rampur from the Visitorship of the College, which was indeed a very great misfortune and, therefore, had to be dealt with immediately, there was nothing that necessitated a special meeting of the Trustees, particularly as only a month hence the Annual Meeting was to be held. Considering the result of the Special Meeting, we believe the Honorary Secretary himself must be regretting the haste with which he called the last meeting and tacked on affairs of little or no importance to the resignation of His Highness the Nawab Sahab. As regards the latter, it was unanimously decided that a deputation should wait on His Highness praying that he should withdraw his resignation, and a dozen or so members were selected. After that the Trustees began to consider with as much seriousness as they could command a number of threadbare axioms. The first was that the Honorary Secretary should maintain good relations with Government and its officials, and it was unanimously accepted with the addition of the significant explanation that in this matter the old practice of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was to be continued. The second axiom that came up for discussion was that discipline should be maintained in the College and the Honorary Secretary's responsibility in the matter should remain intact. Once more the significant explanation that the tradition of three former Secretaries was to be followed was unanimously added, and it was further explained that the Honorary

Secretary's concern with discipline was that of the executive officer of the entire Board of Trustees. The third axiom discussed was that the dignity of the office of the Honorary Secretary should be maintained, and it will be difficult for the outside world to decide whether it was more tragic or comic that a majority decided that the dignity of the office of Trustee and Governor of the College should not be maintained. We leave it to the *Pioneer* to lead the way in commenting on this self-abasement and humility of the Board of Trustees. One thing must, however, be made clear before we proceed further. The Trustees were more anxious for peace than for justice, and unanimously refused to enter into any facts adduced for or against the conduct of the Honorary Secretary, the Trustees or the students. Therefore none of the resolutions of the Special Meeting can have the least practical significance, and it was explained quite early in the meeting that they were not votes of confidence in the Honorary Secretary nor would their rejection be considered a vote of censure on that officer. Many Trustees thought that such resolutions were absolutely unnecessary, but all agreed that their rejection would probably be misunderstood, and now that the Honorary Secretary had submitted them for discussion, and they formed part of the Agenda of the meeting, it was desirable that they should be passed.

ANOTHER resolution referred to the connection of students with Undergraduates and Politics. The Trustees were careful enough to say that what they wished students to refrain from was taking part in practical politics. An undergraduate's education would be incomplete if such a large subject as Political Science, or Political Philosophy, as it is variously called, was rigorously excluded from his studies, or if current politics did not supply occasionally a subject for academical discussions in the College Union. A careful study of the subject along with History is the best corrective of what we are inclined to call "indolent patriotism" which is impatient of the demand of sustained work which real patriotism must always make, and is therefore eager to discover short-cuts. Nation-building is a wearisome task, but youngmen cannot realise it unless they study the growth of nations and of the principles of nationalism with all the patience and humility of the true student. Besides, too carefully wrapping up the undergraduate in cotton wool lest his loyalty catch cold is in reality preparing him for becoming a ready victim to the first wind of political passion to which he may get exposed on leaving the College quadrangle. This, like the other resolutions we have mentioned, was no more than the declaration of the policy which has hitherto been pursued, and if these declarations serve the purpose of clearing the air, we have every reason to feel satisfied with the action of the Trustees. But we fail to see any justification in all this for the remark of the *Pioneer* that the discussion of these resolutions was a great "trial of strength between the forces of what may be described as new and old Mohamedanism" and, that their passage without a dissentient voice was a triumph for the *Pioneer's* protégés. Mohamedanism is, at the least computation, more than thirteen hundred years old, and the nomenclature of the *Pioneer* would not commend itself to anybody. But the suggestion that, because the presence of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan was anticipated, they would intervene in the debate in order to oppose well-worn axioms betrays a peculiarly warped judgment characteristic of the *Pioneer's* self-satisfied ignorance.

In connection with disciplinary measures deemed necessary for keeping Aligarh undergraduates aloof from practical politics, the officiating Principal of the College—who would do well to confine himself to things of which he has some knowledge and which fall within the scope of his official duties—had raised the question whether the Society of the Servants of the Ka'aba was merely religious or political also. When the matter came before the Trustees at their last meeting it was asked whether the College authorities had any right to sit in judgment on societies outside the College. The Honorary Secretary pointed out that he had no desire to pass any judgment on the character of the Servants of the Ka'aba Society, and he was only concerned with the studies of the undergraduates on which their attention should be concentrated during their College days. Two members of the Society explained that it made no demands on the time of students or any other class of its members, and as the "Votaries of the Ka'aba" had to place their services as whole-time men at the disposal of the Society, in return, if necessary, for maintenance of themselves and their families, obviously nobody could take the pledge of the "Votaries" without first ceasing to be a student. No effort was made to enlist students in any part of India even as Servants. All the same, it was agreed on all hands that for the future Aligarh students should be prohibited from becoming members of any society not controlled or organised by the College. On this there was no difference of opinion and Aligarh was saved a stupid but

mischievous quarrel with the Ulama and the Moslem public to which Dr. Ziauddin was, let us assume, thoughtlessly leading it.

INSTEAD of framing in the prescribed manner a motion on the subject, the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh Trustees submitted for their pronouncement in the last meeting the question of the Honorary Secretary's rights and duties as regards politics and other "external" activities. We believe we are fully justified in saying that the submission of such questions in the place of regular motions consisting of definite proposals is subversive of the rights of such members as do not attend a meeting but are entitled under the rules to submit written opinions which are counted as votes. We believe that the attendance of some 45 out of a total of 102 Trustees in the last meeting constitutes a record, and, for reasons which we would rather not give, we are not likely to get anything like such good attendance at the two customary meetings of the year. If better attendance is desired—and surely no one can doubt that it is exceedingly desirable—the way to bring it about is to abolish the life-tenure of Trusteeship and the system of co-option. Short of these necessary changes better attendance can be secured only by the abolition of the system of voting by proxy. But the decision arrived at at the last meeting on the question submitted by the Honorary Secretary was the decision of a majority of only those who attended the meeting and of those whose proxy votes they had taken good care to secure, for the motion of Mr. Justice Shah Din was never circulated, and therefore never voted upon except by a little more than a fourth of the entire body of Trustees who attended in the afternoon. The decision was this. The Honorary Secretary is not to take any part in politics—and this without any qualification such as practical politics proscribed for students—and he is to refrain from such "external" activities as may be harmful to the College. There was considerable difference of opinion among the Trustees, and some of the young representatives of "Old Mohamedanism" of the *Pioneer's* creation voted with the minority consisting of what that "Grey-beard," the Hon. Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, following the lead of equally "sane and sober" Anglo-Indian journals, would call "hot-headed youngsters."

The very first result of this decision would be that the Honorary Secretary would no longer be allowed to please his beneficent and benign friends by organising abortive hole-and-corner political meetings at Delhi or elsewhere. The next result would be hardly less disastrous. He would be unable to offer himself as a candidate for the Legislative Council of the Province as he did a year ago without success. We wonder whether even the luxury of a sermon on loyalty would now be permitted to him. As for "external" activities "harmful" to the College, what greater guidance can this resolution of the Trustees offer to him than the resolution about discipline? Nobody in his senses would approve of a disregard of discipline or suggest that the relations of the Honorary Secretary with Government and its officials should be any but pleasant. Similarly, nobody would like the Honorary Secretary to mix himself up with any activities, whether "internal" or "external", which are "harmful" to the College. But the question is, is anybody in the least wiser after the adoption of all these excellent resolutions? No motion suggestive of a vote of confidence in the Honorary Secretary was placed on the agenda of the meeting, and no such resolution was ever passed, all correspondents and editors and sub-editors of all the papers in the world notwithstanding. Nothing that he had done in the past was extolled, condoned or censured. But nothing was decisively suggested for his future guidance either, except the categorical prohibition of the Secretary's taking any part whatever in politics. If he thinks that this excused him for any inaction, real or imagined, in the Cawnpore affair, is he not then bound to regard the resolution as a censure on him for organising the abortive meeting at Delhi? But in fact it did neither, for the Trustees set their faces from the very beginning against touching the unsavoury mass served for their consumption through the *Institute Gazette* and other Urdu papers. What the resolution has done is to entail most seriously the freedom of the Honorary Secretary and to make the office considerably less attractive for the ablest men in the community. We question the binding force of the decision, because it amounts to a restriction of the rights of the Honorary Secretary which involves a change in the rules for which a two-thirds majority in the Annual Meeting of the Trustees is necessary. But even as a "pious wish" the resolution is not likely to last beyond a couple of years, and in this sense constitutes a censure on the present Honorary Secretary which the Trustees had no right to pass. Whatever Nawab Ishak Khan Sahib did or left undone in the way of politics was his own affair and the affair of the public, for he never pretended to act politically as the Honorary Secretary of the College. If his politics is approved by the public he would receive all the rewards of public approval. If it is disapproved, he must be equally prepared for public censure. Whether he is the Secretary of the College or not is besides the point. The curious feature of the whole thing is that, perhaps he is inclined to regard this restriction of his rights as a personal triumph. In calmer moments we fear he will be disillusioned and will regret that he ever submitted the question for the decision of his colleagues.

In February, 1907, Mr. Ghulam Husain, a senior undergraduate of Aligarh, was accused by a Police constable of handling him roughly when on duty at the local Exhibition. Without any inquiry the then Principal, Mr. Archbold, who quarrelled with the Trustees themselves two years later and resigned, expelled Mr. Ghulam Husain from the College. When it was discovered that this had roused the temper of his comrades, Mr. Archbold converted the sentence into a fine of Rs. 20. Some time after peace had thus been patched up, Mr. Archbold ordered Mr. Ghulam Husain to give up residence in the College Hostels on the ground of the alleged offence of going beyond the bounds fixed for him as a punishment along with the fine, although Mr. Ghulam Husain was seen walking not far from the College in company with the Assistant Tutor himself. On this the undergraduates held a demonstration, and in consequence of this seven of them were expelled from the College, whereupon all the undergraduates went on a strike and the College was closed for some time. Sir Joubert Hewett paid his first visit to the College as its official Patron under these abnormal conditions, and insisted on the appointment of a Commission of inquiry which the Trustees did not appoint in a regular meeting and the personnel of which did not find favour with the Moslem public. Nor did the report of the Commission commend itself to the community. This was only natural if we remember that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, who on the death of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was elected to the office of the Honorary Secretary the same year, wrote a strong minute of dissent. The strikers were in the meantime accused of mixing themselves up with political agitation, and with considerable wisdom denied the charge and offered to return to the College. Mr. Archbold was prevailed upon to withdraw his order of expulsion of the prominent strikers, and the College was re-opened. This is all ancient history now, but almost the only member of the then College Staff, Mr. Towle, seems to have a long though somewhat misleading memory, for he revived the regrettable incidents of 1907 last winter when, on his way to a friend's place to recuperate his health, Mr. Ghulam Husain broke his journey at Aligarh for a couple of days and out of a feeling of respect called on his old tutor, Mr. Towle. We can imagine the shock of surprise with which he heard Mr. Towle's order that he should not stay in the College as an Old Boy even for a day. Mr. Ghulam Husain pleaded that six years had passed since the petty incident of his alleged quarrel with a policeman and Mr. Archbold's anger on his going beyond the bounds. He had since entered life and had earnestly worked for the good of his Alma Mater. He asked how long his alleged sins would continue to be visited upon him. Mr. Towle promised to consider the question and let him have a definite answer. Subsequently to this Mr. Ghulam Husain reminded Mr. Towle more than once but was only informed that the matter was under consideration. After this he attended the Annual Reunion of the Old Boys at Easter and left Aligarh after a few hours' stay in a building set apart by the College authorities for lodging the Old Boys on the occasion. It now appears that even to this Mr. Towle took objection, and the Honorary Secretary of the College commenced a correspondence with the Honorary Secretary of the Old Boys' Association on the subject of the rules of the Association regarding Old Boys who had been expelled from the College. The upshot of it was that the Honorary Secretary now asked the Trustees to resolve that no student expelled from the College should be enlisted as a member of the Old Boys' Association without the sanction of himself and the Principal. Evidently it does not matter to him in the least that the Old Boys' Association is an independent body with a membership of some thirteen hundred Old Boys, and an annual income of about eighteen thousand rupees and that no constitutional means exist for enforcing the decisions of the Trustees on this Association. The rules of the Association, passed immediately after the strike of the undergraduates in 1907, provided for the admission of expelled students as members of the Association on a simple majority of votes. Neither Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk nor Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk objected to them, nor was any objection raised by Mr. Archbold or Mr. Towle. A Sub-Committee of Old Boys, including the Proctor of the College, drafted new rules, and very wisely made the rule relating to the admission of expelled students more rigorous by making it dependent on a majority of two-thirds instead of a simple majority of votes. And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, both the new Honorary Secretary and the Principal now find the new rule objectionable. The *Pioneer* refers to the last Session of the League as being "packed with many of the fervent friends and admirers" of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohammed Ali, as if the League's membership is not open to all literate adults; and yet the *Pioneer* finds consolation in the alleged triumph of a party opposed to these gentlemen in the Board of Trustees as if the Board of Trustees is not "packed with many of the fervent friends and admirers" of the *Pioneer* and its pets and protégés. In spite of the obvious considerations which were placed before the Trustees, and the almost unanimous opposition of Old Boys who are Trustees of the College, a majority of the Trustees mainly composed of the *Pioneer's* clientèle accepted the resolution as submitted by the Honorary Secretary. Let us hope

that he does not accept this decision as a personal triumph, for he can ill afford to pick a needless quarrel with the Old Boys' Association at a time when he needs peace and rest.

In spite of the decision of the majority, the Trustees appeared unanimous in condemning what Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami described as "the policy of revenge" sometimes pursued by College tutors in order to ruin the future careers of students whom they disliked in their College days. He referred to the great ovation given by the entire University on occasions to undergraduates who had been "sent down" for some youthful peccadilloe but had subsequently brought honour to their Alma Mater as well as to themselves. He contended that the doctrine of "eternal punishment" in such cases was absurd. Well, the case which led the Honorary Secretary to raise this question does not appear to us to be far removed from the state of affairs referred to by Major Bilgrami. Going beyond College bounds is not an offence involving such moral turpitude that a young man may not wipe it off in six years of such literary work as Mr. Ghulam Husain has done. He is second to none as a journalist, and wields a pen that is the envy of his friends and comrades and the despair of his foes. Our readers have often offered praise where praise was certainly not due, forgetting that the *Comrade* had on its staff a writer as brilliant as Mr. Ghulam Husain. His stirring appeals for funds in the columns of the *Comrade* have helped in a large measure to fill the coffers of the ill-fated Moslem University. Yet after all this lapse of time, Mr. Towle is anxious to revive an all but forgotten incident from which the then Staff of the College did not come out unscathed. Although our readers are sure to judge the matter on the lines indicated by Major Bilgrami, we may add for Mr. Towle's information that Mr. Ghulam Husain was never expelled from the College. The College sent up his name as a candidate for the B. A. examination after the final sentence was passed, and he appeared in the examination several months after as a candidate sent up by the College, and subsequently took the B. A. degree of the Allahabad University as a successful candidate in every way approved by the College. If we understand aright, the expulsion of a student means the end of his College and University career on the score of his being one of the "undesirables." We hope this will satisfy everybody and the matter will be dropped. If not, the Honorary Secretary and his advisers will be responsible for the consequences of a struggle between the Trustees and the Old Boys which should not be entered upon with a light heart.

If we had any desire to humiliate the Secretary we could quote the words of those of his friends and partisans who induced him to respect the rules and procedure of the Trustees and to abide by the result of his own errors. But under the present circumstance we heartily desire that Nawab Ishak Khan Sahab should be given another opportunity to win the confidence not only of all his colleagues, but of the entire community by devoted, fearless and unselfish discharge of his onerous duties as Honorary Secretary of the College and successor of Syed Ahmad Khan and Viqar-ul-Mulk. We trust he would be able to work smoothly with the Syndics in future, that they would make this easier for him by forgetting the past, by refraining from any undue criticism of details and by assisting him in the solution of the main problems of Aligarh which require unity of will, purpose and action, and that he too would forget the past, let bygones be bygones, and refrain from mistrusting his colleagues and from pressing for the revival of a dictatorship which to-day even a Syed Ahmad Khan would find both difficult and undesirable. Some designing and some well-meaning Trustees desired to patch up quarrels between the Honorary Secretary and such Syndics as had complained that they had been repeatedly insulted by him, and ordered that they should embrace one another. This is not the first occasion on which this panacea for all ills was discovered at Aligarh. We have some faint recollection of an occasion on which an irreverent and far from modest youth who was almost the same age as H. H. the Aga Khan and the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad had touched the feet of the Honorary Secretary in a public meeting in the most approved oriental fashion. Like plague inoculation which is a preventive for six months only, the effect of this remedy applied in April did not last beyond September. Let us hope that the more scientific western remedy of shaking hands would have more lasting effect. If the disagreement is due to differences of principles, then these make-believes are futile and more worthy of children than of the *buzurgan-i-quam*. But if the disagreement is due to malice implanted in the heart of any of those who have gaily enough shaken hands to-day, the settlement is not characteristic of Islam, as one grave and reverend signor proudly declared, but of infidelity in the truest sense of the word. Possibly the correspondent of the *Pioneer* shares our fears, for although he says that "all points of difference are amicably settled," he adds with transparent scepticism the significant qualification: "at least for the present."

We are anxious to believe that the settlement would last at least two years, but the information that we possess on an important aspect of these wretched squabbles is so ominous that we are a prey to greater doubts and anxieties than before. Could not Lord Hardinge earn some more Moslem gratitude by interesting himself personally in the affairs of Aligarh and giving such relief to Aligarh and its friends as he brought to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore and those that befriended them? The root-evil is in both cases the same, and His Excellency will not find it any more difficult to discover the real friends of Aligarh than he found to discover the real friends of Cawnpore Mussalmans.

It is somewhat surprising, and no less significant, that the *Pioneer's* Aligarh correspondent or correspondents, while mentioning that "almost all the important resolutions put forward by the Honorary Secretary were passed by large majorities," and adding that at times the meeting was "stormy" and the Honorary Secretary's resignation was imminent, do not say anything about the resolutions that were not passed and thus damped the triumph of the Honorary Secretary with an "almost," nor mention who was the author of the "storm." We have no desire to humiliate the Honorary Secretary, nor do we like to rob him of any satisfaction that he may have found in the meeting on New Year's Day. But it is necessary that there should be no mistake about facts.

A "Stormy" Meeting.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that he should be *ex-officio* member of the Syndicate in charge of the Boarding House, and sought to set aside the recent decision of the Syndicate in appointing to the vacancy Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja B.A. (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, late Law Professor of the College. Mr. Mohamed Ali asked for the ruling of the chair in favour of his contention that, as the motion involved a change in the rule which empowered the Syndicate to elect any Syndic to the office of Member in charge of the Boarding House, and authorised the Secretary to discharge the duties of the office only if no other member had been elected, the motion could not be discussed in any but an Annual Meeting of the Trustees. Many efforts were made by stalwart partisans to misinterpret the words of the Honorary Secretary's resolution but to no purpose. Another resolution was still more important and still more reactionary as it sought to revive the dictatorship of the Honorary Secretary which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk himself had nobly worked to control by means of a Syndicate. Unlike him, the present Honorary Secretary has not been able to carry his colleagues of the Syndicate with him, and each recurring Syndicate meeting has proved a "Crisis." A few narrow-minded partisans who wish to revive the old Cabal of the days of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk whom they always wished to "run," have been misguiding the present Honorary Secretary, and one of them openly desired that the Syndicate should be a sort of Cabinet selected by the Honorary Secretary from among his most zealous partisans, forgetting that the Secretary ought not to be the leader of a party but the possessor of the confidence of all his colleagues. The advice of these partisans led the Secretary to threaten the Syndicate with his resignation shortly after he had taken over charge of his office, if Mr. Mohamed Ali was elected to the office of the Syndic in charge of Secular Instruction. Mr. Mohamed Ali was, however, elected, but resigned immediately afterwards, partly in recognition of the superior merits of Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, who had returned to India after his own name had come up before the Syndicate, and partly in deference to the wishes of the Honorary Secretary. But instead of showing similar consideration for the feelings of his colleagues, the latter opposed the election of every one who did not come within the party orbit when vacancies were being filled last October. His opposition, however, proved unavailing, and the Syndics now elected against his wishes did not feel inclined to resign immediately afterwards in deference to his wishes, as that "irreverent" and "hot-headed youngster", Mr. Mohamed Ali, had done before. This led the Honorary Secretary to move in the last meeting of the Trustees that if the Honorary Secretary desired to appeal to the Trustees from the decision of the Syndicate, the Syndicate's decision should remain inoperative in the interval, but that the Honorary Secretary should be free to take whatever action he pleased in that matter. In other words, the Syndicate should merely record the will of the Honorary Secretary, and nothing should intervene between the omnipotence of the Secretary in what he chose to call an "emergency," and its subsequent ratification by the Trustees on pain of the Secretary's threatened resignation. Now the main function of the Syndicate was to intervene on such occasions, for the hundred odd Trustees could seldom meet, and no Honorary Secretary after Sir Syed Ahmed Khan could safely be trusted with absolute autocracy. The proposal of the Honorary Secretary was objected to on the ground that it involved a change in the constitution of the College which could only be considered in the Annual Meeting. This objection of Mr. Mohamed Ali was also upheld by the Chairman, who fortunately happened on both occasions to be the Judge of a High Court. On these two decisions the Honorary Secretary threatened to resign, and whatever "storm" there was, was the creation of the "Old Mohamedanism" which has evidently much to learn in the way of respect for law and the orderly conduct of meetings according to well-established

procedure. The virtue of taking a "beating" in a "sporting" manner is perhaps too new-fangled and too much to expect from old world autocracy.

A Constantinople letter received by the last mail has the following about the activities of the Hilal-i-Ahmar:—

Turkish Activities "In the Kadrigah Hospital a course of instruction for ladies who intend to act as nurses in case of war is being given. In the very near future a school for male nurses will also be started by the Hilal-i-Ahmar. A Hospital is also going to be established either in Fatih or Jirrah Pasha for practical instruction. On the first day of the last Kurban Bairam small artificial flowers were distributed in the whole city. This is the Hilal-i-Ahmar Day. Owing to its being the first effort, and also because of the financial crisis due to the war only £4.560 were collected. This is no doubt a small sum, but if we remember that this amount was collected from the Hammals and the poorer classes of the capital in one day, it gives great satisfaction and inspires the workers with many hopes for the future. This will be done every year and in all parts of the Empire. If the same thing is done in India, a very great and useful service will be done." Other items of important news contained in the letter are the following:—(1) Enver Bey is in good health. He will be leaving next week for Berlin to undergo a third operation for appendicitis. (2) The "Reshadieh" and three other naval units of importance will be added to the fleet by the end of February. The Admiralty has made a contract with Messrs. Armstrong and Vickers to establish a ship-building yard, a floating dock and an arsenal in the gulf of Ismid and to repair and put in proper order the existing one in the Golden Horn. (3) The Porte has not agreed to appoint Europeans to control the reforms in Anatolia and the present policy is to oppose any such proposal. (4) The state of the Balkans is unsettled and it will be no wonder if there is a volcanic eruption there next spring. It may cause a general conflagration in the West as a punishment for its wilful injustice towards the East and Islam. (5) Europe is boycotting Turkey financially; but Russia's threats are empty. International relations are very critical. (6) Kemal Omer Bey will be leaving for India before the end of the month. He is late owing to unavoidable reasons. They had to ask for the permission of Sir Edward Grey about it and you know how long and troublesome the negotiations are especially in such delicate matters. So Kemal Bey has already started or will be starting very soon.

We have received the following letter from Khwaja Kamal-ud-din Sahab from England, which we feel sure would be read with great interest in India:—"The following ladies and gentlemen have declared to me their

embrace of Islam after the noble example of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley. Their Moslem names I give against their original names. (1) Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley—Saifur-Rahman Shaikh Rahmatullah Farook. (2) Viscount Gug De Poitier (a French nobleman) Mawahibur-Rahman Shaikh Salah-ud-din Ahmed Poitier. (3) Captain Stanley Musgrave—Shaikh Abdurrahman. (4) Mr. Jereukewitz (a Russian nobleman) Ata-ur-Rahman Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Mohamed. (5) A lady from the Upper Ten (in London) (Name not to be disclosed)—Zainab. (6) Mrs. Clifford—Aysha. (7) Mrs. Violet Ebrahim—Fatima Ebraheem. (8) Mrs. Mee—Amaturrahman Qamrunnissa. (9) Miss Lilly Ransom—Aminatullah Haleema. There is another lady, Mrs. Gifford, but she has not seen me yet and no name has been given to her. There are also some twelve children of the above-mentioned persons." We can speak from first hand information now about the work of the Khwaja Sahab, and the highest compliment that we can pay him is that he reminds us of what we have read of the early missionaries of Islam who left hearth and home, and family and country, and wealth and comfort at the call of duty, and had one absorbing passion only, namely, the desire to carry the message of Unity and Submission to every living soul. His massive figure and rugged and unkempt appearance inspire you with the singleness of purpose of one for whom the world exists only for one divine purpose. He is no orator, but he impresses you with his absolute sincerity as no orator can do. Islamic missionaries never possessed an organisation worth speaking of, but their individual zeal succeeded where mere organisations failed altogether. Now that we have secured this individual zeal in the Khwaja Sahab, let us provide the organisation as well. He must be provided with ample funds so that he may not have to worry himself with financial difficulties. This can be done in two ways. Direct monetary contributions such as some kind friends have already sent from Bombay, and as a noble Moslem Ruler of a State has ordered as a permanent monthly grant; and enlisting as subscribers of *Muslim Review*, the organ of the Khwaja Sahab's Mission which is enlightening Europe and Christendom on the subject of Islam as it is believed in by Mussalmans and not supposed to be by Christians and atheists. In a later issue we shall discuss the subject at greater length, but we trust this appeal will induce all Mussalmans to contribute their mite to further the work which the Khwaja Sahab is so selflessly and vigorously doing.

The Comrade.

The Moslem League Ideal.

THE weather prophets of "Anglo-India" had been publishing forecasts of the Agra Session of the All-India Moslem League indicating thunder and lightning and a deluge of rain, and as usual the wish was father to the thought. Can we repress a feeling of sympathy for the prophets now that the events have proved them to have been more than usually foolish? Disappointments of so terrible a character should by rights provide us with more than one obituary notice from Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore and Allahabad for our agony columns. In situations such as this, the traditional denouement is "death due to heart-failure" or "suicide while temporarily insane." If, however, we are cheated of our "copy," we may be constrained to argue absolute heartlessness and permanent insanity in the prophets that have survived so clear a proof of their folly and falsehood. We are not permitted to say whether there was or was not some pale sheet lightning or "occasional local showers" in the Subject Committee. But in the League meetings themselves there was hardly even a "breeze."

However, it is an interesting question which of the two the weather prophets have to answer for more, their folly or their falsehood. Had not "Anglo-India" been an island almost entirely cut off from the mainland of India, we would have had no doubt whatever on the subject, for India knows only too well that the magnates who used to speak for and in the name of the Mussalmans until so recently as a couple of years ago, and were the shining stars of the Moslem firmament, are to-day pulled up sharply if they begin to talk in representative accents, and shine with no greater brilliancy than the handles of fired off rockets. But "Anglo-India" still holds aloft the charred and blackened stumps as if they were torches that could light up the path of progress.

Our esteemed contemporary, the *Pioneer*, publishes in its issue of the 2nd instant a letter written by "a Mohamedan gentleman of high social position," whose features we leave our equally irrepressible correspondent "Bambooke" to identify. Having written the letter, as it is stated, "on the eve of the holding of the All-India Moslem League Session at Agra," this Mohamedan gentleman of high social position indulged in some interesting anticipations. "Signs are not wanting to show," wrote the aristocrat, "that the sane and sober class . . . are going to assert themselves and wrest from the usurpers the power and strength they have appropriated to themselves."

So it seemed that Mr. Snodgrass was at last "going to begin"! But alas, so shaken is the confidence of this puissant "sane and sober class" in their own puissance that our "Mohamedan gentleman of high social position" provided himself *à la* "Daily Mail" with more than one loophole of generous dimensions if, in the event of the conflict ending in what is on such occasions euphemistically called a "reverse," the order of the day was *survive qui peut*. "It may be," wrote the doubting prophet, "that at the coming League Session the voice of steady guidance and sober wisdom may be drowned in the noise of irresponsible and hot-blooded youth, or perhaps that voice may keep its counsel and better not speak in the pandemonium that will be created." However, as things finally turned out, the "sane and sober class" did not succeed in wresting from "the usurpers the power and strength they have appropriated to themselves," nor did their voice "keep its counsel" and deny itself the pleasure of speech. There was no "pandemonium" except such as "the sane and sober class" themselves created, for they know as well as any other the sweet uses of "stirring up the masses."

It was feared at one time that efforts would be made to go back on the decision arrived at barely nine months ago as regards the ideal of a self-government suited to India, and that the big drum of the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali would be beaten with a vengeance. A day or two ago the United Provinces League, after a tough fight between technicalities and a sense of discipline, had decided that technicalities had won the day, and the ideal of self-government must wait for another year like an under-trial criminal when the U.P. League would decide whether it is to be the ideal of the U.P. League also, or is to be hanged by the neck till it is dead, and a much-needed lesson in discipline taught to what Mr. Ameer Ali and the *Times* call "the Lucknow Committee." But when the Subject Committee met to frame the resolutions for the Session, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash was the only one who desired an alteration in the ideal of the League. We have no desire to refer to the discussions in the Subject Committee for such discussions are never meant to be published. But some one—and evidently a re-actionary—has betrayed the confidence and supplied to the Press correspondents an incorrect and wholly misleading account of these discussions, and we shall be failing in our duty if we did not correct such wilful error. We believe that this was perhaps the first occasion on which Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb attended a meeting of the All-India Moslem League, and we admire his courage in facing an audience such as the one assembled at Agra with a proposal which if accepted would have made the Moslem community extremely ridiculous. We

admire still more the obvious honesty of Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Saheb, and can genuinely sympathise with his conservatism though we cannot agree with it. But we must say we were not impressed with the zeal of the new convert with which one or two other gentlemen ran down the views of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb. Their attitude was too reminiscent of the *Muallafat-il-Qulub* who swelled the ranks of the True Believers after the taking of Mecca. A politician must of necessity be an opportunist; but opportunism is by no means the same thing as absence of convictions. Here we must make what amends we can to the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi who took an early opportunity to re-iterate the faith he had expressed on his Presidential Address of the last Session in the ideal of self-government suited to India. Those who feared that he would swallow the words of nine months ago and confess his defection from last Session's political creed had obviously misjudged him. Far from making any attempt at backsliding Mr. Shafi emphasised his firm adherence to the League's creed, and although there were some members who might have opposed its adoption had they taken the trouble to attend the Lucknow Session last Easter, there was not one except Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb who showed the least desire to move that the League's creed should be reconsidered. We, however, reserve for another issue our observations on Mr. Shafi's curious misreading, of the Presidents' views on the subject, which robs his *tajdid-i-ahd* (renewal of faith) of much of its grace, if not sincerity.

Another noticeable feature of the discussion was the silence of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, who must have felt the needlessness of asserting what Lord Crewe had doubted, namely, the fact that they represented the political attitude and temper of Indian Mussalmans even more clearly than the Liberal Cabinet represented the political attitude and temper of Great Britain.

On the creed of the League the seal was set by the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Kt., than whom a better choice could not have been made for this occasion. Sir Ibrahim has the inestimable advantage of the accumulated experience of twenty years of public life in perhaps the most business-like Province of India. His sturdy common-sense and clear insight give him an almost uncanny shrewdness, and all classes of people in that mosaic of communities, Bombay, recognise him as an indispensable figure alike in the Corporation, and the Legislative Council. Nor does Government place less reliance than the people of his Province in the judgment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, whom the Government of Bombay are as anxious to make their own nominee as the people to make him their elected representative. His Presidential Address is in many respects unique, and takes us back to the famous Amritsar Session of 1908 when the Hon. Sir Ali Imam leapt at one bound into lasting fame. We shall not subject this address to the mutilation and dismemberment of extracts and quotations, and must request our readers to read it in its entirety. We refer them particularly to the Presidents' own political faith, which we share in full, and which has the sanction of no less a person than His Majesty the King-Emperor. With a faith such as his, Sir Ibrahim would have been the last to quarrel with the League's ideal, and although self-government suited to India appears to him vague and indefinite, as compared with self-government on colonial lines which the Congress had adopted in the Allahabad Convention, he frankly acknowledges that the League must have had good reasons for adopting it in the form in which it is embodied in the League's Constitution.

The reasons to which Sir Ibrahim alludes will be apparent if we seek the assistance of contemporary history. When the Congress adopted the ideal of self-government, it had already been split up into two rival camps of Moderates and Extremists at Surat, and the latter were insisting on the Congress' declaring itself for an immediate programme of absolute Swaraj without the agis of the British Crown. The creed of the Congress was therefore the creed of the Moderates, and was in reality only a negation of the Extremists' creed. The League's creed is, on the contrary, the creed of its so-called Extremists—who are, however, far more numerous than the self-styled moderates—and it is a positive assertion of something to which the community could well aspire at a time when it had fully found its self-consciousness but was still unconscious of the object of its aspirations. In the Congress a group of men were taking a road that was dangerous, and the leaders of another and a much larger group directed it to a safer path. In the League, on the other hand, all were anxious to go somewhere, but no one knew whither to go. The well-known verse of Hafiz expressed the situation best—

خبرم نیست که منزل که مقصود کجاست

این قدر هست که بانگ جرمی ی آید

(I know naught of the destined goal. All that I know is that the sound of the caravan bell is heard.)

Thanks to H. H. the Aga Khan and Mr. Wazir Hasan, the direction in which the caravan must march is now known. The Congress ideal negatives one form of self-government even more clearly than it asserts another. The League's ideal only negatives the opposition to all forms of self-government which autocracy and bureaucracy imply, and this it negatives equally clearly. But when it comes to positive assertion, it can only assert the hypothesis of a self government suited to the peculiar requirements and changing conditions of India. The future

cannot be cast in a rigid mould, and so incommensurable a thing as Life cannot be measured by a foot-rule. The League's is a voyage be of discovery. It knows that it cannot rest where it is, and it must seek and discover uncharted lands in the same direction in which the most progressive part of humanity has sought and discovered them. But the very hypothesis of uncharted lands suggests numerous perils of the sea, and if success is to be attained caution must be combined with courage.

Of such as still doubt the wisdom of striving towards the only goal consistent with self-respect and national dignity we shall only ask: Are you content with the life of Lotos-eaters, and satisfied with the ideal—if ideal it can be called—contained in these drowsy verses:

"Let us swear an oath, and keep it with an equal mind,

"In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined

"On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind.

Or would you rather drink life, like Ulysses, to the lees, and with the restlessness that leads to progress, "roam with a hungry heart?" Is experience to be another name for retrogression, or is it to be—

"An arch wherethro'

"Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades

"For ever and for ever when you move"?

Will you say:

"Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore,

"Than labour in the deep mid ocean, wind and wave and oar:

"Oh rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more"?

Will you not rather say:

"Come my friends,

"Tis not too late to seek a newer world,

"Push off, and sitting well in order smite,

"The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds

"To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths

"Of all the western stars, until I die,

"Tho' much is taken, much abides, and tho'

"We are not now the strength which in old days

"Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;

"One equal temper of heroic hearts,

"Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield"?

This was the question, and Moslem India has on two separate occasions answered it in the spirit of determined men and not of sleepy Lotos-eaters. But now that all semi-external attempts to alter the League's creed have so ignominiously failed, it is necessary to emphasise caution even more than courage, and we heartily support Sir Ibrahim's advice in this connection.

The League and its London Branch.

ALTHOUGH it is undoubted that "Anglo-India" was extremely anxious that the All-India Moslem League should go back upon the decision at which it had arrived last Easter as regards its ideals, and a bastard "split" conceived by the *To Hockams* of Moslem India was expected to see the light of the day in the "second Surat" after nine moons' gestation, no one can deny that genuine differences of opinion could also exist on the subject and assume formidable proportions. But we do not know how any one can convince us that equally genuine differences of opinion could exist on the subject of the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali's demands, and how they could culminate in a "split" in the League. No one can deny Mr. Ameer Ali's great ability and the services he has rendered to Islam as the author of several valuable works on Moslem faith and history. In fact it would be an impertinence for most of us even to bear testimony to these undoubted services. Nor is it likely that any one will question the zeal and energy with which Mr. Ameer Ali worked in England for securing for Mussalmans separate electorates in Indian legislatures, though here honours were divided, and some of the proposals of Mr. Ameer Ali in this connection did not commend themselves to many of his co-religionists. These matters, however are not in question and those who intrude them in the present discussion prove either their incapacity for clearly judging political issues or their desire to cloud those raised by Mr. Ameer Ali in order to bring discredit on those with whom the right honourable gentleman chose to quarrel.

II

Now Mr. Ameer Ali demanded for the present an annual subvention of Rs. 1,800 for the London Branch from the All-India Moslem League, and while requiring "adequate guarantee that the support would be regularly and punctually forthcoming," desired it to be absolutely unconditional. Before Mr. Wazir Hasan became the Honorary Secretary of the All-India League the annual subvention was only Rs. 750; but soon after his appointment he increased it to Rs. 1,000, and was contemplating a further increase of Rs. 800, as Mr. Ameer Ali desired, when the latter sent his pre-emptory demand. His letter of the 22nd October which we have already published is, we are sorry to have to say, characteristic of the temper of its author. Needless self-laudation, unjust depreciation of the merits of other workers, assumptions as regards the absence of "factional methods of advertisement" in his own work which only served to betray him; false complaints of want of appreciation of his labours by his community; vain threats and unimpressive warnings—all these accompany this

pre-emptory demand. Mr. Wazir Hasan could well have deferred replying to this letter; but Mr. Ameer Ali wanted that before he left England in three weeks' time the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League "will be good enough to inform us of the views of his Council." And because he did so in the most unexceptionable manner, the President of the London Branch deemed it fit to resign his high office.

The London Branch has never been self-supporting. In addition to the All-India League's subvention, H. H. the Aga Khan has been liberally assisting it, and we think Mr. Ameer Ali has been in receipt of funds from other leading Indian Mussalmans also. We believe the annual subscription of the London Branch is five shillings, and although there are several hundred Mussalmans in Great Britain, the total realised from members' subscriptions does not exceed £8 or a modest sum of Rs. 10 a month. This is because most of the Mussalmans in Great Britain resent the manner in which the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali acts as the dictator of the London League and brings out, after the least difference of opinion, his threadbare resignation. With reference to this, Dr. Abdul Majid, I.L.D., Lecturer at the Colonial Institute, Dr. Ansari who left England only in 1911, and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami could unfold a tale which would be far from edifying. A recent instance of such differences of opinion was the London League's action over the Cawnpore affair. While Moslem India was seething with indignation the London League took no action whatever. But when Lord Hardinge announced a settlement of the question, the right honourable gentleman was among the first to come out with a resolution of thanks. Having no share in the grievance he must needs take the lion's share in expressing gratitude! But that was not all. He pressed on the London League a resolution of thanks to—Sir James Meston! Even the worm turns, and the Committee stoutly opposed the resolution. The right honourable gentleman was outvoted and in this extremity he turned for support to—Mr. Wazir Hasan! He asked the Committee whether it would pass the resolution if the Honorary Secretary of the parent League approved of it. We honour the Committee for their reply. They said that they were prepared to hear anything that Mr. Wazir Hasan had to say on the subject, but they must have an opportunity of criticising his suggestion if they felt disposed to do so, and would no more abide by an *ex-parte* judgment of the Indian League's Secretary than by the dictatorial pronouncement of their own President. For once the ever-ready resignation was not brought out, for it had the greatest possible chance of being accepted. When the Mussalmans resident in Great Britain assembled at the Waldorf Hotel, at the invitation of Mr. Sadiq Hasan, the universally honoured and admired son of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq, and subsequently at Caxton Hall, at the invitation of the Committee formed at the previous meeting, they were all of one mind in condemning the manner in which Mr. Ameer Ali exercised his dictatorship, though they acknowledged submissively enough that the office-bearers would have to act in a semi-dictatorial manner in a League most of the members of which were only students. With a view not to offend Mr. Ameer Ali's susceptibilities they did not pass a resolution openly complaining of his manner of dictating to the members, but merely desired that under the auspices of the London League a meeting of all Moslem Indians resident in Great Britain should be convened, and steps should be considered for increasing the number of its members. Had Mr. Ameer Ali called such a meeting, he would have learnt things that it is necessary he should learn.

من نو سہی جہاں میں ہی تیرا فسانہ کیا

کہہ ہی میں تجھ کو خاق خدا غایبانہ کیا

But fearing a general condemnation Mr. Ameer Ali ignored this resolution of the meeting, and merely acknowledged the resolution asking him to withdraw his resignation, although here too he ignored the qualifications with which that request was carefully hedged.

III

While on the subject of the London League's financial position, it may not be out of place to mention that, considering the amount of work it does, its scale of expenditure is too high. A shorthand typist, who does ten times as much work for Mr. Ameer Ali privately and for the various concerns in which he is interested as for this moribund League, is employed permanently on the League's establishment. When Mr. Ameer Ali resigned last October—although he continued to work as before on the pretext that the accounts of the League were not wound up even after a month and a half—he had to look out for other resources wherefrom to pay his stenographer. The Red Crescent work was at a standstill. But there was still the proposal of a Mosque in London, which was so dear to him that he was even prepared for its sake to let the Working Mosque be leased out to Christian lodgers, rather than be handed over to Khwaja Kamal-ud-din for divine worship, for fear it may jeopardise his own project. He therefore tried to place the stenographer's salary on the London Mosque Fund; but thanks to the Committee the attempt failed and precautions were adopted to resist similar raids in future. Those who have been intimately connected with the London League also know that a considerable portion of the League's income is consumed by a subsidy secretly paid to a journalist who had at one time worked in India and is now one of the rising stars.

of hacks that run in and out of Fleet Street and Printing House Square. This amount does not in all probability appear on the books of the League, but a similar amount received from some Indian Moslem donor does not appear on the credit side either, so that the London League's Committee have no opportunity of objecting to a subsidy paid in return for puffs such as the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Graphic* have recently published.

IV

Now Mr. Wazir Hasan's reply to Mr. Ameer Ali's peremptory demand for a guaranteed permanent subvention was no more than this:

I do recognise that an efficient League can be maintained here only at considerably increased cost, and I have discussed this matter with H. H. the Aga Khan, who, I am glad to say, would be prepared to accept my considered suggestions in this behalf.

As regards the parent League itself, you cannot be unaware of the fact that if it has starved you here, it has had to starve itself also in India. But now that it is coming more and more into line with the wishes of the community, it is tapping new financial resources, and I hope on my return to succeed in a great measure in collecting together a large fund to serve as a Reserve Fund for our political work. Naturally the London Branch must be supported out of it, but our efforts to convince the members about your requirements here would succeed in proportion to the support which the London Branch gives to the work of the parent League and its projects.

We would venture to ask at this stage what there was in this reply to a distinctly offensive communication at which Mr. Ameer Ali could flare up—after three days' earnest search for supposed insults.

Now note Mr. Ameer Ali's reply:

You also indicate that the subvention from the Central League to the London League would be in proportion to the support the latter gives to the "work and projects" of the Central League. So far the London League has cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment, it deemed to be for the benefit of our people and has refrained, with the object of maintaining an appearance of solidarity, from giving expression to its disapproval of resolutions which it considered inexpedient in the best interests of the community. From this course it will not deviate under my presidency.

The condition which you now wish to impose on the discretion and judgment of the London League I regret I cannot accept. It is my settled conviction, repeatedly declared in public, that the Mussalmans of India, whilst claiming a full recognition of their legitimate interests and due consideration of their feelings and susceptibilities, should cultivate a sense of proportion and work in harmony and a true spirit of accord with each other and the Government.

So long as I am connected with this League I will submit to no outside dictation, nor allow it to adopt any programme without the fullest consideration of its consequences to our community.

V

This introduces the second and more important demand of Mr. Ameer Ali. As Mr. Mohamed Ali had pointed out at the meeting of the London League's Committee, no periodical subvention can ever be unconditional, unless it is to be a recurring gift. But in that case, he who asks for a free gift does not usually adopt the tone that Mr. Ameer Ali thought fit to adopt in his letters of the 22nd and 27th October. Even Mr. Ameer Ali could not have ventured to appeal to the world on the question of an unconditional subvention. But there was another demand artfully held back and this preposterous demand now showed to the world the entire hand of the right honourable gentleman. In 1908 when the London Branch was founded it was modest enough to call itself a branch, and the very first words of Mr. Ameer Ali's first annual report were "The London Branch", which also appeared on the cover of the report. More recently, however, Mr. Ameer Ali dropped this modest nomenclature and stood forth as "The All-India Moslem League, London." This, we presume, was one of those imperceptible silent "reconstitutions of the London League on a basis of co-ordination" of which Mr. Ameer Ali is so fond. He is a historian of considerable repute and we ask him whether it was not precisely this process of imperceptible silent "reconstitution" of Bengal, Deccan and Oudh "on a basis of co-ordination" which led to the disintegration and downfall of the once mighty Moghal Empire. There was this difference, however, between the two processes. The satraps of the Moghal Empire, although equally impatient of "outside dictation" or discipline—as the same thing may variously be called—took good care all the same to obtain from a weak Emperor a warrant for their own independence and insubordination. Rather than be such a weak Emperor, H. H. the Aga Khan has preferred to resign his own office, so that he leaves the All-India Moslem League and its London Branch to settle the matter without making him responsible for the consequences. But he has shown clearly enough that dictatorial and even semi-dictatorial methods are now out-of-date, and he, at any rate, is genuinely glad that it is so.

VI

On the 27th October—Mr. Ameer Ali unexpectedly felt, or declared that he felt—after full three days' cogitation in the course of which he showed his readiness to give a complimentary dinner to Mr. Wazir Hasan, and subsequently applied to the Lord Chancellor even for participation in a political dinner—that he had been insulted by Mr. Wazir Hasan in the letter of the 24th on the subject of the dinner. In that case, if he did not feel inclined to deal directly with Mr. Wazir Hasan, it was open to him to report the matter to the All-India League, which would no doubt have publicly censured Mr. Wazir Hasan if he had in fact insulted Mr. Ameer Ali. This he did not do, but in a wholly unexpected manner turned on his own League and threw his resignation in its face. Naturally the surprise of his League was unbounded. In the Committee meetings when his resignation was considered, not one word escaped any member in condemnation

of Mr. Wazir Hasan. The sense of the meeting was that Mr. Wazir Hasan's explanation was both full and satisfactory. But even if Mr. Ameer Ali was not satisfied, why, asked the members, should he treat the London League as a Whipping Boy and visit on them the sins of Mr. Wazir Hasan? Mr. Wazir Hasan had already begged him to withdraw his resignation, and in the meeting even offered to withdraw the personal portion of his own letter in spite of his very full and adequate explanation. But Mr. Mohamed Ali at this stage thought it necessary to obtain both from His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Wazir Hasan the declaration that neither of the distinguished office-bearers could commit the All-India Moslem League to any new principle, particularly when it conflicted in the clearest manner with the existing rules of the Indian League. Thereupon everyone present begged Mr. Ameer Ali to refer the question of the unconditional subvention and the independent status of the London League to the All-India League for authoritative decision, and to withdraw his resignation pending the final settlement. But relying on the past success of such bluff and leaning, alas! on the now broken reed of the Moslem oligarchy, Mr. Ameer Ali spurned all such prayers. He had three well-known partisans at Lahore, Allahabad and Moradabad, and no wonder that they rushed to his aid without waiting for a moment for the publication of the full facts of the case, or as it happened, the correction of Renter's wholly misleading and incorrect cable. As for any regard for the central organisation, it is too much to expect a sense of discipline from those who preach it from the house-tops in these paradox-loving days. Of this we make no complaint. But the rest of India was silent in spite of the provocation supplied by Renter's serious error. Lord Roberts who had justified the Tripolitan massacres on the score of exigencies of war, when the whole civilized world, including all England, condemned it, was pressed into service as a friend of the Mussulmans, and presumably also their guide and philosopher.

VII

Now, if Mr. Ameer Ali was deliberately of opinion that it was inconsistent with his dignity and destructive of the usefulness of the London League to accept a conditional subvention from India and the status of a branch of the All-India League, he should not have waited on the flimsy pretext of winding up the League's accounts, but should have made his resignation immediately effective, and left it to the All-India Moslem League to accept or reject his terms. Or he could have withdrawn his resignation pending the Indian League's decision, and submitted the matter officially for its consideration and settlement in a few weeks. But the fact was that the silence of India disillusioned Mr. Ameer Ali very soon, and he only sought an opportunity of withdrawing his resignation after the departure of Mr. Wazir Hasan, but before the All-India League's Agra Session. This was so obvious that Mr. Mohamed Ali felt sure enough to cable to the *Comrade* from Marseilles to the same effect. Four days after this Messrs. Ameer Ali, Latif and Anik wrote to the London League Committee withdrawing their resignations, and three days later Renter cabled the *Times* version of the last scene in this opera-bouffe, which we publish elsewhere in full. Now here is a curious "re constitution." Mr. Ameer Ali resigned on the 29th October and Messrs. Latif and Anik, following the principles of Larkinsism, went on a "sympathetic strike." But the resignations could not take effect, for Mr. Anik was proving his abilities as an expert accountant by delaying over accounts of some hundred odd pounds for a month and a half. Everything, therefore, went on as usual as if Mr. Wazir Hasan and his so-called insults and dictation had never existed. No change whatever occurred in the rules or membership of the London League or the All-India League, but less than six weeks later, Messrs. Ameer Ali, Latif and Anik appear as usual on the scene one fine morning to announce the unusual fact that the entire universe had altered overnight. "The London All-India Moslem League has been reconstituted", clucks the *Times* as if over a new laid egg that had been hatched in the Printing House Square incubator. But on examination the egg appears to be the ancient product of 1908, re-labelled "Fresh" in 1911, and "New-laid" in 1913.

VIII

If this make-believe pleases Mr. Ameer Ali we have no reason to object. But legal fictions have the habit of occasionally over-riding the law and from being invented *adjuvandi causa* became innovations used *corrigendi causa*. To this we shall always strongly object, and it is with this object that we emphasize the facts of the case. With reference to this question, Mr. Wazir Hasan's opinion contained in his reply to Mr. Ameer Ali's last letter is well worth reproduction. He wrote:

You have, however, introduced in your letter a matter of principle which is of the most far-reaching importance, namely, the relationship of the All-India Moslem League—which I find you refer to on one occasion as the Lucknow League—and the London Moslem League. This is a subject which is happily wholly independent of our respective personalities, and I hope you will forgive me if I address you on the subject with some emphasis. I also hope you will not regard anything that I say as a reflection on yourself; nor I hope, will you consider anything that I may say about the work of the League in India as having any reference to myself, for I have no desire for self-laudation.

Now, I maintain that the policy of the Moslem League must be laid down in India and nowhere else, although naturally, and rightly, it must be laid down in consultation with the London branch whenever it is possible for it to send a representative to the League.

It is only in this manner that any work can possibly be done, and I cannot see how else a practicable programme and procedure of work can be arranged. This is very different from my dictating a policy to you and I need hardly assure you that such an idea never crossed my mind.

As regards the subvention from the All-India Moslem League to the London branch, I do not see what objection you have, or can have, to my pointing out the very obvious fact that it would be, as you say, "in proportion to the support the latter gives to the work and projects of the Central League." This is a matter of principle, and, as such, I believe, absolutely incontestable. What is more, it is a matter of fact and has to be accepted. Whether the London League has, as you say, "cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment it deemed to be for the benefit of our people," is a matter on which it would be idle for me to express an opinion. But it may be that the "considered judgment" of the London League may differ from the "considered judgment" of the All-India Moslem League, and I presume that in matters in which your League has not yet supported the All-India League its "considered judgment" did differ from that of the All-India League. Here is, therefore, an opportunity which you should welcome of a discussion between two responsible representatives of the All-India League and the London League, and I have every hope that such a discussion would result in mutual satisfaction, and that the interests of our community will thereby be promoted. However, as I have said before, everything is subject to the guiding principle that in the last resort the opinion of the All-India Moslem League must prevail, and its policy must be laid down in conformity with the wishes of the entire community, and in India, and not according to the wishes of any individual, not even of the most eminent among us, in this country.

Mr. Wazir Hasan's opinion was not the expression of his individual thoughts but stood on the firm basis of the League's Constitution. The London League forms part of "The Organisation of the All-India Moslem League", according to section 8 of its rules. "The London Branch of the All-India Moslem League" is declared in section 30 to be deemed to have been affiliated to the All-India Moslem League "within the meaning of these rules," and the All-India Moslem League may, therefore, disaffiliate it under section 31. It is rules of this character that the Honorary Secretary is called upon to enforce, and under section 36 he "shall exercise all powers and discharge all duties laid down by and incidental to the enforcing of these rules." And yet Mr. Ameer Ali demanded that Mr. Wazir Hasan should personally acknowledge publicly that the London League was not a branch but an association independent of the All-India Moslem League and of co-ordinate status! Even if the London League may tolerate such anocracy in its office bearers the All-India League cannot submit to it.

IX

Mr. Ameer Ali had been pressed to submit this matter for the decision of the All-India Moslem League; but instead of doing so, he commenced an intrigue with the Provincial Leagues, with the result that while the Madras League snubbed him in the most effective and dignified manner by declaring that a decision of this question lay outside its own province and only in the cognizance and jurisdiction of the parent League, the parent League was not approached even by the declared partisans of Mr. Ameer Ali. The rules of the League are therefore unchanged, and so long as they remain unchanged no other interpretation is possible than the obvious one which the Honorary Secretary has put upon them. One thing, however, has happened and the President of the Agra Session, who cannot be accused of any kind of partisanship, while considering the incident of Mr. Ameer Ali's resignation as closed, made the following emphatic declaration:—

There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be emphatically laid down. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicates, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be welcomed, but differences of principles cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

X

It is interesting to note the *Pioneer's* comment on the final settlement of the question. "In other words", writes our contemporary, "the policy of the London League is to be shaped by the League in India. Mr. Ameer Ali must no longer be allowed to 'paddle his own canoe'; he must take his orders—from the *Comrade* and Lucknow. . . . Having resigned rather than submit to such dictation, is he now in humble and contrite spirit going to Canossa?" Now the *Pioneer* evidently considers itself cheated of its dues because in the first place, no shoes were harled about at Agra where a "second Surat" had been predicted, and not even a "split" occurred; and in the second place because, even before the Agra session commenced, Mr. Ameer Ali thought better of the matter and withdrew his pretensions at the same time that he withdrew his resignation. Now if anything is certain, it is this that resignations no longer constitute a virtue, and few are prepared to recognise them even as a necessity. He who tenders a resignation in the belief that with its acceptance the world would come to an end is very soon likely to be taught that the world is at least as presumptuous as he, and thinks nobody to be indispensable. But whatever the general practice, we feel sure that Mr. Ameer Ali will not take his tip from the *Pioneer* and say in the spirit of defiance, "Non Canossamus." The joke has been tried too often, and it has now ceased to be even amusing.

م د ہونڈی پیرن کہ جنازہ کدھر گیا
مرنی کی اسی روز اڑانا خبر غلط

(To send us wandering in search of the funeral procession by falsely announcing one's death every day!)

Mr. Ameer Ali has to take orders neither from the *Comrade* nor from Lucknow. He has to take orders from a power—and it is undoubtedly a greater power to-day than it was ever before—from whose dictation no public man can pretend to be free. It is the power of the public voice, a voice that may at times be husky with excitement, or unsteady according to the influences to which it is susceptible, but which is nonetheless, sufficiently clear to-day, and which with the growth of education and enlightenment is bound to grow clearer and clearer every day. The London Branch, from its very nature cannot be treated in the same manner as Provincial Leagues. Its unequal composition makes its position one of peculiar delicacy. Financially London cannot support the All-India Moslem League and is itself far from self-supporting. For the most part the London League members are young students from whom the direction of the League's policy cannot obviously be expected. A claim, therefore, of independence or co-ordination can only be the personal claim of Mr. Ameer Ali, and as such, it means either a claim to dictatorship or a confession of impatience of all control. Now, as Mr. Jinnah explained at Bombay, in the course of his speech as Chairman of the meeting convened under the auspices of the Zia-ul-Islam, to welcome Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali back to India, "the fact is that the Mohamedans have passed the stage of political infancy and have grown up to the stage of manhood, and therefore, can no longer be controlled by dictatorial policy from without or within; they will not obey even the semi-dictatorial policy of a few individual leaders as they did a few years ago." But the Mussalmans are to-day as anxious as at any time previous to this to co-operate with all leaders of public opinion, and they will listen to advice from genuine well-wishers as respectfully as people who have begun to think for themselves can ever do. There is room enough in the councils of the community for men of the undoubted ability and great experience of Mr. Ameer Ali. If he is willing to co-operate with them, they will work at all times as loyal comrades.

XI

But Mr. Ameer Ali's conception of co-operation must undergo some modification before any useful work can be done. Throughout the stay of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali they were not even once informed of any meeting of the London League, and were subjected to considerable amount of rudeness on the only occasions on which they attended such meetings. On the last of these occasions Mr. Mohamed Ali was asked to leave the meeting; but as Mr. Wazir Hasan's presence was tolerated and His Highness the Aga Khan was pressed to attend, although both of them were as much non-members of the London League as he, Mr. Mohamed Ali successfully insisted on taking part in the meeting. Surely Mr. Ameer Ali could not have forgotten that what he calls the Lucknow League more than once invited him to preside at its annual sessions, and Mr. Wazir Hasan even borrowed the sum of Rs. 6,000 which was remitted to him for the expenses of the journey. If the Secretary or a Councillor of the League took the trouble of going to London without requiring the London League to pay their expenses, could they expect to be turned out even from its meetings as non-members? Co-operation involves a bilateral consideration, and if Mr. Ameer Ali desires it the All-India League will certainly not close its doors on him. But it expects similar consideration for its own office-bearers and members, and those who desire that the two Leagues must loyally co-operate with each other should take steps to make Mr. Ameer Ali realise the full significance of co-operation.



Phantom Figures.

VIII.

THE OPIUM OFFICER.

THAT the two Departments that bring most money to the revenue, and which carry on their work with freedom from mistakes and washing of official linen in public; should be officered entirely by members of the Domiciled community and Indians, is a strong refutation of the stale argument about the need for importing candidates from Great Britain to fill up vacancies in every branch of the public service. The European who (very wisely) settles down in India finds himself worse treated in the matter of employment for his sons than either Mohamedan or Hindu parents. However, by declaring his children to be "Statutory Natives" he is graciously permitted to find occupation for them as Postal or Opium officers.

One cannot help thinking that the Supreme Government of that day relied on the sentimental dislike some Europeans might feel against classifying their offspring under the designation just mentioned, for the dislike and dread of most officials towards those of their countrymen, who elect to abide permanently in India, is one of the foolish political fads possessing the mind of your average Civilian. With the abolition of the Opium Department yet another opening will be closed for young Europeans and Eurasians anxious to earn a livelihood in the land of their adoption. Threatened men, however, live long, so one may describe the *afyun-wallah* Sahib in the hopes that his departmental demise may be postponed yet awhile. When the poppy ceases to be grown and the state finally abandons a source of profit under the mistaken notion of benefiting the virtuous Chinese, a sketch of the Opium officer, as he was in the flesh, may have a melancholy interest for students of "things which have been to begin with," the pay of the opium officer is hardly a living wage; supposing him to follow the customs and maintain the same style of comfort as do other Sahibs. Luckily the necessity for spending many months out in camp helps to keep his head just above the waves of impending debt, and he usually has acquired the useful knack of making his eight annas go as far—or further—than most other folks' rupee.

There are alleviations for the somewhat minor position occupied by the Opium Officer—whether he be a Sub-Deputy or merely an Assistant in the Department. More than any other official, (save perhaps the Canal Officer), he is brought in close touch with the varieties of rural India; the habits, means of livelihood, and characteristics, of that patient, hardworking individual known as the ryot. He gains opportunities for seeing the problem of administration from both points of view, that of the rulers and that of the ruled, and if blessed with ordinary intelligence and a dislike for the devious methods common among certain types of the Indian subordinate official, could render valuable help to Magistrates and Police officers, were he sure that such assistance would be thankfully received. Frequently its being preferred is either resented, or regarded as troublesome meddling by a person not directly concerned with executive functions. Being thus thrown for the major portion of his time among dwellers on the Indian countryside, a man in the Opium imbibes a taste for some pursuit or hobby connected with the past, or present, life of the Indian agricultural population. He may take up the study of folk-lore; or collecting antiquarian details; bunts after ancient coins; or researches into the natural history of animals found within his jurisdiction. We knew one Mohammedan Opium Officer who was skilled in tracing the origin of the rude ballads, sung at village gatherings by the Hindu peasantry of the Gorakhpur Division. Another—an Eurasian—who was an antiquarian of no mean pretensions and further a naturalist credited with several original discoveries of the life and peculiarities of beast and insects to be met with in the District where he was employed. A third individual had made himself into a capital amateur photographer and also a skilled mechanic. The freedom from the excessive burden of desk work which now deprives, (*pace* Lord Crewe), members of most Indian Departments of time and taste for indulging in useful and occupation outside their official duties has resulted in transforming the majority of Opium men into from mere performers of routine labour, and the work of their appointment into entertaining companions, whose conversation comes as a welcome change from the customary gossip of a small station. Even in the matter of departmental toil they differ from other "flies on the wheel" of Government. At certain seasons of the year, they have to undergo the trial of high pressure conditions, not having more than half an hour to themselves between the hours of dawn and dusk. I refer to annual weighments and the distributing of advances for next years' sowing of the poppy; a plant possessed of many beneficial features which are conveniently ignored by, faddists of the Anti Opium Party. As a splendid and sustaining stimulant during prolonged physical exertion; as a prophylactic in tracts infected by malaria; and as a help in some kinds of fever, besides acting a first rate anodyne in cases of severe bodily pain; the discredited poppy can claim to be pronounced a "boon and a blessing" to Indians—if not to all men. This, however, is not the place for arguments against the abolition of opium growing, but a sketch of those engaged in watching over its cultivation. "Weighments" commonly go on at the hottest time of the year, when a fiery *loo* is attaining full force and an April sun blazes with tantalising glare for the best portion of the day. Surrounded by a crowd of sweltering, and not over fragrant, rustics—not a curled and scented darling among them—the Opium Officer pursues the monotonous, if important, business of checking the amounts brought to the Go-down by hundreds of cultivators and seeing that each man's quota is duly recorded, and the account between him and the Department truly adjusted. After a fortnight or more—according to the area under opium in a District of such incessant work he surely earns the slack time which succeeds weighments, and is richly entitled to a holiday in the Hills: always, supposing his finances allow a luxury of that sort. Through-

out the monsoon he might be described as resting on his official oars, not having much correspondence beyond a few routine papers and Reports to bother him. When the rains approach their end, he once more bursts forth into spasmodic vigour, and hurries from headquarters to a Tahsil bungalow in order to issue advances to intending cultivators, employing his powers of argument, and persuasion to keep the opium area up the expected standard. In one respect he is fortunate as compared with his fellows in the Police, Public Works, and other Branches of the Public Service, in that he is not called upon to please many masters. If he is a Sub-Deputy, his only "boss" is the Agent,—a Civilian, of course, of which class, but one now remains since the closing down of the Patna Agency. Consequently he is delivered from those visits of inspection, and the necessity for keeping a numbers of big-wigs of various degree informed as to his work, resembling a Free Lance rather than an official subordinate to a shoal of superiors. Still an Opium Agent has great powers for good and ill where the officers under his charge are concerned. Probably given that billet as a satisfactory way of disposing of his demands for something in his own line of work, the Agent—at all events during his first year of office—knows very little of the internal working of the Department or the peculiarities of poppy cultivation, and manufacture or the existing Regulations.

If he is a sensible man he contents himself with quietly going insight into the manner his officers are working, and in letting them find in him a sympathetic adviser and friend, not a tyrant seeking whose prospects he can mar or utterly ruin. To the credit of the Civil Service, an Agent of the latter type is rare, an exception to the general rule, so when the Department happens to suffer from an infliction of this kind, it becomes all the more noticeable. One province we know endured a trial inseparable from the chief authority being vested in a person manifestly unfitted to have gentlemen—either Europeans or Indians—under his control, and many are the stories related of his arbitrary acts; his refusal of leave (justly due), on any frivolous reasons, and—worst of all—a practice he had of listening to tales from Indian subordinates—*gomashyas*, *mohawirs*, *et hoc genus omne*—against the immediate superiors of his favoured spies. It would hardly be possible for an European in a responsible post to lower himself more in the estimation of those under than did the individual in question during his tenure of an Agency. When no more fields bloom with white poppy flowers and a policy of Pharisaical righteousness for suppressing an imaginary vice—so long as this does not affect the pockets the British tax-payer—has finally terminated a Department so valuable for Indian revenues, the last Opium Officer will be able in retirement on his humble pension to ponder over the infatuation of the Government, and mournfully recall his morning rides in the cold weather; his free chats with zamindars and their tenants; the *Sturm und Drang* of weighments, and the delight of finishing his advances with a knowledge that he too—in his way—was materially helping to postpone the evil day of new and increased taxation where India and its inhabitants are concerned.

LEMOINTUS.

Short Story.

Syed Rahman.

Bhundi was a quiet little station in Bengal. Its yearly excitement was a four days' meet at Christmas. This giddy period and the occasional change of its officials were the only things that kept the European inhabitants from falling into a state of coma. They prided themselves, without rancour, but with a quiet conscious feeling of merit, on the fact that never had an Indian been posted among them in any of the Government offices, and that their small club house showed an uninterrupted row of white faces. So it was with no little consternation and a hasty seeking of reasons that they heard their next Assistant Magistrate was a young Mohammedan just appointed. Syed Rahman was a boy, just a nice fresh boy, a very good specimen of English Public school and Varsity training. He played most games well, cricket and racquets enthusiastically, rode to hounds, danced well, bridged better, sang college choruses in a boyish baritone; and I don't believe had ever paused to consider whether there was any difference between himself and his many English chums. In fact there was none because none had ever been made.

His chums had deeply bemoaned the fact that Bengal was to be the scene of his official career. They solemnly advised him to work the powers that be and get out of it. He heard various reports of hideous unhealthy districts with but one or two wretched officials living in solitary state. So when he heard that Bhundi was healthy, had a Club, boasted a race-course and a four days' meet, he mentally shook hands with fate and took there two ponies and a complete social equipment.

He hastened to call and had no luck, finding everyone out. But in court the next day he came across the kind old Judge. Campbell was of a fast dying type of Civilian, a Sahib and as good a judge of men as of horses. He summed up the well-mannered lad and found him very similar in ideas and conversation to his own son in a British regiment. Thereupon he pitied him greatly and, with large-hearted hospitality, invited him to share his bachelor abode. Rahman accepted gladly and gratefully. "Are you sure I shan't be putting you out, Sir, I should like it. Tents are very jolly, but I really believe one can have too much of them." He arrived next day and Campbell surveyed his traps with approval. Neat, useful trunks, backed by gun cases, a cue case, bats, polo sticks, golf clubs. It pleased the old man to see that he looked after his ponies before even enquiring which room he was to occupy, and that at dinner he gently, respectfully, but firmly, lectured his host on the condition of his stables; just as his son had done. He spent his first three evenings in putting them right with his own hands. By this time Campbell realised that he had done himself a good turn; Rahman was young, enthusiastic and amusing, and added to these qualities a truly oriental tact which made him a delightful companion. When the strenuous settling-in was finally accomplished, he began to take an interest in social life. Enquired particulars as to the Club, etc., and wondered briefly whether there were any men of his own age in the place. It was at this juncture that Campbell took upon himself a father's duty. He began by taking Rahman to the Club hoping that the boy's youthful charm would soften the ladies and his sporting instincts interest the men. In some measure he was successful with the latter, but the former were stonily aloof. Rahman jumped to this at once and enquired the reason. Over the after-dinner cigar Campbell very very kindly told the boy of race prejudice, Anglo-Indian susceptibilities, and numerous other delicate matters. Told to this lad they seemed, even in the old man's ear, ridiculous, though in many a time the bumpiness of some "England returned" student had made the arguments seem sound, the prejudices right. The boy's proud eyes never wavered, they held Campbell's right through, surprised, hurt, then a little savage, till the old man, leaning forward, held out his hand with a final word. "To me" he said, "you are as my own son, in no way different." "You are very good, Sir," said the boy. "I realise now how good," and the brown eyes softened gently. "Are there no men of my own race sufficiently advanced to receive me and understand my ways," he added. "Of course, lad, many, fine fellows too some of them; but—not exactly here; still there are one or two delightful men, orthodox, who I'm sure would gladly see you in their houses." Here the matter dropped. Rahman did not give up the Club; that, he felt, was unsporting. But he avoided the society of the ladies entirely. He was rewarded, for the men liked him better and better, and very soon there was not one who remembered at any time when talking to Rahman that he was addressing an alien. The ladies, too, would gladly now have been friendly, but the lad's pride forbade any intercourse there. There was no sporting ground on which they were equal, and other terms he rejected. He lived on with Campbell perfectly happy, content to have spent his life thus. This, of course, could not be. Repeated invitations from his dead father's people made him journey off up to Lahore the first month's leave he got. When he returned, Campbell felt instinctively that all was not well. He seemed to have grown older and the Judge wondered what had done it. Not disillusionment, he knew, for Rahman told his friend the first evening of his return how agreeably surprised he had been. His people were orthodox, but advanced. The men were sportsmen and sahibs. They kept a boobyery pack of stamping hounds, they preserved their jungles, they made him look a baby at polo. They were jolly fellows too, full of anecdote and puns. The ladies also he found charming, though a good deal more orthodox than the men. He repeated this slowly twice, and the Judge wondered if here lay the rub. Every one had been most kind to him and he was very glad he had studied Urdu and Persian as extra languages. His father had wished it. But trouble lay at the back of his eyes and he rode too hard at all hours. It worried Campbell. He more than liked the boy—their year together had consolidated their friendship. One morning upon the pile of letters on the tray was one for Rahman addressed in Urdu character of a distinctly feminine type and still smelling of *atar*. The boy took it up first, looked surprised, opened and began to read it. To Campbell watching him closely his eyes were always an index. The surprise faded into delighted consternation, which gave place to perfect tenderness; but at the close of the letter the trouble came back doubtless and perplexity seemed to take a share. Without any remark Rahman went off to office; but during lunch hour he tried raw country birds in the hot sun, and he was riding instead of playing racquets in the evening. When Scutorth, one of the boy's special friends, came into the Club for bridge, he answered the Judge's enquiry with, "I left Chips still timing his ponies to do furlongs in impossibly quick times. I retired defeated and weary." Campbell brought the rubber to an abrupt close by declaring three in "no trumps," instead of doubling his opponents, and hurried off home.

In a long chair in the verandah sat Rahman, moody and stormy. He did not see Campbell till the latter was standing beside him. Then he jumped to his feet, and with his usual politeness offered the older man his chair, which was accepted.

They both puffed in silence for a bit, then as it grew dark Rahman suddenly burst forth, "I think the Mahamedan custom of *purdah* is ridiculous. It leads to all sorts of deception and intrigue. Besides it's barbaric." "Do you think so?" said Campbell, flicking the ash off his cigar with his little finger, "I personally find as much deceit among the women in Europe. Take a suburban or a country town in England. Until education fits them to take their place and hold it I think the *purdah* is as good a sphere as any. The mere breaking through *purdah* shows no real advancement and does not, so far as I can see, broaden their outlook. We have plenty of chances of judging specially in Bengal. It is when education and the right sort of upbringing is conjoined with the coming out, that we see a very fine example of womanhood." "But surely if they do not start by breaking down this ridiculous system there can be no advance." "What makes you think that? A woman brought up in *purdah* is not fitted to take her right place in the world, and why force her into a false position, and thus create a whole generation of beings such as I alluded to?" "But—ent" broke in the younger man. "Let me finish," said Campbell, "I consider the Mahamedan community in a very strong position. They can see the error of both the *purdah* system and the freedom of women with ill-regulated minds. This being the case the younger generation of daughters must surely score. They can from their youths be trained properly, given the wide education of men and some profession to occupy their minds when household duties are done. An intelligent woman, I speak of our class, has finished all her domestic duties in a couple of hours. Then, again, marriage is not a profession and never while it is so looked upon will it be a success. You must have heard in England of the great demand for divorce to be made easier; you must have noticed the disturbed state of very many married couples. Do you want your people to go through this, or to avoid it wisely? If your women are domestic dolls now, which assertion I rather doubt, is it better to let them remain such in character expecting more from them or to wait till they can take their rightful place as women; beings with a mind, a soul, an intellect as sound as any man's?" A long silence ensued during which Rahman paced up and down the verandah, and in the dusk it was not possible for Campbell to see what effect his words were having. Suddenly the boy stopped. "I believe," he said, "that I agree, still don't you think a girl of 15 or 16, if taken out of *purdah* and really well educated for four or five years, would not remain a doll in mind? I speak of a superior sort of girl, one whose mind, even at that age, might be filled with some sense of what a great sphere a woman's is?" He paused questioningly. "I spoke in generalities," said the Judge, "No doubt there are individual cases and of course a lot would depend on the sort of society that the girl had after her training was finished. If she is to be associated with a very ordinary circle of people, let us take this station for example, I should think it very probable that her five year's training would not be enough. Her only companions of her own sex would be women whose minds do not rise above the petty domestic details of their own and each other's affairs, social, moral and physical. Their reading is limited to sensational novels and fashion papers. The height of their ambition is to end as the wife of a Lieutenant-Governor. You understand, of course, that I speak in generalities and take my examples from the social life in India as I have found it. Then there is another point of view. Might not her example be followed by many who did not even have this special five years' training and might not the community be led to emerge half fledged? Is it right that one individual should for an uncertain experiment chance injuring many others? Say, this woman had a daughter, and from earliest youth brought her up to freedom. In this she would be justified, for the example set would be an excellent one."

The Judge's quiet convincing voice fell to silence. He rose to his feet, laid his hands on the shoulders of the boy, who stood silently before him, and then spoke again. "Marry her my son in the way her mother would wish; train her yourself and then together bring up your daughters as fearlessly, broadly and carefully as your sons." Rahman's puzzled eyes rested on Campbell and then he laughed. "I knew you'd guess, Sir, I'll think over every word you've said." The outcome of this conversation was a hurried visit to Lahore which obliterated all chance of another epistolary indiscretion. The old man guessed that, though he was only told that the boy's uncle, delighted, was arranging a marriage for him with the daughter of a neighbour whom of course Rahman had only seen in photos, but of whom he had heard much. Rahman's boyish laugh rang delightedly once more through the rooms and Campbell hid the tears in his eyes behind a law report. He knew he soon would loose another son. But that was nature, and the way of the loosing was Well.

10th January.



The Comrade.

13

All-India Moslem League.

Presidential Address.

Sir Ibrahim Raimtulla, Kt., in the course of his Presidential Address at the Agra Session of the Moslem League said:—

GENTLEMEN,—I wish to tender my grateful thanks to you for the high honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations at this Annual Session of the Moslem League. I clearly recognise that it is the highest honour in the gift of the Community and my appreciation is all the greater because it was spontaneously conferred.

At a time like the present, when differences of opinion are strongly asserting themselves, and there is a general feeling that the Mussalmans of India have politically reached the "parting of the ways," you will, I am sure, recognise how difficult is the position of your President. Gentlemen, I accepted the difficult task which you have invited me to undertake as a call of duty, and I have done so in the firm conviction that you will all extend to me your earnest help and assistance in the discharge of my duties and will willingly share the responsibility which as Mussalmans attaches to each one of us. The large and representative gathering of Mussalmans from all parts of India who have assembled here to-day, at great personal inconvenience, proves to my mind beyond the shadow of a doubt the strong vitality for organized political and public life possessed by our Community. I am confident that I may safely rely upon your sincere co-operation in making an earnest effort to bridge over the difficulties which confront us in a spirit of considered compromise, so that instead of parting we shall all become solidly united again, and in this way adopt the only line of action which will ensure the steady progress of the cause we have all at heart. In all organizations, such as ours, differences of opinion must prevail. It is the application of different minds to common problems and the full and free discussion of the various aspects of given questions which lead to the formation of matured decisions and advance public interest. Holding these views I am always anxious to welcome reasoned discussion of all questions affecting our progress and well-being—with this reservation, that after a decision has been reached, we should loyally accept it and zealously work on the lines so laid down. This policy does not necessarily mean that a decision once taken should be irrevocable. No policy in this democratic age can be laid down which should be regarded in the light of the laws of the Medes and Persians—unalterable and fixed for all time. The decision so taken should be accepted as a basis to work upon, until such time as the general body of opinion may change in view of altered circumstances, greater experience, detection of flaws and drawbacks not foreseen, and similar causes. These decisions should then be reconsidered, and modified or altered as the then prevailing conditions may require. What appears to me of the utmost importance is that all discussions should be conducted on non-party and non-personal grounds, and people finding themselves in a minority should loyally accept the clearly ascertained decisions of the majority and sincerely co-operate in a spirit of military discipline in advancing the public cause on lines so laid down. Unless we are all prepared to work in furthering the cause of our community on these lines, I am afraid our progress will be retarded and very serious difficulties will continue to confront us. May I appeal to you Gentlemen, and through you to the whole of the Moslem community in India, to work for our common interests in a spirit of broad-minded toleration and sincere co-operation? If we do so free from all personal considerations, bearing in mind nothing but what is best for the common good, our progress will not only be sure and certain, but will be at a rate gratifying even to the impatient spirits amongst us.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE.

You are all aware that for several months the Cawnpore Mosque question greatly exercised the minds of the Moslem community in India, and it must have been with feeling of relief that you noticed that it was happily solved by the far-sighted statesmanship of H. E. Lord Hardinge, our cateemel and popular Viceroy. May I, at this juncture remind you of the noble sentiments to which His Excellency gave expression when, at Delhi on the occasion of his official entry into the new capital of India, he presided at the first meeting of the newly constituted Legislative Council, meeting for the first time in Delhi? In the memorable speech which he delivered on the occasion, His Excellency said:—

"Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course."

Who will venture to deny that Lord Hardinge has faithfully fulfilled the statesmanlike pledges he gave to the people of India on that occasion? The parental interest he has shewn towards our countrymen has rightly won for him the hearts of the people. This incident is valuable not merely as an episode in the history of this country; the lessons which such a policy illustrates is of unestimable

value, both to Great Britain and to India. Lord Hardinge has shewn what cures sincere and fatherly sympathy, not in mere words of which we have had plenty in the past, but in actual practice, can easily accomplish. It has always been a marvel to me why the British officials in India do not make a studied attempt, by means of sympathy and consideration in practice, to win over the hearts of the people of this country. May I venture to tell them how ridiculously easy it is to succeed in this direction? One of the prominent characteristics of the Indian people is their highly developed sense of gratitude. In how many places, in times of stress and strain, have not the Indian people come to the rescue of Englishmen in the past, and in how many cases have they not gone to the length of sacrificing their own lives to protect the lives of Englishmen? If an attempt is seriously made by official India, as a religious duty, to try and see Indian problems from the Indian point of view, and if the official always keeps before his mind's eye that he is the servant of the people of India, he will capture the Indian imagination as nothing else will do. We shall not then hear the lamentations which are being constantly dinned into our ears, of the growing difficulties of the governance of this country. It is his policy, which Lord Hardinge has laid before him and which he is trying to carry out in practice, that has so endeared him to the Indian people. Will the lesson be taken to heart by the official world in India? If it is, they will not only smooth their own path but the path of those amongst the Indian public men who have been striving in the face of grave obstacles and impediments to make officials realize how potent the effects of sympathy and consideration are.

PLEA OF WEAKNESS.

But there is a class of cronkers who have said before and will say again, that it is all very well to talk about winning the hearts of the people; but what about British prestige? If Government are to surrender to every agitation started against official measures, the work of administration will become impossible and the British people under these circumstances may as well clear out of the country. It is this class of irresponsible people, though they may belong to the British race, which is largely responsible for any existing estrangement. It is people who imagine that the "mailed fist" is the best policy, who are really responsible for the increasing difficulties which confront the official world. Let us calmly and judiciously examine what this cry logically means. It can only mean that once an official has taken a decision, in most cases without consulting the views of responsible people amongst those who may be affected by such decision, and has got it ratified by Government on *ex parte* statements, it shall be irrevocable. If the decision proves distasteful to the people concerned, they have constitutionally two courses open to them—(1) to petition Government, bringing to their notice how hurtful such decisions are and to request a reconsideration of the question; (2) to continue the agitation by holding meetings, by getting interpellations put in the Legislative Councils, and by agitating in the press.

If the people affected confine themselves to the first remedy, the decision in most cases is adhered to on the ground that there was no real feeling against it amongst the people concerned.

If the agitation is carried on on the lines indicated in the second alternative, it is contended that the agitation was manufactured by a few discontented men, that they were unnecessarily exciting the people who are always supposed to be quite content to accept decisions emanating from Government sources. When this plea, however, is found untenable and the officials are obliged to recognise that the agitation is well-founded and calls for remedial measures, it is even then strongly urged that no change or alteration should be made, in view of the fact that such action would be regarded as weakness and that the prestige of the officials would receive a death blow. A strong effort is then made to adhere to the decision previously announced, the logical consequence of such a policy being that the decision once taken must be rigidly adhered to. May I enquire under these circumstances how should people act who desire reconsideration and amendment of the orders and decisions announced by the Authorities?

Fortunately there are high officials here do not follow this plea, but deal with difficult and delicate problems in a wise and statesmanlike manner and thus render most valuable service both to Great Britain and India. I am sure you will all agree with me in thinking that Lord Hardinge is the foremost amongst such officials at present in India, and his action far from being open to criticism in deserving of the highest commendation.

I wonder whether those critics who periodically trot out the bugbear or weakness realize what that means. To my mind it can mean only one thing, namely, that the position of the British Government in India is founded on such flimsy bases that an act of tardy justice done to the people of India by the higher authorities as the result of strenuous representation against an executive order or decision, so seriously shakes the stability of the structure that a few such shocks would make the building totter and fall. Can the truth be further removed from this obvious inference? The foundation of British rule in India is laid on the bedrock of strength and righteousness, on its

inherent sense of justice, and on fair-play. An act of justice call it mercy if you like, under given circumstances, far from proving harmful to the foundations of British rule in India to my mind has the effect of adding further buttresses to it if that was necessary, and draws from the depths of the people's hearts that feeling of gratitude and loyalty which is an asset of incalculable value to Imperial England. Has not this view been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt? The resolutions passed by Moslem representative bodies and associations all over India on the Viceroy's announcement at Cawnpore has clearly shown how far-reaching in its effects His Excellency's policy has actually proved. No one demands that Government should forthwith yield to every agitation. All that we ask for is that our representations should be examined in a judicial spirit, and that when there is a good case for the amendment, alteration or withdrawal of specific orders of the authorities, the necessary action should not be refused out of deference to that bugbear, loss of prestige, any one venture to contend that our demand is in any way unreasonable.

"PRESTIGE."

I will not take up much of your time in dealing with the other bogey, namely, prestige. How much good feeling has been sacrificed in the past by acting upon the imaginary advantages of this word. Even Mr. Montague was obliged to deal with this Logey in the following pregnant words in the House of Commons:—

"Time was no doubt when it was a most important function of this House to see—that the theory of Government by prestige was not carried to excessive lengths in India. In the extreme of Government by prestige those who administer the country are I take it answerable only to their official superiors and no claim for redress by one of the ruled against one of the rulers can be admitted as a right. If for instance a member of the ruling race inflicts an injury upon a member of the governed race, no question will arise of punishing the former to redress the wrong of the latter. The only consideration will be whether prestige will be more impaired by punishing the offender and so admit imperfection in the governing caste or by not punishing him, and so condoning the failure of that protection of the governed which is essential to efficient Government. This illustrates as I understand the matter—the prestige theory pressed to its logical conclusion. I do not say that it was so pressed in India, it has always been tempered by British character, British opinion and the British Parliament. Whatever reliance there was in our Government of India is now giving place to reliance upon even handed justice and strength, orderly and equitable administration but great deal of nonsense is talked still, so it seems to me, about prestige. Call it if you will a useful asset in our relations between the British Government and the educated Indian public. Do not misunderstand me and this I say especially to those who may do me the honour of criticising outside these walls what I am now saying. I mean by prestige—the theory of Government that I have just described—the theory that produces irresponsibility and arrogance. I do not of course mean that reputation for firm and dignified administration which no Government can afford to disregard."

This speech was delivered in the House of Commons in 1911; while two years later, when H. E. the Viceroy has by an act of statesmanship calmed the lacerated feelings of the Moslem community in finding a reasonable solution of the Cawnpore Mosque difficulty, he is seriously charged by some of his own countrymen with having given a serious blow to the "blessed prestige." No further comment on such criticism of the Viceroy is called for beyond pointing out that this class of critics are so keenly solicitous of the "blessed prestige" that they feel it would be shaken by the public dancing of Miss Maud Allan in India!

FIRING UPON THE PEOPLE.

Following the wise suggestion made by H. E. the Viceroy when he visited Cawnpore and brought about a settlement of the question. I do not wish to say anything more in regard to this matter. There is, however, one aspect of the question which calls for a few remarks. I would not have mentioned the subject if the incident had been confined to the Cawnpore Mosque affair only, but as it has a grave bearing on the future, I cannot restrain from speaking about it. I wish to invite your attention to the fact that under the existing law the power of firing upon the people under certain circumstances has been deliberately given to Government Officials, and there have been several instances during the past few years when this power has been exercised, resulting in serious loss of life. That the power of controlling an excited mob by firing upon them under given circumstances should remain with the officials in the interests of peace and order must be readily admitted. At the same time adequate precautions are essentially necessary when the question is one of taking life. No ordinary circumstances could possibly justify the use of fire-arms against the people. We have to remember that whatever crowd in India, it is unarmed and its power of injuring the police and other people is very limited indeed. It will readily be conceded

that this power should only be exercised on occasions when the position is so grave as to leave no other alternative for controlling and dispersing the crowd. There is bound to be considerable difference of opinion on this point and I therefore think that it is necessary both in the interests of the official granting the order to fire and the general public that some provision should be made by which the exact facts of the case may be authoritatively investigated. I would therefore advocate that the Government of India should lay down as a standing order that an independent Commission of enquiry, on which the Indian element shall be amply represented, shall be appointed to institute an inquiry within a reasonable time after firing had taken place. This Commission should be authorised to take evidence and to report upon the circumstances under which the order to fire was given. The very fact that such a Commission would be appointed on each and every occasion when firing has to be resorted to will have a wholesome restraining effect upon the official charged by law with the responsibility of taking life, and it will create a feeling of confidence among the general public that careful and independent enquiry will be made after the exercise of such power. It is, therefore, in the interests of both the officials and the general public that such a procedure should be laid down. Such an inquiry would save the official from serious adverse criticism to which in the nature of things he is open when life is actually taken. In Great Britain, in consequence of the greater development of democratic principle, firing is under serious control. During the recent Dublin riots, several members of the police were seriously injured to the extent of being obliged to be taken to hospital. Be it remembered that the British people are not subject to the severe restrictions imposed under the Indian Arms Act, and many men amongst a British crowd may be actually armed. Even then firing is only resorted to after all other alternatives have been absolutely exhausted.

The following extracts from Reuter's telegrams will clearly shew what happens in Great Britain under circumstances decidedly more grave:—

London, 31st August.

Two hundred Civilians and thirty police were injured in last night's rioting. One has succumbed in Hospital.

London, 1st September.

The riots continued in Dublin yesterday and two hundred cases in hospital for injuries received. It is stated that during the police charge following upon the arrest of Larkin a number of old men and women and children who were returning from church were struck with police batons. The Mayor announces his intention of moving that an inquiry be held into the conduct of the Police.

London, 22nd September.

Serious rioting took place in Dublin last evening in connection with processions of strikers. The crowd attacked and wrecked tramways and pitched battles with the police ensued in which batons, stones and bottles were freely used. A number of rioters were taken to hospital and several police were injured.

And still there was no firing upon the crowd. In India the circumstances are entirely different. An excited mob has no weapons of an offensive character beyond brick-bats and sticks. The people of India are as a rule highly amenable to the requirements of peace and order. In such a country the taking of life by firing upon the crowd is a more serious matter than in England. It is, therefore, doubly necessary to provide for an independent inquiry in all cases which lead to the taking of life. I can appeal with confidence to the British people and the British Government to support and to give effect to the suggestion which I have made in the interests of everyone concerned, and I do so with confidence, especially because the whole trend of British policy is humanitarian. Government have never hesitated to take measures even when they may be regarded as unpopular if the object is to save life. The policy of Government in organizing large camps for the relief of famine-stricken people during time of famine and thereby saving thousands of lives which would otherwise be lost, is beyond all praise. The great impetus to sanitary measures throughout the length and breadth of this country, in spite of opposition in some quarters, has been studiously adopted with the object of preserving health and life. Nay, Gentlemen, the fundamental principles on which British rule in India is based, namely, absolute non-interference with religious rites, privileges and liberties of the people of India has been deliberately departed from with a view to saving life. I refer to the law which has been enacted prohibiting the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Sutees who under a high sense of religious sentiment voluntarily offer to sacrifice their lives by a hideous death are prohibited by law from doing so. No amount of religious sanctity attaching to this practice has deterred the British Government from enforcing by legislation that lives should not be sacrificed in this way. Is it too much to ask the same Government to provide adequate and suitable safeguards against the taking of the lives of people who may have congregated together under some exciting cause, however trivial, and had disobeyed the command to disperse, in some cases

because they could not do so, however willing they may have been to comply? Is it too much to ask that every official, however well placed he may be, and whatever his status in the service of Government, should always have before his eyes the knowledge that far from receiving the unqualified support of the higher authorities in such a matter, he will have to satisfy an independent tribunal of the circumstances which justified him in taking the lives of unarmed people? As I have already pointed out, it is necessary in the interest of the good name of the British Government, in the interest of officials upon whom the grave responsibility of giving the order to fire is imposed by law, and in the interests of the general public, that the safeguard I have indicated should be provided.

INDIA'S CIVIL SERVANTS.

The administrative standard which Lord Hardinge has held before us in dealing with the Cawnpore question lends point to the innovation which Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, recently introduced. I refer to the idea of inviting all the young men who have chosen an Indian career to meet him at Whitehall and to address them weighty words of counsel and advice. I am inclined to think however that he might have well improved the occasion by impressing upon them on the eve of their entering into the Civil Service of India, the fundamental truth that they come out to this continent not to *rule* India but to *serve* India. The three letters of the alphabet I.C.S., which will remain attached to their names during the whole of their lives, and of which every civilian is justly proud, stand for *Indian Civil Servants* and do not represent any form of *rule*. If the members of the Civil Service would but constantly bear in mind the uncontrovertible fact that they are the *Servants of India*, and that they will, during the whole of the remainder of their lives, whether they are in active employ or in retirement, eat the salt of the people of India, and that as Mr. Montagu recently stated in Parliament they must in co-operation with the Indian people for the promotion of the best interest of this country, not merely on the lines which may appear to them best, but on the lines which may be regarded as best jointly by both, the work of administering the country will be greatly simplified, the progress of India will be both rapid and smooth and the causes of estrangement and dissatisfaction will be up-rooted.

During the many years which I have spent in the service of the public in the Bombay Presidency I have come into close and intimate contact with a large number of Civilians and I have made many intimate friends amongst them. As a class I have the highest admiration for their honesty of purpose, their stubborn integrity, their high ability and their sturdy devotion to duty. Would it be too much to ask them to cultivate a better regard for those Indian public men who devote a large portion of their time in the service of the country, who are actuated not by any sordid motives of personal gain but by singleness of purpose in serving their countrymen, to abstain from attributing motives where none exist, to treat their opinions with respect and consideration, and to feel that perhaps there may be another aspect of questions under discussion which may require different treatment?

I have said that the civilians are servants of India, as their very designation indicates, just as much as we all in the service of our motherland. The difference is that while the former are paid for their services, the latter belong to the class not of the "unemployed" but of the "unpaid." It has always been a wonder to me that men of high intellectual attainments and in active occupation in their own trades, industries, commerce and professions, men highly successful in their own private concerns, come forward in numbers, to serve the country at great personal sacrifice and in the face of severe dis-encouragement. Can better proof be required of the sturdy patriotism of such men, who readily make serious sacrifices of valuable time and money in an endeavour to render all the help that lies in their power to secure good Government in India? This class of men are in my opinion the most valuable Imperial asset in India and deserve the encouragement possible in their self-imposed task. Any feeling of suspicion and distrust towards that must result in enhancing the difficulties of the situation.

BALKAN WAR.

It must be with a feeling of relief that you will have seen the end of the Balkan War. Turkey has not been turned out bag and baggage from Europe. Though its European dominions have been curtailed it has still a strong footing on the Continent of Europe. Admittedly, round which a strong Moslem sentiment has concentrated, again flies the Turkish flag. Turkish reverses have this reassuring feature, that they brought to the surface the fact that so many Mussalmans may be divided amongst themselves the sentiment of Moslem brotherhood is a living force throughout the entire Moslem world. Mussalmans in different parts of the world have all rallied their readiness to come forward in a spirit of unanimity and devotion to stand by their co-religionists in their hour of trial and trouble. It is the living miracle of Islam that the sentiment of Islamic brotherhood are so deeply down in the hearts of the followers of our revered Prophet and that the lapse of centuries has in no way weakened the efficacy of the noble mission.

FOREIGN POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE INDIAN MUSSALMANS.

During the time of stress and strain charges were made against the Mussalmans of India that they wanted to dictate the foreign policy of Great Britain, that they desired that England should go to war to protect the Moslem States in Europe and Asia. Can anything be further removed from the truth? The Indian Mussalmans fully recognise the danger to England, with all its interests spread over the face of the whole world, to hint that she should thoughtlessly involve herself in a bloody war. It is doing the Moslems of India a grave injustice to suggest that they had the remotest notion of dictating what foreign policy England should pursue. And as a matter of fact they have never dreamt of doing so. All that they have urged—and I think they had ample justification in doing so—was that England as the sovereign power of millions of Mussalman subjects should, out of regard for their sentiments, endeavour to see that Turkey obtained in the Councils of Europe, fair and just treatment. I do not think any one could venture to assert that the request, nay even the demand, that England should do its best in the Councils of Europe to ensure fair, just and equitable treatment to Turkey can possibly be regarded as being in any way unreasonable. It is because the utterances of responsible British Ministers appeared to them to indicate that England's sympathies were against the Turks that Indian Moslem feelings were naturally hurt and that they felt aggrieved. Can any fault be found with them under the circumstances?

At the time of the declaration of war between Turkey and the Balkan Allies, Sir Edward Grey said in the House of Commons that "the great Powers are taking what steps they can to prevent a breach of the peace, definite proposals were made yesterday for collective steps to be taken by or on behalf of the great Powers to overcome these difficulties by representations to the Balkan States and at Constantinople and we agreed to them." The steps indicated by Sir Edward Grey were the declaration that "if nevertheless war breaks out between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire they will not admit as the result of the conflict any modifications of the territorial *status quo* in European Turkey." This was at the time of the commencement of the war. We may reasonably draw the inference from this declaration that if Turkey had been victorious it would not have been allowed to retain any portion of the conquered territory. At the time war was declared it was generally felt in the Chancelleries of Europe that the Turkish soldiers would sweep over the surrounding territory belonging to the Allies, and if these expectations had been realized the might of Europe, including the power of England, would have been asserted to deprive Turkey of any territorial expansion as the result of its victories. But the tide of victory went the other way and the Balkan Allies proved victorious immediately the conflict had begun in earnest. This completely upset the preconceptions of the Chancelleries of Europe and they felt that the declaration of the maintenance of the *status quo* in European Turkey would be prejudicial to the Balkan Allies. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, took early opportunity of then declaring that whatever may be the result of the war the Concert of Europe could not possibly deprive the victorious party from securing the fruits of their victories. Are the Mussalmans of India to be blamed if they feel that England was associated with the other European Powers in laying down and enforcing a policy that if the Turks had proved victorious in the combat, they would not have been allowed to obtain any territory belonging to any of the Balkan Allies, but that if the Balkan Allies proved victorious they would be permitted to annex important portions of the European Dominions of Turkey? Is it unreasonable that the Mussalmans of India should feel that fair and equitable treatment was not being meted out to their co-religionists beyond the seas and that England was taking a prominent part in such treatment?

MR. ASQUITH AND THE PEACE OF LONDON.

Well, as you are aware, after the Peace of London was signed and the Balkan Allies fell out amongst themselves, resulting in a re-distribution of the conquered territory, Turkey, availing itself of the opportunity which became so providentially available, recaptured the town of Adrianople and the surrounding country with which a strong Moslem sentiment was associated. Was it wise, was it statesmanlike for Mr. Asquith to declare that so far as Turkey was concerned it would be required to lie within the boundary line settled at the Peace of London? In the face of such and similar declarations from the highest ministers of the British Crown, no fault could be found with the Mussalmans of India if they concluded that England, far from trying to be just and fair towards Turkey, far from endeavouring to secure fair play to the Moslem Khalifate, was siding against it and was co-operating with other European Powers who are the declared enemies of the Turkish Empire. Under all this provocation, have the Mussalmans done anything which would attach any blame to them? Have they swerved in the slightest degree in their feeling of sincere loyalty towards the British Crown? However painful the episode has been to them, they have exercised full

self-control and restraint and their conduct far from being blame-worthy deserves highest commendation.

SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

I am appealing to you to exercise patience and restraint in criticism. In doing so I have not failed to realize how extremely difficult it is at times to exercise these virtues. The feeling of indignation and horror which has spread throughout this country in regard to the treatment meted out to our fellow-countrymen and women in South Africa has led to the use of language which under the circumstances could hardly be controlled. But in the face of the grave provocation to Indian feelings and Indian sentiments I cannot help expressing my sense of deep gratification at the masterly pronouncement which H. E. the Viceroy made in Madras. I know that the expression of his sincere feeling of sympathy with the people of this country has laid him open to severe criticism in some quarters. It is a curious anomaly that these very critics, who never forget to preach to us, Indians, the doctrine of submitting to the views of the man on the spot, who never fail to resent interpellations and criticism in the House of Commons on the plea that men on the spot must be considered to understand the position best, that strictures levelled in England against Indian Officials should be treated with contempt as unknowing and ignorant, are the very persons who have come forward to condemn the views and the suggestions of the man on the spot occupying the highest executive position in this Continent. How far-reaching the effect for good which Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras has been instrumental in bringing about, can only be known to the people in India. Lord Hardinge, whose great merit is to keep himself in close touch with the people of this land, who manages to secure first-hand information of the extent of the feeling of indignation and horror that had permeated this country, has done by this pronouncement the greatest service to the Crown of England. Well, gentlemen, in spite of this criticism the Boer Government has been obliged to announce the appointment of a commission of enquiry. You all know the constitution of this Commission and the South African Indian opinion of the men chosen to sit upon it. Our demand was that the Commission should be so constituted as to ensure not only that the men chosen in South Africa should be such as would command the confidence of the people but that the representatives of this country should find seats upon it. This has not been complied with and although the suggestion for such representation has been supported both by the official and non-official opinion in India, it has been ignored. Is it any wonder that the Indians feel under the circumstances that the enquiry will prove a white-washing one and that the sore will remain unhealed?

POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

But the question that is facing us to-day is not merely the treatment that our fellow-countrymen are receiving at the hands of the South African Government. It cannot be narrowed down to the present residents in the South African Union. That question is undoubtedly emergent and requires to be dealt with forthwith, but the wider question can no longer be postponed but must now be faced and that question is "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire." Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of His Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocal manner that we are the citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have, therefore, every right to ask the British Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the powers which legally vest in her to ensure to us such rights and such privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organize means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity. Retaliation is a bad word but it has been freely used in this connection and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for. Our esteemed citizen the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who has made the cause of the Indians in South Africa his own,

considers that retaliation should be applied in the direction of a prohibition to all the South Africans from any employment under the Government of India and the restriction against the purchase of South African coal by the railways in India. I am afraid that retaliatory measures confined to these two things would hardly be successful in attaining the object we have at heart in enforcing the recognition of our rights of British citizenship by the Colonies of Great Britain. We will have to consider and devise means which while living perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian Officials are supporting our cause and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English press is sufficiently outspoken. We have, therefore, to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before, concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against component parts of the mighty British Empire, but the fault entirely lies with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to, will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course from the Imperial standpoint will be deplorable.

WHO WON THE BOER WAR.

This leads me to ask a question which under existing conditions is of paramount importance. I should like to know who were the victors in the Boer War? Whether England came out victorious and succeeded in conquering the Boer republics or whether it was the Boers who successfully defeated Great Britain. If Great Britain was in reality the victorious party, it should not be powerless to enforce its wishes upon the Boers. But from recent pronouncements it seems obvious that the British Cabinet is in reality absolutely helpless in the matter. The plea put forward is that in self-governing Colonies, the British Government can merely use suasion and nothing else. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, it means that any legislation affecting the people in South Africa by the Union Parliament, shall be accepted irrespective of how it affects the different sections of the population. Well the Union Parliament as it is constituted at present, contains a large Boer majority. It, therefore, follows that any Legislation which the Boer majority in the Union Parliament may pass imposing unbearable disabilities upon English residents themselves must receive the assent of His Majesty, England would be obliged under such circumstances also to declare that it is powerless to interfere with the domestic legislation of a self-governing Colony. As a result of such legislation the English people in Natal may be hounded out of that Colony, and still the British Cabinet I suppose would sit with folded arms and declare to the world its utter helplessness to secure justice to their own people. If this is a fact then it clearly follows that though nominally Britain won the Boer War it was the Boers who were really victorious, and as a result of such victory annexed the British Colony of Natal to the Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Can anything be more absurd? Would Great Britain remain so indifferent if the Boer majority took it into their heads to act in the manner indicated? Gentlemen, it does not require any prescience to know that the whole of Great Britain would be excited from one end to the other and the might of Great Britain would come down on the recalcitrant Boers and the might of England would prevail. It is only when the persons affected are the people of India that this helplessness is manifesting itself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the issue I have raised by the public pronouncement of General Botha, the South African premier. In the speech which he delivered on the 24th November, he is reported to have said that "Their country was part of the British Empire, yet they were as free as if they were an independent State on a footing of equality with the sister states and they were a sister state of England. Our first duty in the interest of the Union itself is in my opinion to stand on a friendly footing with the British Empire, without in any way departing from the least of our principles." I should like to know what the British Ministers have to say in regard to this claim. If they admit it, could they still claim that they won the Boer War?

We are told that it is an economic question which is at the root of the trouble. The Indians are thrift they can live more cheaply than the white settlers and they can successfully compete with them in trade and commerce. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not presumably apply to South Africa. When the Indians demand legislative and executive measures for the protection of India's economic and industrial interests, the same school which is preaching economic considerations, in British colonies trot out the principle of the "survival of the fittest." They want to have it both ways. May I tell them such a policy can lead to no good?

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

The question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has been so well threshed out throughout the country that I would not have referred to it here, but for the fact of the recent discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject. I do not wish to enter into the history of the question, as it is well-known to you. There is, however, one aspect of the discussion in the Imperial Council which requires to be brought out prominently. When the resolution on the subject was put to the vote, it was found that every Indian member, whether elected or nominated voted in favour of it. It is a memorable incident in the political progress of India that all the different elements constituting Indian representation unanimously demanded that a beginning should forthwith be made in the direction of separating the judicial and executive functions. The resolution was, of course, negatived by the official majority. Whatever the technical fate of this resolution it raises constitutional questions of far-reaching importance.

CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

His Majesty the King Emperor in reply to the loyal address presented at Delhi by the Imperial Legislative Council, called the members of that body "the chosen representatives of the people of India." It is an undisputed fact that all the elected members are chosen by such electorate as have been laid down by Government themselves. Many of them represent all the different provinces of India on a territorial basis. Some of them represent the land-owners and some the important Moslem Community on a communal basis. Others have been nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. All Indian "chosen representatives of the people of India" have unanimously asked that a beginning should be forthwith made with this reform. Though the resolution was lost by the vote of the official majority we are entitled to ask whether that will be the last word on the subject.

I cannot conceive that such will be the actual result. If the united voice of India expressed through their chosen representatives is powerless to secure a reform which has as in this instance received the support of many high officials, the recent Council reforms can hardly be regarded as an appreciable advance on previous conditions. We have secured more seats on the Legislative Councils, we have obtained the very valuable privilege of moving resolutions and dividing the house on them, but our function still remains that of a consultative body, who are free to express their views and sentiments, but whose united voice remains inoperative. Gentlemen, I am ready to recognise that under present conditions of the administration of the country it is necessary that there should be an official majority. I do so because the legislative functions vesting in these bodies are of a far-reaching character. A Legislative Council can not only pass or reject fresh legislation, but can repeal and amend existing laws. It is, therefore, right that the power of the majority should remain in the hands of Government. But it is absolutely necessary that adequate safe-guards should be provided against the arbitrary exercise of such power.

It is not sufficiently recognised that the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India occupy the position of what we understand as the "opposition" in Parliament. I do not mean that they always oppose Government or that they work in the spirit of party. The career of the Indian members of the Legislative Councils indisputably proves that they have been actuated by a high sense of duty and patriotism, and have proved most useful to Government in their legislative and other work. What I do mean is that it is their function to represent the public view and offer suggestion and criticism in regard to measures introduced by Government. They work practically on some basis akin to an "opposition." It is now recognised as an axiomatic truth that the efficiency of Government largely depends upon a strong opposition. Any measures which would impair the efficiency of the opposition would unquestionably react on the efficiency of the administration. Such an opposition is represented by the non-official members in the Legislative Councils. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the "opposition" in Parliament and the opposition in India, and I am sorry to find that this is not adequately realized by Government officials. In England the party on the opposition to-day may well hope to sit on Government benches to-morrow. The whole attention of the party and its press is directed towards winning the suffrages of the people of Great Britain so that they may succeed in securing a majority at the next general elections and occupy the Government benches. As I have already said, the party in the opposition to-day may be the party in power to-morrow. All the power and patronage—and the extent of this is colossal in England—which may vest in the party in power to-day is enjoyed by the opposition to-morrow. The position of the "opposition" in India is quite different. The power and patronage—and it is most extensive even in India—which must necessarily attach to the Government in office remains always in the hands of the officials. The Government benches must always remain in their occupation. The "opposition" must always occupy the same seats. They can never hope to exercise under present conditions the power and the patronage vesting in Government and the telling

influence which directly results therefrom. In spite of this serious disability, men are found ready and willing to accept serious sacrifices in the public cause. They are ready to accept Government displeasure in the honest and conscientious discharge of their duties. Scrutinize the class of men who occupy seats on the Legislative Councils in India and you will observe what classes they are drawn from. You will find amongst them men engaged in important trades and industries, in agriculture on an extensive scale, in professions in which they coin money. These men whose time is of the utmost value readily come forward at the call of duty to serve their country, without any hope of winning a position which will secure to them the power and the patronage inseparable from the Government office. Nay, they have frequently to face official displeasure. I feel strongly that it is necessary in the interests of good government that the authorities should make every endeavour to rally this class to themselves. Far from regarding them as critics and agitators it is best to hold them in esteem as men who are materially contributing towards the better administration of the country and who deserve all encouragement possible in their self-imposed task.

"THE PRESS ACT."

The remarks I have made on the question of the general position of the non-official members apply equally well to the liberty of the press. It is through non-official members of the Legislative Councils and through the responsible Indian press that Government stand to obtain direct information as regards the feelings and sentiments of the people. Just as full encouragement is needed to secure the best men to serve on the Legislative Councils, adequate liberty of expression is necessary for the Indian press. I have no sympathy with those newspapers which regard license as liberty and are habitually transgressing the bounds of liberal journalism. At the same time it is necessary that no undue restrictions should either be imposed or by any action of Government officials, should be felt to stand in the way of a full and free discussion of public matters. The only independent source from which Government can keep itself in daily touch with the feelings and sentiments prevailing in the different parts of India is through the Indian press. If the actual effect of any measure of Government leads to a condition under which Government are themselves deprived of this direct knowledge, it is harmful and mischievous in its results. I have been constrained to make these remarks because I am personally aware of the fact that the Press Act, with the wide powers it confers, is operating in directly discouraging even well-established and long-standing Indian newspapers from freely expressing their views. I think that time has come when the question regarding the operation of the Press Act should be carefully and judiciously examined and the necessary measures applied in order to remove the disabilities now existing.

MOSLEM IDEALS AND POLICY.

Having touched thus briefly on current events I should like to say a few words in regard to the question of our policy and our ideals. I do so with considerable hesitation; but I am obliged to deal with it in view of the fact that during recent times much difference of opinion has manifested itself among the Mohammedans of India, and statements have appeared in the press to the effect that the League has been captured by the young hot heads of the community, that it is tottering and is on the verge of collapse, that leading men amongst us are abandoning the League either openly or quietly. It will strike any one that there must be something radically wrong with the machinery by which the Mussalmans have organised themselves to promote their communal interests, if these statements were true.

MY POLITICAL FAITH.

Before I deal with this question, I should like to place before you my own faith and belief in regard to the political future of India. I do so with a view to removing the slightest chance of my attitude being misunderstood or misconstrued. Looking to the growth of political life in India during so short a period in the life of a Nation as the last 50 years, it must strike even a casual observer that the progress made by the country is phenomenal. With the liberal educational policy adopted by the British Government, we have been enabled to come in close contact with Western thought and culture and with the history of the rise and progress of democratic institutions in the West and their present ascendancy; and it is but natural that our horizon should be widened and that we should become keenly anxious to move steadily forward on similar lines. I think we should not be true to our Mother-land if we did not strive to attain a high standard of progress on democratic lines. I am one of those dreamers who firmly believe that given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives, (as it is sure to do), we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves, and self-government will be absolutely assured to us. It will be the proudest day in the history of England when, having accepted the guardianship of a people over 300 millions in number, belonging to an alien race, divided into innumerable sects and creeds it has

guided their evolution and has successfully carried out a far-sighted policy enabling them to reach a pitch of consolidation and solidarity, making them perfectly qualified to govern themselves. The debt of gratitude India owes to the Crown of England for the peace and order prevailing throughout the length and breadth of this vast Continent, the safety of life and property, the earnest and humanitarian policy for our welfare and advancement, the studious efforts to train and educate us to the highest standard possible, is nothing to what India will owe when the work for this country is completed and the heritage is handed over to the children of the soil. I have called myself a dreamer and you are welcome to regard me as such if you like, but this I will tell you that I have profound faith in the realization of my dream and it depends upon you to exert yourselves to fulfil the destiny which is inevitably yours. No country, such as India is, can remain for ever under foreign rule, however, beneficent that rule may be, and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficence and righteousness, it cannot last for ever.

India is our Mother-land, our proud heritage, and must in the end be handed over to us by our guardians. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children. If I may apply the analogy I would say that the Hindoo and the Muslim are two brothers, sons of Mother Hind and in a state of minority, and that Providence has chosen the British to be the guardians of the minors. I need not remind you that in the hour of our need two European nations, namely, France and England, applied for this guardianship and it was granted to England. How well, how nobly, the obligations so imposed have been discharged by England is evidenced in every direction to-day. The minors are gradually and steadily growing up in health and strength under the fostering care of a people who were the first fight for democracy, and who have after centuries of travail and application raised it as a system to the present standard of efficiency. India is loyal to the backbone to England, not only for all that it has done for India, but for all which India may well hope to obtain in the future. Loyalty of an alien people based as it is in India on a firm conviction of self-interest, is bound to be deep-rooted and genuine. Any suspicion of the deep-rooted loyalty of India is unjust and groundless. Constitutional agitation against Government measures there will be and there must be. We cannot convince our guardians without constitutional agitation and it is the common failing of all guardians all the world over, that they are difficult to be convinced of the steady growth of their wards. Such growth is largely imperceptible to them, taking place as it does under their very eyes. As I have said, the minors are in reality steadily growing up and their needs and requirements are multiplying. The wards would be false to the training which the guardian in the noble discharge of his duties has himself given if they did not respectfully ask, nay clamour, for larger allowances suitable to the respective ages to which they may have reached and the best policy to be adopted towards them is to recognise the fact from time to time and make further grants in a generous spirit.

BRITISH CONNECTION INDISPENSABLE.

It will be obvious to you that it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny. It will call for the best in your nature, you will have to be patient and preserving, you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your Mother-land. You will have to rise above petty jealousies and personal considerations, you will have to unite in a bond of Indian brotherhood to make your path easy in the stubborn task that lies before you. You will have always to bear prominently in mind that an early realization of your ultimate hopes and aspirations, depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficent rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensable. You are bound to grow to adult manhood in time and come into your inheritance, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives the force of moral pressure will be irresistible and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny.

GRACIOUS MESSAGE OF THE KING.

This is fully borne out by the noble message which His Imperial Majesty delivered to you during his recent visit to India. As you are aware, it consist of three words "Educate, Unite and Hope." Can any message be more pregnant with far-reaching significance? Can better words be found in the English language to indicate to you in what direction your future lies? By the word "Educate" is meant not merely the passing of examinations. It is used in a broader sense and calls upon you to qualify yourselves for the noble destiny that awaits you. Your leaders during the past generation fully realized the significance of this word and they advised you to concentrate your attention on educating yourselves before everything else. Their advice to eschew politics at that stage was, as you will now recognise, highly wise. But for that concentration the Mussalman

community would not have made that progress in education which we see all around us to-day. Involving the Mussalman community in political strife at that stage would not have been to their interest. They had lagged far behind in the race of education. Concentration on "education" was essentially necessary. If the Moslem mind had been diverted into different channels, it would have proved highly detrimental to our cause. The community as a whole, following the wise guidance of their elders, devoted all their energies to educating themselves. The fruits which have resulted would not have been attained in any other way. I cannot conceive that the policy of abstaining from political life was meant to be permanent. It was clearly realized that when, as the result of concentrating attention on educational progress, the community had been raised to a sufficiently high standard, politics would come as a matter of course. How well that policy has succeeded, I need not tell such a representative gathering as I find assembled here to-day. Within the short period of six years since the date on which the Mussalman community organised themselves for political work, the progress made will be admitted on all hands to be highly gratifying. This is the result of concentration on education which as you will observe is the first word of the gracious message of His Imperial Majesty. May I ask you whether this experience does not teach us that it is best to concentrate our attention and our energies upon the next word of the Royal message, namely "Unite"? You are aware that however much you may qualify yourselves by education and other means, you will have to unite yourselves in a common bond of Indian brotherhood before you can hope to reach any form of self-government. Having reached the necessary stage of union, there is nothing you cannot hope to obtain. There is nothing which will keep you out of your heritage. Let every Indian take to heart the gracious message of our King, in his own person and family, and try to live up to it. Every true son of India owes this debt to his country, to act on the principles enunciated, and the future, though far distant, may well be regarded as absolutely assured to you. Well, let me appeal to you and through you to all the people of India to work for your Mother-land on the lines indicated, and thus contribute to the ultimate fulfilment of the proud destiny which inevitably awaits you.

IDEALS.

Having explained at considerable length my political faith for the future of India you will easily understand that I cannot object to the ideals which have been adopted by the two leading political organizations of this country. The Congress ideal of self-government on Colonial lines has the advantage of being clear and definite. The League ideal of self-government suitable to India appears to me vague and indefinite. You must have had good reasons for adopting it but I cannot help remarking that I would have personally preferred something which was more definite and distinct. Whatever the ideal I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to create a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or a tendency to excite the passions of the people. Nothing is more detrimental to advance the cause of India than impatience and disaffection. Far from accelerating the pace towards the ultimate attainment of the goal, it will undoubtedly have the effect of setting the clock back.

We have recently heard a great deal about a divided feeling amongst the members of our community. It appears to me wholly unwise to fall out and be divided on a point which even in the opinion of the most enthusiastic amongst us will not be reached till after several decades of strenuous and united efforts. Whether the final consummation of our highest aspirations takes several decades or several scores of years or some centuries is in the womb of time. It largely depends, as I have already pointed out, upon ourselves. Why then waste our energies in fruitless discussions and dissensions upon the form of Government which we should strive to attain at the end of that indefinite period? When a sturdy union amongst all the conflicting elements prevailing in India of to-day is a condition precedent to any sound and steady progress, would it not be wise to devise means by which we may be able to concentrate our undivided attention on the problems of the day and by united exertions ensure steady and solid progress?

Everyone must recognise that no form of self-government is possible in India unless the two principal communities, the Hindoo and the Moslem, are closely and conscientiously united. What can be a nobler aim, a loftier goal than to endeavour to secure India united! Once we become sincerely and genuinely united there is no force in the world which can keep us from our heritage; without such union the Indians will have to wait indefinitely for the realization of their fondest hopes. Instead of having differences and dissensions amongst ourselves at the present time on matters of remote realization, I would earnestly appeal to all true sons of India to concentrate all their energies, all their talents on the consummation of ensuring a united India. Then we might well leave the future to take care of itself, full of hope, and full of confidence. If the two sister-communities devote their energies and concentrate their efforts on the realization of such an ideal,

in a spirit of reasoned compromise, all our difficulties will crumble away and India will rise phoenix-like from the ashes of discord and struggle to a fresh and robust life full of promise and full of hope.

MOSLEM POLICY.

The next question which I must deal with now is what should be the policy of the League as representing the Mussalmans of India. The answer which I would give to the question is briefly this. Our policy towards the British Government should be one of unswerving loyalty and towards the Hindoos one of brotherly love and regard. I hold that the policy which should guide us should be that of the younger brother in family towards his guardian and towards his elder brother. While fully maintaining his individuality and remaining keenly alive to his own needs and requirements, he should extend to his guardian his respectful homage and to his elder brother his brotherly affection and sincere regard. My advice to you to offer unswerving loyalty and respectful homage to your guardians does not mean blind or servile submission to all his mandates. Loyalty and homage are in no way inconsistent with representation and agitation. All the constitutional means which are open and available to you should be made use of, both freely and fully, to advance India in every direction, to promote the best interests of our community and to secure better administration by moderate and sober criticism of Government measures. It is unnecessary for me further to dilate upon this aspect of the question, as I am sure you clearly realize what your constitutional rights and privileges are. Make the best use of these, and notwithstanding all the discouragement you may meet with, persevere in your efforts and thereby make your full contribution towards the better administration of this country.

When I am advising you to extend brotherly affection and sincere regard towards the elder brother, I am not forgetting that you are entitled to reciprocity at his hands. The union of the two brothers cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement, I call the Hindoo the elder brother, and I am sure you will agree with me in the view that he occupies that position in the Indian family. He is senior in numbers, in education, in wealth and in many other ways. His obligations therefore under the Indian system of family life are necessarily greater. In order that there should be a sincere and genuine *entente* each brother must be prepared to discharge his relative duties towards the other in the right spirit. Let us first examine whether the Mussalmans have endeavored to discharge their obligations in the past towards the Hindoos. If we have not done so, we ought to be prepared to make amends and rectify our conduct. You are all aware that the birth of organized Moslem political life dates from the day on which a representative deputation from all the parts of India, headed by our acknowledged leader, His Highness Sir Aga Khan, waited upon H. E. Lord Minto, pressing on the attention of what I will continue to call the guardian, the claims of the younger brother to share directly by election in the representative institutions in the country. This was the first sign that the growth of the younger brother had reached a stage when his needs and requirements were keenly felt, that the training which the guardian had provided for the children was having the same effect upon the younger child as it had had upon the elder one, that the flame of patriotism had been kindled in him also (I trust never to be extinguished thereafter), and therefore he solicited those opportunities for the service of the public which had been given earlier for the benefit of the family. It appears that our steady growth was as inappreciable to the guardian as it was to the elder brother. But we could no longer remain passive spectators of the progress taking place all around us, and we desired to share the burden and the responsibility of service to our country. We craved for a part of those opportunities which had been made available to the people of India, and which had been enjoyed by the elder brother during the period of our infancy. The guardian recognised the force of our just demands and signified his willingness to provide those opportunities which were our legitimate due. How stubbornly the elder brother resisted this recognition of our just rights is now a matter of history.

In view of the cordial relations now subsisting between the two sister communities, I do not wish to dilate upon this point but I cannot help remarking that the elder brother lost a splendid opportunity of winning the younger one, at an impressionable age, wholly towards himself, by failing to realize the far-reaching consequences of wise statesmanship at that psychological moment. There appears to me nothing wrong or unreasonable in the demand of the Moslem community, for those opportunities of serving the public directly by election which have been conceded to the people of this country. The Indian National Congress, which stands for the highest national sentiment in the country, has had to recognise the special representation of the Moslems on the "All India Congress Committee." It has also laid down as a part of its creed that, "in any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put

forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interest of minorities shall be duly safeguarded." May I enquire what difference there is in principle between duly safeguarding the interest of the minorities (and the Mussalmans form the most important of such minorities) in the political rights and privileges which should be demanded in the future and those which have already been obtained? I cannot conceive that the demand of the Mussalmans for adequate opportunities for representation on the public bodies in the country was in any way unreasonable or unjust or in any way militated against the ultimate realization of the brilliant destiny which awaits the people of this land. Wise statesmanship and sympathetic consideration of each other's needs and requirements are essentially necessary during the period of transition through which every country must pass before reaching its highest destiny. May I enquire whether the Moslem representative on the Legislative Council have been in any way wanting in public spirit or independence, and whether they have not sincerely co-operated with the representatives of the other communities in promoting the best interests of the country? May I request our friends to consider what a tower of strength the association of Moslem representatives with the representatives of other communities furnishes in promoting the political cause of India? When both the representatives elected by the Hindoo majority and by the Mussalmans on the communal basis jointly demand the political and economic progress of the country do they realize how difficult it would be for the guardian to resist such an united demand?

I should like to call your attention in this connection to an extract from the able speech which Mr. Badrudin Tyabji, who afterwards became the Honourable Mr. Justice Tyabji, delivered in Madras as the first Mohamedan President of the Indian National Congress. He said:

"Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our Great Indian Communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount, but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India are concerned, I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all."

May I inquire whether we have not worked in the League on the broad principles laid down by a distinguished co-religionist of ours from the Presidential chair of the National Congress? Examine the resolutions which the League has passed from year to year and compare them with those passed by the Congress, and you will clearly observe that on all questions affecting the common interests of the people of India we have readily and sincerely co-operated. Idealists have however to remember that the Mussalmans of India have their own "peculiar, social, moral, educational and political difficulties to surmount," and that they have therefore to maintain their organized associations and institutions. Remaining keenly alive to our own needs and requirements we have throughout the existence of the League extended a cordial hand of fellowship and co-operation to the sister communities, and I cannot give better advice than to ask you to continue this line of policy as the most foresighted and wise.

MOSLEM ATTITUDE.

Two years ago, finding that Hindoo and Moslem sentiment was becoming estranged and feeling that such a condition was detrimental to the well-being of the country, it was the Moslem community which took the initiative, and under the guidance of their recognised leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, went in the form of a special deputation from Nagpore, the seat of the Annual Session of the Moslem League, to Ahababad, the seat of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, to meet representative Hindoos and to discuss means by which more cordial relations might be ensured. It was again the act of the younger brother, making a peace-offering to the elder, declaring in an unequivocal manner how keen and how anxious he was to reach a better understanding between the two. You are all aware that after an important discussion a representative Committee consisting of the leaders of both the communities was appointed for the purpose of discussing the points of disagreement and suggesting means and measures by which, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, more cordial relations might be brought about. Two years have passed since the date this Committee was appointed, and it is to be regretted that not a single meeting has yet been held. Whatever may be the cause for this long delay in meeting for such a laudable object, it cannot be gainsaid that we have been always anxious to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother in the right spirit. It is a matter of regret that such a splendid opportunity has not yet been utilised. If there are any reasons which make it difficult to get this Committee together, I would ask you to appoint another Committee for the same purpose. I make this suggestion because I feel strongly that in the interests of India as a whole and those of each of the sister communities, it is pre-eminently desirable that representative men chosen by each should meet from time to time and

discuss points about which any disagreement or feeling may exist. Believe me, gentlemen, if a friendly discussion between the recognised leaders of both the communities takes place periodically, it will clear the atmosphere and bring them both much nearer together.

I have briefly indicated how anxious we have been to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother, and we shall always be ready to carefully consider any points on which he may feel that we have failed to do so. If there are any such points, I trust they will be authoritatively communicated to us and I need hardly say that they will receive our anxious attention. I have already said that the brotherly relations between the two cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. "We are, therefore, entitled to ask that the elder brother should indulge in a little introspection and examine for his own guidance whether he has discharged his obviously greater duties towards the Moslem. I am sure we shall all be very interested to learn the directions in which this has been done. For a thorough understanding between the two, I think it is necessary that the suggestion which I have already made, *viz.*, to appoint a representative Committee, should be acted upon, and that it should meet periodically and discuss all the points affecting the interest and relations of each with the other. It is because I feel that far-reaching result for good will accrue from such a course that I have referred to the matter once again.

THE LEAGUE AND LONDON.

I am sure you will all appreciate the reasons which have induced me to keep to the concluding part of my address, any reference to the recent happenings in London. You will recognise how delicate matter was. The Mussalmans of India have a high regard for Syed Ameer Ali who has during the period of nearly half a century rendered yeoman service to the cause of Islam. His great achievements in the field of literature, his masterly exposition of the faith of Islam, his active co-operation with our distinguished leader H. H. Sir Aga Khan in promoting our political advancement are few of the directions in which he has conferred lasting obligations upon the Mussalmans. On the other hand we have Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, two of our foremost workers in the interests of Islam. During the comparatively short period of their career, they have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, their sterling worth, and their whole-hearted devotion to the Moslem cause. The singleness of purpose with which they have identified themselves with the best interests of Islam has justly earned for them high appreciation. It would have been under the circumstances most unfortunate if the differences of opinion which manifested themselves in London should have had any permanent effect. At a time like the present we could ill-afford to lose the services of such a veteran as Syed Ameer Ali, whose presence at the head of our political organization in the centre of the vast British Empire is of great value. I am sure, Gentlemen, you will have learnt with a feeling of relief and gratification that through the kind offices of our esteemed leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, the prevailing difficulties have been overcome and that the London League is again a united whole ready to work strenuously and zealously for promoting our best interests.

There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be emphatically laid down. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicated, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be welcomed, but differences of principle cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

Gentlemen, you must have been amazed at the criticism which has been recently levelled against what are termed the educated young Mussalmans of India. Sedition and disloyalty appear to be the stock in trade of some critics. Need I tell them that there is not even the shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Mussalmans of India, whether young or old? Need I add that His Majesty's Mussulman subjects in India are as thoroughly loyal to-day as ever they were before? It is perfectly true that the vivifying influence of education is having upon them the same effect as it has had upon the sister communities. They have become politically articulate and have organized themselves for the purpose of promoting the best interests of their community. They are availing themselves of the constitutional means open to every section of the Indian people. Can a single instance be quoted in which they have gone in the slightest degree beyond the accepted limits of constitutional agitation? Not only have we not over-stepped its legitimate bounds but I will unhesitatingly declare on your behalf that nothing is farther removed from our minds than to engage in any movement or action which has in it the least tinge of disloyalty or sedition. It would be to the advantage of every one concerned if people would talk a little less of Indian disloyalty and sedition.

In conclusion, I beg to tender to you my grateful acknowledgments for your indulgence in bearing with me for so much time. I am deeply touched by your kindness and consideration and beg to tender to you once again my sincere thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me by inviting to preside at your deliberations.

The All-India Moslem League.

PROPOSED NATIONAL FUND.

The first resolution was then moved by His Highness the Aga Khan to the effect that in view of the growing political needs of the Mohamedan community, it was necessary to take steps to establish a permanent national fund. His Highness in a short speech strongly appealed for funds, the want of which considerably hampered the work of the League. Every political organisation and party in Europe and America had immense funds at its back and the absence of funds in the League was a national disgrace. If the League was to do any good work, it must be self-supporting; otherwise it could not command self-respect. The fund must come from the nation, otherwise it could not be called a national fund. His Highness said that the committee which was to be formed to collect the fund would be announced later.

The resolution was duly seconded by the Raja of Mahmudabad and passed.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The second resolution which was moved by Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan expressed the indignation of Indians at the ill-treatment of their countrymen in South Africa and tendered respectful thanks to Lord Hardinge for his pronouncement in Madras. The speaker in the course of his speech reiterated the demand for the repeal of the three-pounds-tax and the removal of other disabilities under which Indians are suffering. He said the *personnel* of the Commission appointed by the South African Government had given satisfaction to none in India as it had not the confidence of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues who were immediately affected by it. He eulogised the services rendered by Mr. Gokhale in this connection, describing him as a disinterested patriot, whom all sections in India claimed as belonging to them. The speaker said Indians in South Africa demanded nothing that was not due to them. Their demand was that they should be recognised as subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor. If the British Government had taken up the matter seriously the affair would have been settled long ago. That public opinion in England could exercise adequate influence on the affairs of colonial governments was evident from the fact that after the storm of indignation raised in India and England, the Union Government lost no time in appointing the Commission. He appealed to all sections to demand justice until justice was done. The speaker in conclusion expressed the obligation of all India to Lord Hardinge for his most generous pronouncement in Madras and thanked him for deputing Sir Benjamin Robertson to lay the Indian side of the case before the Commissioners.

Mr. Abdur Rauf of Allahabad, supported the resolution, and said that the time had come when the promises which were made by the rulers that Indians should be treated as British subjects and that no difference should be made on account of race, religion or colour should be fulfilled.

Mr. Abdul Wadud, Secretary, Moslem Association, Bareilly, said he had been commissioned by Nawab Vicar-ul-Mulk to support the resolution on his behalf. The Nawab was too old to attend the League's meetings. He also sent garlands for the President, Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali and for Mr. Zafar Ali Khan who had, however, not yet returned.

The President on behalf of the Nawab then garlanded Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, amid repeated cheers from the auditorium. The resolution regarding South Africa was then duly passed.

THE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY.

The Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi moved the third resolution which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League urges the separation of judicial from executive functions and the placing of the judiciary under the control of the highest Court in every province." Mr. Shafi said there was no necessity to say much or to put forward any fresh reason in support of the scheme of separation because Government had long acknowledged the urgency of that popular demand. It was the duty of Government to fulfil the pledge given by Sir Harvey Adamson from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council. It was a matter of deep regret that a solemn promise had not been fulfilled. The only thing that could enhance the prestige of Government was to take people into their confidence. The Congress and the All-India Moslem League had passed this resolution year after year and Government did not require any further proof that the demand for the reform was strong and unanimous.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Samiullah and supported by Mr. Mohamed Ali. The latter said that two arguments which had been put forward by officials with great emphasis against the separation were those of prestige and expenditure. He was sure the argument of prestige had long been exploded. As for expenditure, the people of India were prepared to meet any extra demand on their finances. He said he did not care for the maintenance of any prestige unless it was based on justice and righteousness and such prestige would be enhanced by the separation of executive and judicial functions.

Mr. Mohamed Ali added that the argument of prestige was the best reason for, instead of being any reason against the separation, for in effect it amounted to this that an Executive Officer demanded obedience to his will from the people in matters in which they were free to follow his advice or not by keeping them in fear of the powers he possessed as a Judicial Officer. This was a form of blackmail which it was wholly un-British to levy, and once the voters in England realized this they would press the Home Government for a long overdue reform. As for the possibility of increased expenditure, his experience of Baroda where the proposed reform was in full working order throughout the State belied such fears. But it was highly significant that although in demanding higher salaries and pensions, more rapid promotions and increased generosity in leave and furlough rules, the officials were so many Oliver Twists, they had a sudden access of thrift the moment the separation of judicial and executive functions was suggested, and every Assistant Collector felt burdened with the load of responsibilities of the Finance Member.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried.

On 31st December the usual resolution in favour of communal representation met with some opposition by Moslems who desire an understanding on the subject with the Hindu community.

A resolution was moved by the Hon. Mr. Rafi-ud-din (Bombay), which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Mussalman community it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of Mussalmans on Municipal and District Boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of these public bodies."

The speaker said the resolution was very important yet it should be passed without much discussion as for the last six years it had been unanimously passed at every sitting of the League. Lord Minto acknowledged the justice of the demand long ago.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Zahoor Ahmad (Allahabad), Mr. Mujibur Rahman (Bengal) then moved the following amendment:—"That the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that in order to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of Mohamedans it is absolutely necessary that they should be adequately and effectively represented on all local self-governing bodies and urges upon the Government to make provision for such representation, and the League is further of opinion that the proportion of elected members on local bodies should be increased."

Mr. Abul Kasim, in seconding, said he was as much anxious as his co-religionists for effective representation in councils and local bodies. He explained the difference between the original resolution and the amendment. He did not attach so much importance to separate electorates as to effective representation.

Mr. Mohamed Ali moved the second amendment, which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that the consideration of the question of communal representation in self-governing bodies should be postponed for a year."

Mr. Mohamed Ali said that in India there were two communities, the Hindus and Mohamedans, and it would be impossible for either of them to annihilate the other. If either community ever desired such a consummation it had had several centuries at its disposal to try this particularly foolish experiment. It was too late to try it again, and if it was not to be tried, why not try the methods of mutual conciliation? It would be to the ultimate interest of India for the two communities to work together. He said the Hindus had always opposed separate representation in the Congress, but this year, out of regard for Moslem feeling, they had not passed the resolution. This clearly showed that the Hindus were convinced of the necessity of a settlement by consent. He wanted the two communities to unite and it was no disgrace for Mussalmans to move forward in the matter. They must show that they were prepared to meet the Hindus even more than half-way. He urged this not because the Hindus wanted reconciliation, but because the procedure, he suggested, was in perfect keeping with the teaching of the Prophet who prayed even for those who had injured him. He would not apportion any praise or blame at present. Both communities were at fault, and both must excuse one another. He made it clear that his views on the subject of communal representation had undergone no change except that the operation of the system in actual practice confirmed him in the belief that the solution of the difficulties of nation-building in India would be the extension of the system of communal representation. Unity would come to India through this apparent separation. India would be united in a Federation of Faiths. But that was not the question before them at the time. All that he asked for was the postponement of the usual resolution on the subject in order to emphasise the points on which there was complete agreement between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and to minimise the points of difference which, he fervently hoped, would be settled by consent when both communities felt fully convinced of the good intentions of one another and became ready to approach each outstanding question in the spirit

of reasonableness, equity and compromise. It was undoubted that the two communities stood closer together than they had done at any time during the last quarter of a century, and although recent events in the United Provinces had to some extent dimmed a comparatively cheerful prospect, that was all the more reason that the consideration of that question on which there was considerable difference of opinion between the two communities should be postponed for a year in order that the prospect may not grow gloomier. He appealed in the name of expediency to those who only too often paraded it as their sole virtue and begged them not to disregard the claims of those cardinal virtues of theirs, sobriety and moderation.

Mr. Jinnah, in seconding the amendment, strongly appealed to Mussalmans not to press the question this year. The question was of the utmost importance and the proposal that it should be postponed till next year was a responsible one. He urged them to consider the question dispassionately, not from the point of view of present gain but of lasting advantage in the future. He assured his co-religionists that by demanding special representation they would get only two watertight compartments. The position was extremely difficult. They had begged the Indian National Congress to drop the question, which they did, and it should not be too much to ask Mohamedans to postpone the question for one year. In politics expediency was of the utmost value. There were many reasons why he asked his co-religionists for a postponement, but he could not give all his reasons in public. He finally begged Mussalmans not to press the question, for if they did they would get the shadow and not the substance.

THE AGA KHAN'S APPEAL.

His Highness the Aga Khan came forward and made a stirring appeal to those present to consider the question dispassionately. He said the question was not whether Mohamedans would renounce what they had got. The question was whether the time was propitious to pass a resolution this year. In his opinion it would be better to concentrate on more important problems like that of South Africa. Time should be allowed to the leaders of the two communities to arrive at a settlement. If no compromise were arrived at, they could take up the question next year. It would promote the cause of Islam if they showed their good intentions to their neighbours.

THE AMENDMENT LOST.

The Hon. Mr. Raza Ali (Moradabad) said it did not require much display of enthusiasm to convey the urgency of the demand for communal representation. In the Punjab and the United Provinces Mussalmans were nowhere as far as representation on local bodies was concerned.

Mr. Mazharul Haque, Barrister-at-law (Bankipur) said that he was alone when he made similar proposals at Lucknow last year, but now some leading Mohamedans held similar views to those he held. Their amendment might be lost but the discussion showed who was right and who was wrong. The object of Mussalmans should be to keep pace with other communities. The welfare of India depended on the union of Hindus and Mussalmans. He all along held that separate representation was harmful to the interests of Mussalmans. He entreated his co-religionists not to press the resolution this year.

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali and several other speakers followed. They unanimously contended that nothing would be lost by postponing the resolution for a year.

The Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf (Allahabad) said the original resolution must be pressed and he was supported by the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan, Mr. Alay Nabi and several other speakers.

The President said the question had been amply discussed both by supporters of the resolution, as also by supporters of the amendment. He had only one alternative left and that was to decide the adoption of the original resolution or the amendment by votes.

After a prolonged discussion it was decided, by a ruling from the chair in favour of Mr. Mohamed Ali's contention, that the voting would be in accordance with rule 32 which laid down that votes should be recorded according to the allotment of the number of members to the Council of the League by provinces.

After the votes had been recorded the result was declared as follows:—For the amendment for postponement moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali, 40 votes. Against, 89 votes.

Mr. Mujibur Rahman's amendment was withdrawn and the original resolution was declared passed.

REPEAL OF THE PRESS ACT.

On the motion of Mr. Abul Kasim, Seconded by Dr. Nazir-ud-din Hasan, the League unanimously resolved that the Press Act be repealed specially in view of the recent Judgment of the Calcutta High Court.

INDIANS AND THE ARMY.

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan (Peshawar) moved that the time had arrived when the Government should give Indians a share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to higher posts and commissions in the Army for which Europeans alone are now eligible. He said it was unnecessary to recount the feats of valour performed by native troops in various campaigns. On many a battlefield it had been seen how much the Indians could be trusted in military affairs. The resolutions being duly supported was carried.

PUNJAB CHIEF COURT.

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Gul Mohamed (Ferozepur) and was to the effect that the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that the status of the Punjab Chief Court should be raised to that of a chartered High Court. The mover said the question had long been before Government and no more time should be lost in giving effect to what the resolution urged. The Punjab had already expressed its emphatic opinion in favour of the scheme.

The resolution was carried after being duly seconded.

INDIANS AND BRITISH COLONIES.

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, I.M.S. (retired), moved the following resolutions:—"That the All-India Moslem League records its deliberate opinion that the present status of Zanzibar should not be changed and that the present rights, privileges and status of Indians in British East Africa and Uganda should remain intact." The mover said the whole world was watching what was happening in South Africa and he had no doubt that the people of India were anxious that their fellow-country men should not suffer in anyway in any part of the world. This resolution, as well as the next resolution which protested against the continuous journey clause in Privy Council Order, No. 920, which had the effect of preventing Indians from going to Canada, were unanimously carried.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS FOR THE U. P. AND THE PUNJAB.

Mr. Mohamed Ali moved the next resolution which urged the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and the Punjab. The speaker said that the population of the United Provinces was no less than forty-eight millions, which was more than that of Great Britain, where the Government was vested in the King in Parliament in which the voice of the people was predominant. The benefit of such a system was that if one man was going wrong, his action could be checked or rectified by others. In India, however, the unaided judgment of one administrator was relied upon for the good government of half a hundred million souls. With the greatest goodwill he could not attend to all the work that came to him, and in effect he had an Executive Council in the Secretaries and Under Secretaries on whom the work actually devolved. But they had all a Member of Council's powers without his responsibility and the result of the divorce of responsibility from power was as usual deplorable. The speaker referred to Sir John Hewett's standing in the way of this reform, and the hopes entertained of it on Sir James Meston's appointment. The result of the debate in the U. P. Council was not conclusive as Sir James Meston himself had stated. He now hoped that Sir James would support the universal demand for an Executive Council and he trusted that in pressing this reform in the Punjab also he was not any more "disloyal" than those stalwart "loyalists" of the Punjab who assured him that they were just as anxious as he for placing this necessary check on the autocracy of Lieutenant-Governors. Such questions as this and the separation of the judiciary and the executive, the placing of the judiciary under the highest judicial tribunal and not under the executive, and the raising of Chief Courts of which the judges were appointed practically by the Lieutenant-Governors to the status of a High Court of which His Majesty appointed the judges—such questions, said the speaker, were the truest test of so-called loyalty and disloyalty, and it seemed to him that there were more distinctions than differences.

The resolution was supported by the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq (Bengal) and was carried.

MOHAMEDAN ENDOWMENTS.

The next resolution, which prayed Government to insist on an enquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Mussalman endowments, designed mainly for public benefit, was moved by Mr. Fazle Husain and carried.

COW SACRIFICES.

The Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq moved a resolution to the effect that recognising the necessity of respecting the legitimate sentiments of the Hindu community regarding the manner of offering cow sacrifices on the occasion of the Bakar Id, the League protests against the act on taken by the local authorities of Fyzabad and other places in the said matter, which in the opinion of the League constitutes unwarranted interference with the religious rights of the Moslem community.

Both the mover and the Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf said that all differences between the communities at a time of a religious festival should be settled by the communities themselves and the authorities should not be allowed to interfere. Mr. Rauf asked the respective communities to devise such methods as to avoid all causes of trouble and respect each other's feelings. The British Government were loved because of their promise of non-interference with the religion of the people and on that account they would protest against any official interference in their religious ceremonies.

PRESERVATION OF SACRED PLACES.

On the motion of the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri (Bengal) the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That the All-India Moslem League urges upon Government the imperative necessity of taking all legislative and other steps necessary to safeguard the sanctity and existence of, and to keep intact, all public places of worship and other sacred places in India." In a very brief speech, the speaker

urged that to give effect to the resolution the Land Acquisition Act should be amended.

EXTENSION OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

The next resolution urged the extension of the permanent settlement to such parts of the country as were ripe for it, and that where Government deemed it inadvisable to do so, judicial restrictions should be imposed on over-assessment. The speaker eulogised the services of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt who had rendered admirable services to India on questions of the land revenue policy of the Government. He said, the agrarian trouble of India would be settled once for all if the permanent settlement were extended all over the country.

There were some dissentient voices against the first part of the resolution and Mr. Mohamed Ali was among the opposers.

The resolution was, however, carried by a majority.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution urging the reconstitution of the India Council. The resolution was passed on the same lines as that adopted by the Congress. Mr. Jinnah urged that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates. He also urged that the Council should be advisory and not administrative. The Secretary of State at present was playing the Great Moghal more than any Moghal ruler of India.

The Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf said that if the salary of the Secretary of State were placed on the British estimates, English people would have a firm grip on his action.

The Hon. Mr. Rafi-ud-din moved an amendment to the effect that the following words be added:—"That Mohamedan representation should be duly safeguarded in any extension or modification of the Council of the Secretary of State." Mr. Mohamed Ali seconded this.

The amendment being accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the entire resolution was carried unanimously.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE CASE.

The last resolution of this year's sitting was moved by H. H. the Aga Khan and ran as follows:—"The All-India Moslem League begs to place on record its warm appreciation of the wise and courageous statesmanship with which His Excellency the Viceroy dealt with the Cawnpore mosque case, and expresses its deep sense of gratitude for his bringing peace to Cawnpore and the Moslem community in a manner which has enhanced the faith of the people of India in British justice."

His Highness, who spoke in Persian, said the truth was with the Mussalman community and it was upheld by His Excellency the Viceroy, who set aside the order of the Lieutenant-Governor. He restored the mosque and Mussalmans got back their right. It was now their duty to thank the Viceroy and he asked Mohamedans to pass the resolution unanimously. Although on some occasions individual officers were too theoretical, justice could always be counted upon in the end.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, supporting in Urdu, related the history of the mosque affair. He said that those engaged in the Cawnpore affair had to bear great sufferings. Every kind of appeal that was made had been refused. After all justice had been done. The hundred and five prisoners who suffered immensely had all been released and His Excellency had not only restored the national honour of Moslems but also the prestige of British Justice.

Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, editor of *Al-Hila'*, said justice was not obtained from the Local Government from which the people expected justice, but from the heights of Simla. Though he knew that justice could not always be expected from individual officers in this country, he knew for certain that justice would ultimately come from the British Crown.

Mr. Mazharul Haque said no one was more grateful to the Viceroy than himself. No better settlement could have been arrived at and he gave a brief account of what happened at Cawnpore and how much relief he now felt. He thanked Mohamedans for their liberal support. In conclusion he said he knew how much Lord Hardinge was abused by the Civil Service in this country, but he had maintained the highest traditions of British rule.

The resolution was received with great acclamation and carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

On the motion of Mr. Wazir Hassan, the election of some office-bearers for the All-India Moslem League was carried through. Mr. Wazir Hassan announced that His Highness the Aga Khan had resigned the Presidentship of the All-India Moslem League. He thought it would be a calamity for Mahomedans when His Highness resigned.

The President said that, however painful the decision of the Aga Khan, it was irrevocable, and they had to accept it. He, however, appealed to the Aga Khan not to place his resignation in their hands to-day and to continue as President till the rules of the League were altered.

His Highness said he would remain President for the time suggested. He said that in no case would he sever his connection with the League as Vice-President.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

The Raja of Mahmudabad proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. With cheers for the President, the Aga Khan, and the Raja of Mahmudabad the current session of the League broke up at 7.30.

All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference.

THE following are extracts from the Presidential address delivered by Mr. Justice M. Shah Din at the twenty-seventh session of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference held at Agra on the 26th, 27th and 28th December:—

After referring to the Aligarh College, the President said:—Gentlemen, one of the most pleasing results of the spread of the Aligarh movement in India was the organised effort recently made by our community to collect funds for the establishment of a Moslem University at Aligarh. The wave of enthusiasm which passed over all classes of Musalmans throughout the length and breadth of the land and the striking success achieved by the promoters of the University idea under the brilliant leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan are significant proof of the great awakening which has taken place among our people; and this is mainly due to the gradual infiltration of liberal ideas first promulgated at Aligarh. These ideas, and the principles underlying them, must be diligently spread among Musalmans and applied to the new order of things which is coming into existence; and you may then be sure that in the domain of education, as also in other fields of activity, our community will come to occupy a position worthy of its traditions and of its numerical strength in the country. With you education is the supreme need of the hour, for remember that upon the extent to which your community will be educated on modern lines will depend your progress, relatively to the other communities, in all the more important walks of life. A disregard of this truth will assuredly endanger your position in this country.

The Moslem University question has been discussed for the past three years in many of its bearings in all parts of the country; and having regard to the fact that it is under the consideration of certain representative Committees duly empowered to deal with it, I do not feel called upon to say anything special about it on the present occasion. I may, however, be permitted to remark that, after having shown unusually keen interest in it the community seems to have relapsed into something like indifference towards it. I know that this is chiefly due to the fact that momentous events of a most serious character have happened in the Moslem world which have engrossed the attention of the Indian Mohamedans and have placed their scanty resources under a severe strain. But now that the clouds have rolled away and we are in sight of clearer skies, I earnestly beseech you to turn your attention once more to the University question which has become for us a question of sovereign importance. And in this connection may I venture upon a word of advice? It is essential to the right resolution of this question that your leading men should bring to bear upon it their best qualities of head and heart, and it is equally necessary that the rank and file of the community should follow their lead in this matter with confident loyalty. I very much doubt whether our leaders fully realise the nature and extent of the responsibilities which rest upon their shoulders; they have launched upon an experiment of enormous difficulty with probable consequences of a far-reaching character; and at times it seems as if they were driving the chariot of the Sun with hands unequal to the task. This is borne out by the discussions which have taken place over the University question both in the Moslem press and at the meetings of the Committees that are charged with its detailed consideration, and thoughtful men have often shaken their heads over the results thus far achieved. The grave defect in the general attitude of the Mohamedans towards this question is that almost every one who has subscribed, or even promised to subscribe, to the University funds claims the right to give his opinion as to the constitution of the proposed University and the future management of its affairs without stopping to consider whether he has the necessary capacity to form a right opinion about these matters. People who do not know even the rudiments of the educational problem in India have rushed into print and have expressed opinions on the Moslem University scheme which have staggered men who have received University education themselves and who therefore realise, to some extent, the complicated nature of the great issues involved in the situation. I would earnestly advise the community to leave the consideration and decision of the whole University question in the hands of educational experts—men fully qualified by education and experience to speak on this question with authority—and I would implore those experts to do their work with thoroughness, courage and discrimination. The whole question bristles with difficulties; they must be realised and faced, and fair-seeming generalisations or hasty conclusions must be avoided. My own belief, founded upon a brief experience of the actual working of a University, is that our real difficulties will begin after the Charter has been granted and the Moslem University has come into existence. College scheme, and we thankfully acknowledge that the remarkable success which has attended the efforts of the Peshawar Musalmans in this matter is due mainly to his generous sympathy and support. This College bids fair to become a great moral force in the North-

West Frontier Province, and among the Mohamedans of that Province, the name of Sir George Roos-Koppel will go down to posterity as one of their greatest benefactors.

The educational problem with which we, Indian Mohamedans, are confronted has two sides—and these I may perhaps not inappropriately term the technical side and the liberal side. The technical side of our educational problem has reference mainly to our relative position, as compared with the other communities in respect of the number of Mohamedan scholars in the various stages of instruction in Schools and Colleges of all kinds, the proportion of Mohamedan who have taken University degrees, their number in the learned professions, and their position in the public service of the country. In this connection, we have to study the causes of our comparative backwardness in primary, secondary and higher education, and have to devise means for removing the existing disparity in this respect between the other leading communities and our own. The liberal side of our educational problem is concerned with quite different kinds of phenomena which exhibit themselves, in close affinity with the higher and more refined aspects of individual and national life, in an invigorating atmosphere of culture and enlightenment in which alone can flourish the most fruitful virtues of civilized man. I shall explain my meaning by a simple illustration.

In your experience of the concrete results of modern education most of you must have come across two types of educated men in this country. One is that of a young man who has applied himself assiduously to his text-books; who by passing successive examinations has risen laboriously from the lowest rung of the educational ladder to the highest; and who, after a brilliant academic career, has carried off a great many of the prizes open to men of his time. In the student world he has the reputation of being a walking encyclopædia of knowledge, and his College fellows look up to him with nervous respect as a man of great condition. But scratch him and you will find a barbarian, without a vestige of real culture in him, and he is none the less a barbarian because he carries a mountainous load of books on his back. As Sadi says:

چارپاے برو کتابی چند

The other type is that of the student who, in going through his School and his College curriculum, has paid more attention to the spirit of the books he has read than to their verbal frame work; who has not distinguished himself in the examination hall or won laurels at the University Convocation, but who has assimilated the knowledge placed at his disposal by his teachers; who has tried to apply it to the actual facts of life; who has acquired a wider and more practical outlook upon the world and has thus become a truly cultured member of society. His inner self is in perfect harmony with his enlightened exterior, and he is a moral force of no mean potency in his own social circle.

What is true of individuals is also true of communities, and among the latter you will find the same types of temperament and behaviour which I have described above. Now, although the present needs of the country are such that we must continue to pay attention to the technical side of our educational problem, or, in other words, must try to produce from among us as many "educated barbarians" as we can, we must not lose sight of what I have called the liberal side of that problem, that is to say, we must endeavour to understand and assimilate and exhibit in our daily actions the most enduring principles of modern civic life so as to become in course of time a community of cultured and enlightened men.

The march of events in India has brought us to stage of progress at which it should be impossible for anyone but the most bigoted Mullah not to recognise the urgent need of an organised and sustained scheme for promoting sound education among our women. In the West women have been playing, for a long time past, a by no means unimportant part in the healthy evolution of national life, and of recent years signs are not wanting in the East, and especially in our own country, to show that the weaker sex is inwardly feeling its strength and seriously means to step out of its accustomed seclusion to take an honourable and increasing interest in the more practical concerns of the outside world. It is impossible now to stem the tide which is flowing in this direction even if some of you, with a supreme contempt for the needs of the times, were to think of doing so, and you would be well advised so to regulate it into existence; and my fear is that very few of the promoters of the scheme are giving themselves the necessary training to cope with the task that lies before them. The practical training in education and work which the Trustees of the Aligarh College are receiving under present conditions is not the kind of training required for the governing bodies of the proposed University, which, like the Syndicates and Senates of the existing Indian Universities, will be in independent charge of the whole work of higher education connected with the various faculties of Western and Oriental learning. Our University will be an examining as well as a teaching body and questions relating to the laying down of standards, the selection of text-books for all the examinations, the appointment of Examiners, the conduct of Examinations, and all subsidiary matters

will have to be thrashed on and settled mostly by men on the spot. The governing body of a College affiliated to a University, such as the Aligarh College, is never confronted with these problems; and when we remember the increasing difficulties which the Aligarh authorities have to face as time goes on, we can form a faint idea of what is in store for the Court and Senate of the proposed Moslem University. Our educationists must therefore train themselves assiduously for the new work that they will be called upon to do; and if they fail to attain the requisite standard of efficiency I fear that the University which has been so much talked of will prove a doubtful boon. Gentlemen, continued the president, the Government of India have recently laid down an extensive programme of educational expansion, and the Mohomedans must be prepared to take full advantage of the facilities thus afforded for the spread of education among the upper classes and the masses of the country. The Government of India resolution, dated the 21st February 1913, sketched the broad outlines of the policy which the Department of Education intends to pursue in the matter of promoting both elementary and higher education, and that resolution marks a most important stage in the educational development of this country. Soon after, on the 3rd of April 1913, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all the Local Governments and Administrations on the subject of Mohomedan education, calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition of that education, except in the primary stage, in all the provinces, and inviting suggestions and recommendations as to the best means of improving it. In that letter the Government of India expressed their anxious desire that all reasonable facilities should be provided for the education of Mohomedans and indicated generally the direction in which enquiry and special action will, in their opinion, be useful. The Government of India letter is still, I understand, under the consideration of most of the Local Governments and the latter have asked for the opinions of the Islamia Anjumans and the leading Mohomedan gentlemen in their respective provinces on the points raised in the letter in question and generally on the subject of advancing Mohomedan education. I earnestly hope that the various Anjumans addressed by the Local Governments will consider the whole subject thoroughly in all its bearings, with special reference to their local requirement and will submit practical and useful suggestions for improving the education of Musalmans in all stages of instruction, more especially in the secondary and collegiate stages, in which our community is most inadequately represented. We are all deeply grateful to the Government of India for the special interest it has taken in Mohomedan education and on behalf of the Indian Musalmans may express the hope that the Local Governments throughout the country may see their way to adopt special measures to encourage and promote the education of their Mohomedan subjects in accordance with the policy outlined in the Government of India letter of the 3rd February last. The whole community is awaiting with deep anxiety the result of the momentous step taken by the Supreme Government in this matter; for the Mohomedans have now come to recognise that in modern education alone lies their salvation, and they feel that their educational development will be assured if their own efforts to improve their education are supplemented by practical sympathy and encouragement from Government. They know that at this moment there is at the head of the Indian Government a broad-minded statesman who is prepared to weigh sympathetically the special claims of backward communities to considerate treatment in the best interests of the general progress of the country; and they are determined, on their own part, to do all that lies in their power to help themselves.

A most gratifying instance of self-help on the part of our co-religionists and of sympathetic encouragement by a Local Government in the matter of our education is afforded by the recent establishment of an Islamia College at Peshawar. We are all deeply grateful to Mr George Roose-Keppel for the great interest which he has taken from the very beginning in the Islamia College as to be able to divert it into proper channels. The enormous influence of women on the essentially human side of the character of mankind must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and our first duty at the present moment is to refine and purify that influence in our country and to bring it to bear upon the totality of our individual and corporate life in order to make it more fruitful in relation to the great movements of the world.

From the time when the first stirrings of new life send a thrill of joy through an expectant family circle to the supremely critical moment when the last ray of hope is extinguished and the dark shadows of death close in upon an emaciated figure, the personality of woman stand out as being in close vital touch with some of the most powerful springs of human thought and action; and so her part in shaping the destiny of man has been recognised in the modern age as one of great motive power. You will all remember the pregnant saying that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, and I may add that the delicate fingers that in sick chamber close, with an inexpressibly affectionate touch, the eyes of the expiring man have ever been busy in unravelling the tangled skein

of this private affairs which fill a large part of the span of life. The formation of useful habits in early life; the stiffening of the moral fibre in the child; the development of the social sympathies and antipathies of the youth; the successful working of that most delicate and difficult of all human relationships called marriage; the creation of an atmosphere of domestic harmony and concord, of affection and contentment in which the best private virtues always thrive—all these depend, in a large measure, upon the extent to which woman is trained and permitted to do her own proper share of work in society.

No scheme of national education will be complete among the Indian Mohomedans which does not make ample provision for the education of women on modern lines, with special reference to the peculiar need of a progressive Islamic community. This does not by any means imply the wholesale adoption of the methods of instruction and of the standards of culture which have come to be associated with Western civilization; we in the East have our own distinctive traditions and predominant tendencies of thought, and we must evolve a new type of culture as the result of a wholesome combination of the Asiatic and European systems of training. One thing is, however, clear, and that is that the purely Eastern modes of education would be as stale, insipid and unprofitable in the case of our women as they have proved to be in the case of our men, and the community must make up its mind once and for all to allow its girls to be instructed in the elements of knowledge according to the more scientific methods of the modern age. The time has long since gone by when even our leading men favoured the idea of concentrating all our energies upon perfecting the education of boys before taking up the question of educating our girls; we have advanced far beyond the stage at which such a view could be held and acted upon without endangering our national position in India. In these days the education of girls must proceed *pari passu* with that of boys, and I am certain that a disregard of this principle will result in serious difficulties and greatly handicap us in the race of life.

There is urgent need of emphasising this principle in our national system of education, and the public mind must be trained to recognise its importance. Unfortunately the Indian Musalmans has still very primitive ideas on this subject; and this was made painfully clear only recently in the Punjab in the course of a controversy which was waged there over a proposal to introduce the teaching of English into the curriculum of a new Girls' School which has been started by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam of Lahore. The question aroused a heated discussion both within the Anjuman and outside it; and I felt genuinely distressed at the enormous amount of turgid nonsense that was retailed in the vernacular press by writers who posed as well-informed critics, but who seemed to have the crudest conception of what education really means for the sexes and what the special requirements of the Mohomedans are in the India of the present day.

After referring to the active sympathy of the Begum of Bhopal the speaker continued:

Gentlemen, if I were asked to sum up in one short phrase the failings of the Indian Musalmans at the present moment, I would reply—Want of Self-discipline.

I am aware that human activity spreads itself over such a vast surface and expresses itself in such a variety of concrete forms that any generalisation intended to cover its innumerable manifestations in any one phase of life would often both misleading and untrue. But at the same time we can, I think discover at any particular stage of the moral and material progress of a community some of the predominant traits of its character which manifest themselves with more or less persistence in its thought and action, and which for the time being, serve to differentiate it from other communities. It seems to me that we Mohomedans suffer, in a peculiar degree, from a lack of disciplinary self-restraint, and even our virtues are at times made to appear as serious faults because of this great defect in our national character. Illustrations of this can be easily furnished from the religious and secular life of our people. An excess of zeal in the observance of religious ceremonial is the most striking characteristic of the Musalmans, and their piety often manifests itself in extravagant forms to the utter disregard of the spirit underlying their religious precepts. They forget that Islam in all its injunctions insists upon a reasonable adjustment of the religious and the secular duties, discourages asceticism with its excessive to the affairs of the next world, and enforces the rule of the golden mean between two extremes in all human relations. Our preachers always administer an over-dose of theological admonition to their congregations, and the latter are thereby led to be over-zealous in their performance of the chief practical duties enjoined by Islam, regardless of the limitations imposed in connection with them by the great Law-giver. Much of our energy thus runs to waste in a spirit of indifference towards some of the chief concerns of life is engendered; and little activity is shown by our people in overcoming the difficulties that lie in the path of secular advance. Think for a moment of the way in which our most useful institution of alms giving is abused by the generality of the pious Musalmans. Every one of them considers himself free to dole out his charity as he chooses;

the objects of charitable relief are not carefully selected; no method is observed at all in the distribution of such relief; all advice and directions for the organisation and systematic control of *Zakat* are resented; and the result is an appalling waste of substance and strength which, if the Musalmans only submitted themselves to a little judicious discipline, could be utilised to great national ends. Our educational institutions would not then be starved, as is the case now, through want of financial aid, and the problem of Mohamedan backwardness would be partly solved. Consider, again the serious difficulties which have to be faced both in India and in Arabia itself, because Mohamedans who are too poor to pay the expenses of a pilgrimage to Mecca and who are therefore prohibited by Islam from undertaking it, insist on going to the *Hajj* in large numbers every year, with the result that many of them are either left to perish in Arabia or prove a heavy burden to their richer fellow pilgrims. The drain on the resources of the Musalmans involved in this proceeding which is repeated year after year, is enormous; and it could be easily avoided if they were to learn how to strictly regulate their exuberant religious fervour according to the very sound rules laid down by Islam. The one great fault in the Moslem character is want of sobriety, moderation, restraint and self-denial, and yet these are the qualities to which Islam assigns a high place in the list of human virtues. A man can be as selfish, wasteful and immoderate in devotional exercises as in his worldly relations with his fellow-beings, and the inculcation of this truth should be the aim of all religious education.

If we turn to the secular side of our life, we find that want of self-discipline is a great impediment in the path of Moslem progress. The tendency observable in the younger generation towards destructive criticism without a corresponding anxiety to show constructive work is an illustration of this failing, and one result of this unhappy tendency has been a weakening of the sense of responsibility in our community which may do a great deal more harm than it has already done. Again, consider the utterly unmethodical way in which the very large funds collected from the Indian Musalmans in aid of various movements have been administered in this country and you will find that you have a great deal to learn from other communities as to how you should regulate your patriotic action by reference to business maxims in order both to prevent your resources being frittered away and also to apply your funds to their proper objects. This is one way of educating your community to a right appreciation of some of the factors which make for moral progress in India.

Another department of human activity in which we Mohamedans suffer from lack of discipline is our literature, and in this connexion I shall call your attention to one phase of our amorous poetry. The beloved of the Mohamedan Urdu poet of the old school, in whom is incarnated his highest conception of human beauty, is a freak of nature with a mouth little bigger than the geometrical point and a waist thinner than a hair. As an example of the former, we have the couplet of a Persian poet whose style and taste our Urdu poets have tried to imitate and acquire.

کردی زلفی نقطہ موہومہ رادونیم اسے نائف کلام حکیمان یانلو

And as an instance of the latter. I may quote the well-known verse of an Urdu poet—

صنم کہتی ہیں تیرے بھی کر کے کہانی کس طرف کوئی کدھری

If you think for a moment, you will perceive that in the domain of literature this kind of poetry, illustrating as it does the poet's passion for immoderate exaggeration, is the direct result of want of discipline in the poetic faculty; and when it is remembered that all our best writers on Prosody assign to *مبالغہ* a high place among our recognised figures of speech which are supposed to lend beauty and force to our poetry, you will admit that we lack disciplinary training not merely in the common every-day affairs of our life, but also in regard to some of the natural springs of thought which should powerfully contribute to our intellectual improvement.

In conclusion he said:—

Gentlemen, to the Indian Mohamedans Agra, where we are assembled to-day, is an enchanted name round which cluster some of the best traditions of Moslem progress and culture: and it is in the fitness of things that you should draw your inspiration from the historic scenes and sights that surround you. The very ground on which you are treading must recall to your minds the stirring memories of a heroic age, when your co-religionists bore with admirable fortitude the heat and burden of the day, and with patient labour, unflinching resolution and indomitable courage developed the arts of war and peace and maintained for a long time a high standard of civic life. At a time when the tide of Mughal supremacy was almost at its lowest ebb, the constructive genius of Akbar the Great brought the scattered elements together, evolved order out of chaos, and devised and perfected a system of administration which has been the wonder of Indian statesmen down to the present day. Under his Imperial care the arts and sciences flourished to a degree hitherto

unknown to Mohamedan India, and it was his master hand that laid the foundation of that fusion of the Indian races which in this distracted land, still rent as under by inter-communal strife and religious antagonism, must ever be the ambition of the highest statesmanship to accomplish. A little later came to the Mughal throne Shah Jehan the Magnificent who gave India a long spell of peace—peace that hath its victories no less than war—who patronized piety and learning and exalted merit above ancient lineage and riches, who made art the study of princes and placed before the people the best specimen of aesthetic culture who immortalised the most abiding phase of human affection by building the Taj,—that perfect embodiment of faith, hope, love and beauty of which not India only but all the world is proud. That inimitable monument, with its magnificent dome poised in the clear crisp air of a winter morning and its tall minarets shining in the rays of the risen sun, holds aloft before you, if only you would reflect for a moment, the highest ideals of purity and refinement, of devotion and self-sacrifice, which are, and must always be the aim and object of all true education.

From Sikandra on one side and from the Taj on the other the two great Mughal Emperors are watching your proceedings and your work with sympathy, they are with you in spirit, and it is for you to show by the manner in which you would discharge your great trust how far you are worthy of their benedictions.



Indian National Congress.

President's Address.

The following are extracts from the presidential address delivered by the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohamed Saheb Bahadur at the XXVIII Indian National Congress held on the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1913 at Karachi.

Referring to the Indians in South Africa President said:—The foremost question that is just now agitating the public mind in this country is the question of our brethren in South Africa. The tale of woe that has been reaching us from there, since the Boer country became part of the British Empire, is really heart-rending and that the responsible British Statesmen should have been so far unable to do anything by way of attempting a settlement fills us with profound sorrow, almost with despair. We know the hardships to which our fellow-countrymen are subjected and we cannot pay a fitting tribute in words to the courageous manner in which they are enduring those hardships; for, they are confident that British justice and sense of fair-play will ultimately prevail. Gentlemen, this unfortunate question has assumed an acute form and reached a stage where we have to pause and ask, whether we are not British subjects? The treatment accorded to Indians clearly shows that the Colonists take it for granted that we are not. At any rate, they have so far failed to recognise the claim of the Indians to consideration as British subjects. The war with the Transvaal was undertaken mainly, if not solely, on the ground of ill-treatment accorded to the British Indian subjects and it is to be greatly deplored that their position should have become much worse after the incorporation of the country into the world-renowned British Empire than it was ever before. May I ask in your name that when the object with which that costly war was undertaken is not gained, where is the justification for it? I have the authority on this point of no less a person than the Marquis of Lansdowne who was Minister for War when the conflict began and was well-qualified to make a pronouncement on the situation by reason of his having been the Viceroy of India previously. Lord Lansdowne speaking at Sheffield in 1899 said:—"A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferer on the spot; for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three hundred millions, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State?"

"We cannot be too thankful to Lord Amptill who has taken up our cause in South Africa in right earnest. His sympathy for the people of this country which he uniformly manifested during his term of Governorship in Madras has endeared him to all of us. And as a very large number of immigrants go from the Southern Presidency it is but fitting that his Lordship should raise his voice in defence of the rights of those whom he had governed with sympathy and benevolence. Lord Amptill referring to the speech of Lord Lansdowne aptly observes. "Those were far-sighted and prophetic words, for at that time India was quite unconscious of the indignity, and it is only after the lapse of a decade that we have seen 'the effect produced in India'." The views expressed in 1899 by Lord Selborne, who afterwards became High Commissioner at the Cape, were no less emphatic than those of Lord Lansdowne and I make no apology for repeating them here. "Was it or was it not," asked

Lord Selborne, "our duty to see that our dusky fellow-subjects in the Transvaal, where they had a perfect right to go, should be treated as the Queen in our name had promised they should be treated? If they agreed with him and admitted that these were questions which we had to answer as trustees before our fellow-countrymen and before history, then they would agree with him also that the path of duty was to be ruled not by sentiment, but by plain facts. We were trustees for our brothers all over the world. Trustees also for our fellow-subjects of different races and different colours. For all those and the unborn children of these. Therefore, the test we had to apply in an emergency like this was the simple test of duty. Was it or was it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interest of those he had named should be maintained? Was the British Government going to make its name respected and to have the pledges given by it faithfully observed? Was it going to see that the British subject wherever he went all over the world, whether he were white or black, was to have the rights which his Queen had secured for him?" Far from any indications appearing that their lot would in a measurable distance of time be made less intolerable to them, they are being subjected in an ever-increasing degree to fresh disabilities and indignities such as are traceable clearly to the inebriation of the Boer mind caused by sudden acquisition of independence and power. Apart from higher considerations of justice, fairness and humanity, the consideration of Imperial interests, as to how their attitude and conduct towards the Indian subjects of His Majesty will affect the prestige of the Empire to which the Boer as well as the Indian owes allegiance is deliberately disregarded by the Union Government. The fate of one hundred and fifty thousands of our brethren and countrymen settled in South Africa cannot be a matter of indifference to us, as I am sure it cannot be to our Rulers. The heroic struggle that they are carrying on against overwhelming odds evokes our heartfelt sympathy for them and our deepest indignation against their oppressors. But, Gentlemen, what could our sympathy and indignation do in this situation? We can send, as indeed we are already sending so liberally, pecuniary relief to the oppressed, but we cannot restrain the hand that oppresses. It is for Imperial Government to step in and alter the course of things in favour of our brethren. We have had any amount of expressions of sympathy, of encouragement and of hope, but no prospect of action is yet within our sight. The spectacle of a world-wide Empire embracing about 500 millions of people as its subjects, being powerless to restrain an irresponsible Colony is not only unedifying in the extreme but is incomprehensible and causes dismay to the Indian mind. The position is now vastly worse than before, not merely from the point of view of the increasing disabilities and the intensity of suffering, but from the point of view of their moral effect. In the days of the Boer Government the Indian settlers had the feeling that their wrongs were due to an unjust and unsympathetic foreign State which only needed to be brought to the notice of their own Government to be remedied. But to-day they find the Imperial Government standing by while blow after blow is deliberately aimed at them with terrible precision and effect. This indifference has aggravated situation and has roused bitter feelings between two countries of the Empire and is certainly derogatory to the high character of British statesmanship. Not only that, that it leads one to think that this indifference in effect encourages the South African Union in the belief that their mistaken policy has the support of the Government at Home.

The British Government are responsible for the present difficulties which they could have easily foreseen and avoided by imposing conditions regarding the rights of Indian settlers at the time of granting Self-Government to South Africa. It is, therefore, that I say, that we should look up to them and make an earnest appeal to them. It is a pity that the Parliament had no hand in the matter; otherwise I am sure our friends in Parliament would have raised their voice in support of our rights. I have more faith, I confess, in retaliatory measures such as the placing of an embargo on the importation of coal from Natal into this country, and the closing of the doors of competition for the Civil Service against the South African Whites. It seems to me that these are the only weapons at present available and the Government of India should lose no time in making use of them. I am aware that these measures have the disadvantage of being merely irritating without being directly effective or inflicting any real disability on the Colonists. But their moral effect would, I am convinced, be very great on our people and will not be altogether lost on the Union Government. By having recourse to these retaliatory measures our Government would be showing before the whole world that they are in earnest and would not tolerate the ill-treatment of Indian subjects of His Majesty in any part of the Empire. We have to advocate retaliatory measures because we have been driven to do so much against our own will. We however hope that the resources of representation are not yet exhausted and that the Imperial Government have not yet done their utmost to secure justice for our countrymen. While recognising that their position one of great difficulty in view of Colonial autonomy. I would at the same time point out that the present Liberal Government have claimed great credit for unifying South Africa as a triumph in that they have applied liberal

principles in their Colonial policy, and it is inconceivable that Liberal principles in practice can under any circumstances involve injustice and oppression.

REFORMED COUNCILS.

Coming to the questions connected with the Reformed Councils. I need not refer to the regulations in detail which were framed by the Indian Government for carrying out the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The Congress has in successive sessions expressed its regret that the regulations have not been made in the same liberal spirit in which the original reform despatches were conceived. The public in India, at the time when the regulations were issued, being anxious to give a fair start to the scheme did not express their full sense of dissatisfaction with the proposed regulations, especially as they were reassured in this behalf by the express declarations of Lord Minto's Government at the time, which were as follows:—

"The Governor-General in Council is conscious that many of the details of the scheme which is being introduced may be found on trial to be unsatisfactory or capable of improvement. Experience alone can show how far methods which are new to India give to the different classes and interests a measure of representation proportionate to their importance and influence, and to what extent an untrained electoral machinery is suitable to the varying circumstances of the different Provinces and the numerous electorates. Defects will no doubt be discovered when the rules are put into operation, but, if this proves to be the case, the law admits of the regulations being amended without difficulty."

It was hoped, therefore, that the anomalies and serious defects, both of detail and of principle, which were found to exist in the regulations would be rectified at the first opportunity which presented itself after the first elections had been held and the Reformed Councils constituted. It has been, therefore, a matter of extreme disappointment to the public in India that the revision of the Council regulations which was made last year was confined to making a few trivial changes and introducing a few amendments in consequence of the transference of the Imperial Capital to Delhi and of the other changes embodied in the Delhi despatches. In the constitution of the Legislative Councils different proportions have been fixed in respect of the official and non-official, as well as the elected and nominated elements in the various Provinces, much of which to the ordinary mind seems to be founded on no intelligible principle of differentiation. Bengal from the first started with an elected non-official majority in its Legislative Council and in the redistribution of territories made in 1912, both old Bengal and new Bihar have been given two separate Legislative Councils, having elected non-official majorities. On the other hand, Madras and Bombay, the oldest of the Provinces, have been provided with a non-official majority composed of nominated and elected members barely sufficient to satisfy the regulations.

By far the most serious of the drawbacks in the regulations, which have been allowed to exist in the revised regulations, are those relating to the disqualifications for membership, the arbitrary and unreasonable manner in which restrictions are imposed on candidates seeking election to the Councils, and the general disparagement of the educated classes that it involves. Property qualifications have been prescribed in various degrees and in various methods in the different Provinces, and the decision of questions connected with electoral rules is committed to the absolute discretion of the executive Government. It is our duty once again to urge an immediate revision of the regulations so as to make the non-official majorities in all Provincial Councils really effective for practical work, and to remove invidious differences in the qualifications prescribed for candidates seeking election.

In spite of the repeated and unanimous requests of the people of the United Provinces for the establishment of an Executive Council there, the question is hung up without the authorities assigning cogent reasons. Sir John Hewett's opposition to the proposal is too well-known to you, but with the change of the Lieutenant-Governorship in the United Provinces, it was hoped that it will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of Sir James Meeson, and it is a matter of considerable surprise to those who knew His Honour as a man of liberal and progressive views, that he has not yet formulated proposals for establishing an Executive Council. In view of the fact that this question was the subject of a resolution which was moved in his Council and which received strong support from the non-official members, I am hopeful that it will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

As regards the Imperial Legislative Council I may say that the representation of some of the Provinces is defective and for this reason I would suggest an increase of at least half a dozen seats on the Council and there being thrown open for popular election. We all know that at present we have at the head of the Government in India a sagacious statesman whose far-sighted and sympathetic policy has endeared him to the people of this country, and I fervently hope that His Excellency Lord Hardinge before laying down the reins of his exalted office will remove the present defects in the Imperial Council and make it fully representative.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

When the Government of India in 1908 submitted for approval to the Secretary of State the group of constitutional reforms which resulted in the passing of the Indian Councils Act, the Government of India claimed that their scheme as a whole "will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration." The fact that I want to emphasise here is what Lord Morley himself mentioned, that that scheme of reform "is not, and hardly pretends to be, a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvements in the existing system that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted and that to the best of my judgment are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the despatch." Lord Morley proceeded to point out that it is "evidently desirable to present our reform of the Indian constitutional system as a whole and that from this point of view, it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of Local Self-Government."

It is now five years since these words were written and the Government of India are yet maturing proposals for making an advance in this direction "without delay." The reluctance to revive the old village organisation and to establish village panchayats is particularly pronounced in some Provinces, while a degree of tardiness in considering proposals for the expansion of local and municipal administration coupled with the oft-repeated desire to hedge further advance with over-cautious restrictions, is noticeable among all grades of administrative authorities in India. Lord Morley quoted the memorable words of Lord Ripon that it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and started; it is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education," and that there is little chance of affording any effective training to the people in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members thereof taking any real interest in local business, unless "they are led to feel that real power is placed in their hands and that they have real responsibilities to discharge."

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation which submitted its report shortly after this, fully endorsed Lord Morley's views and insisted that the village should be made the starting point of public life in India, that village panchayats should be revived all over the country as the first unit of Local Government, and that the constitution and functions of other local bodies should be broadened and liberalised in various ways. The Imperial and Provincial Governments have been cogitating over this part of the recommendations now for over four years, and repeated inquiries in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils have not so far elicited any sympathetic assurance as to the recommendations being likely to be carried out in the near future. The latest announcement is that the Government of India have submitted their proposals to the Secretary of State and obtained his approval, and that they would shortly introduce the necessary legislation for carrying them out. It is not easy to anticipate what these proposals are, but the Congress has a right to demand that the Commission's recommendations should be fully carried out, and the proposals of the Government of India should be placed before the public as a whole and not piece meal. We must impress upon the Government that this question should be treated as part of a progressive political policy and not as one of mere administrative exigency.

PRIMARY AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The unrest swept over the country from one end to the other is a thing of the past, at any rate, we are no longer face to face with its turbid waters and dangerous and insidious currents, but only with some of the evils that have lain beneath the surface of the unrest and are now discernible. Now that the storm has happily passed away, let us address ourselves to the task of meeting the underlying evils in the way they ought to be. There had been a steadily increasing feeling, on the part of the people, of dissatisfaction with their surroundings and a steadily increasing yearning for a better and more bearable existence. Even a casual observer must be struck by the desire manifested on every side for more light in the shape of education, both Primary and Technical. Primary Education, I need not say, is the remedy of remedies that will help the masses at present steeped in ignorance, superstition and lethargy, to get out of the slough of despond, and will teach them self-help by placing within their reach, through the medium of Literature, the benefits that would accrue from adopting modern methods and principles in their hereditary and time-hallowed occupation of agriculture and other small industries; and that will surely mould in them a frame of mind that would co-operate with the Government in any measure that may be taken for public good, by removing the disposition to believe in the ascription of wrong motives and intentions to Government as regards their particular acts and measures. In short, Primary Education will give more food to the masses, reduce to an appreciable degree the existence of the economic problem, remove most of the social evils and conduce to the stability of the British Rule.

It is a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to observe that the recent visit of Their Imperial Majesties was an important landmark in the history of our country. Ever since the blessed day of their advent and ever since His Imperial Majesty emphasised in his speeches the need for a wider element of sympathy in the administration of the country and pressed for a rapid advancement of education as the panacea for all our social and political evils, the essential importance of education, as a factor of national prosperity has come to be fully recognised by the Government, and we gratefully acknowledge their earnest effort to foster and push it forward. But at the same time we feel that they do not go far enough. The political fears that the Government entertain as regards the adoption of the principle of compulsion are altogether imaginary, and if the scheme which has been put forward is carefully considered and followed by Government, the administrative and financial difficulties with which the Government believe they are confronted, will soon disappear in practice. So long as the local institutions retain their strong official complexion, people would naturally hesitate to confide in them. But before these institutions are entrusted with the initiation and control of Primary Education, if they are made more popular and representative, the people would be glad to co-operate with them and would even be willing to bear the imposition of a special cess which will be ear-marked for the purpose of being devoted to Primary Education. I may point out that when, in the famous Despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood laid the foundation of the system of public education, a memorable advance was made. And as the authorities with genuine statesmanlike foresight, recognised that England's prime function in India was to superintend the tranquil elevation of the moral and intellectual standard of life among the people, I fail to see any plausible reason that could be adduced against making a modest and cautious beginning to introduce compulsory and free Primary Education in selected areas that may be considered to be ripe for it.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

The question of the employment of Indians in the higher and more responsible positions in the Public Service of this country is not a question of merely individual careers, but is one of much higher and wider importance. Not to speak of the material and economic drain that the exclusion of Indians from higher posts in the public service of their own country involves, it is repugnant to the nation's sense of self-respect. With the growth of intelligence and self-consciousness among the people, their part is an increasing-disposition on their part to compare their own position with that of the other nations of the world, and to regard their present political status as incompatible with the rights of freedom and equality conferred on them by the British Constitution and guaranteed to them by British traditions. In the words of Sir Thomas Munro "the aim of the British administration of India was to be to raise the minds of the natives, to raise their character and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of the country, so that in fullness of time Indians would be able to frame a regular Government for themselves and to conduct and preserve it." We feel that we are not in this respect treated in accordance with the spirit of the proclamations and promises made by the British Sovereigns, the Parliament and responsible Ministers. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere pleasure and great satisfaction to us that a Royal Commission under the able Chairmanship of that eminent and sympathetic statesman, Lord Islington, has been appointed to enquire into the question of Public services. Without in any way anticipating the recommendations it may make, I can say that the manner in which the Commission began to take evidence during the last cold weather, amply justifies the hope that it will do justice to Indians when it comes to formulate its final conclusions. In the course of the speech in which he opened the sittings of the Commission on the 8th of January last at Madras, his Lordship said: "We are confident that we shall receive such assistance and co-operation that subsequently when the fruits of our labours are published it may be found that we have reached a reasonable basis of agreement which will give satisfaction both to the just demands of the services and to the legitimate aspirations of His Majesty's Indian subjects, and be consonant with the orderly development of the administration of this great country." The remarkable insight and the keen interest displayed by Lord Islington in the course of the enquiry encourage us in the belief that the result will be gratifying to the expectations raised in the minds of the people. It will not be out of place for me to express a hope that the much-discussed question of the separation of judicial from executive functions will receive a solution at the hands of the Commission, which will satisfy public opinion.

In the course of the evidence before the Commission, it was suggested by some of the witnesses that the Public Services in India should not be open to those Colonists who do not treat

Indians on a footing of equality. And if much stress was not laid on this, it was due to the fact that the situation in South Africa had not assumed such an acute form and as dangerous a proportion as at present. As the crisis in South Africa has become so threatening as to constitute an imminent danger to the interests of the Empire. I venture to submit to the Commission the advisability and necessity of lying down, as a matter of principle, that those Colonies which do not treat Indians as equal subjects of the King will not have a share in the administration of India, and candidates from such Colonies will be debarred from taking part in any competitive examination, or entering into any of the services of this country. In making an earnest appeal to Lord Islington and members of the Royal Commission to include this suggestion in their recommendations, I would like to point out that it is not only calculated to show to South Africa that the Commission wishes to maintain strict impartiality, but it will serve as a warning to the Colonies and prevent them from following the example of the Union Government. It will also strengthen the hands of the Government of India and the Imperial Government in my action which they may contemplate to take in an emergency.

INDIANS IN THE ARMY.

Closely allied to the question that I have now dealt with, is the question of higher career for Indians in the Army. Meeting at Karachi so close to places distinguished as the home of warlike races from whom the Indian sepoy is largely drawn, we can appropriately go into it at some length. From its earliest years the Congress has included in its resolutions a demand for the establishment of military colleges in India in which natives of India as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for appointment as commissioned or non-commissioned officers according to their capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army. That demand apparently remained unheeded till the advent of Lord Curzon whose Viceroyalty was a succession of promises either broken or only partially redeemed. You may remember, Gentlemen, that soon after his arrival he formed a "Cadet Corps" consisting of Indian Princes and Noblemen with head quarters at Dehra Dun. The Congress of 1901 held at Calcutta welcomed it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of military colleges as recommended by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, at which natives of India may be educated and trained for employment as officers of the army. The expectation was not realized and the Madras Congress in 1908 reiterated its demand, in view specially of the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of India troops by His Late Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, in his message to the Princes and the people of India. Lord Minto, true to the spirit of policy of his Government, pressed on the authorities at Home a scheme framed by his Lordship in this matter which had the full support of his Council and of the Commander-in-Chief. The words in which he referred to the scheme, in the course of a speech he delivered as chairman at a meeting in London on April 24, 1912, deserve repetition here. That speech seems to me to be a remarkable illustration of his policy, his broad sympathies and of his grasp of Indian points of view which distinguished his career in India.

His Lordship said:—"I must take friendly exception to what Sir W. C. Plowden has said as to my not having faced the question of Commissions in the Army for Indian gentlemen. I can assure you that I not only faced it, but that I fought it every day. It was my hobby the whole time I was in India to try and obtain such commissions for Indian gentlemen and I hoped that I had succeeded. It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting commissions is less advanced than it was a generation ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844, Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1865 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart and others, all hold the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions; they maintained that young Indians gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction; but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at Home. I do not know why. But at any rate, we cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command; the only way to lessen them is by example and by constant sympathy for our Indian fellow-subjects. By force of example and by constant sympathy, let us hope that racial prejudices may gradually disap-

pear. Under existing conditions, it would, in my opinion, be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment or to a regiment of the Indian Army against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again and before I came away, the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commission should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education in the Cadet Corps. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start; and young Indian officers should be grafted to it in the ordinary way, with *bond fide* commissions who would rise in due course of promotion; while the British skeleton will gradually disappear and an Indian officer will eventually obtain command of the regiment which would be in the course of 20 years or so. The scheme was sent Home and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then. I feel, however, that it would be unfair to the Government of India not to take this opportunity of saying that, as far as they were concerned, the necessity for the commission was recognised and the difficulty was dealt with. The opposition to our proposal was at Home!" This last sentence illustrates the spirit in which the India Council deals with Indian aspirations. Fortunately however, a beginning has been made by His Majesty nominating two or three Indian noblemen only recently and it remains for the Indian National Congress to bring to bear on His Majesty's Government the weight of the unanimous and earnest wish of the Indian people for a satisfactory solution of this important question.

Resolutions.

The Congress met again at 12-15 on December 27th, the attendance being the same as yesterday.

The President moved a resolution that the Congress desired to record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country by the death of Mr. J. Ghosal, who was a staunch worker in the Congress cause and the death of Mr. Justice P. R. Sundara Aiyer. The resolution was carried, the assembly standing.

Diwan Bahadur Govind Raghava Aiyer (Madras) moved the second resolution—

"That this Congress enters an emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by Ministers of the South African Union and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment. This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed, by the South African Union to enquire into matters, as two of its members are already known to be biased against Indians, and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here. This Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to his Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question. This Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the £5 tax, indentured labour, domicile, the educational test, the validity of Indian marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa. That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Ghosh and his co-workers, and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds."

In moving the resolution Mr. Govind Raghava Aiyer said that the resolution related to what might be called the question of the day and without referring to the conditions of Indians in South Africa, the speaker turned to the question of principle, and those who did not sympathise with them urged that the Imperial Government could not interfere with self-governing colonies. It was no argument at all. Indians were striving to get self-government within the Empire. But before the rights of self-governing colonies there was justice. Indians were only questioning the act of the Colonies in respect of not allowing Indians to live there as citizens. After refuting the other arguments of those who were not sympathetic with them, the speaker referred to the six points mentioned in statement made by Mr. Gokhale. They wanted that the racial bar should be removed. South African Indians should have the right to enter Cape Colony; the right of domicile should be restored; the abolition of the £5 tax; the recognition of Indian marriages in South Africa, and a sympathetic administration of the South African laws. After explaining these points in detail the speaker concluded by saying that there was yet hope, for they were fortunate in having a sympathetic Viceroy

in Lord Hardinge. His Excellency, as a responsible administrator, considered it his duty to dissociate himself from the policy of the Union Government. It had been said in some quarters that it was more diplomacy, only to please the Indians. The speaker, however, thought that in it lay a principle which was higher than diplomacy. For the courageous and statesmanlike declarations of the Viceroy this Congress and the whole of India was grateful to his Excellency.

Lala Lajpatrai, in an eloquent Urdu speech, seconded the resolution. He said that they were only demanding citizenship of the Empire. The question was whether they were entitled to it or not, and if they were not, he would call upon those who had assumed the guardianship of India to be true to this guardianship and trust, otherwise Indians would charge them with criminal breach of trust before a tribunal before which they all had to stand one day. The only way in which that trust could be exercised was the way taken by Lord Hardinge. The Viceroy had felt the weight of the injustice and had thrown off reserve and risen equal to the occasion, as the responsible head of India. The speaker asked Indians to shield the Viceroy against the vituperations of opponents. After briefly referring to the disabilities of Indians in South Africa, Lala Lajpatrai made a stirring appeal for funds.

Mr. Choudhari in supporting the resolution said that they formed a component part of modern civilization, that the self-consciousness that pervaded the world also found a place in their hearts, and that, being as they were, they legitimately asked for the same position as other colonists got without effort. Indians had sacrificed their life-blood for the Empire, and what had the Boers done? Yet the Boers had been given privileges of self-governing colonies while Indians had been completely denied citizenship. In conclusion he said that their demand was for justice and their firm determination was to get justice from the Imperial Government.

Mr. M. T. Kaperbhoy of Bombay, in supporting, said that so long as the idea remained with the White races that they were superior to Indians, so long was the trouble bound to continue, and they could only get rid of it by bringing about a complete regeneration in India in social and intellectual matters. To achieve this they must all combine and co-operate. The salvation of India lay in the true union of the people and her onward march of progress depended upon constitutional and constructive methods. In conclusion the speaker appealed to Hindus and Mohamedans to combine for the common good of the country.

Mr. Hafiz, A Sindhi Mohamedan, in supporting said, he was glad to see a number of Mohamedans present as delegates. Though very few had come, they had come fully prepared to join the Congress and make common cause with the Hindus for the common good of the country.

Lala Goverdhandas of the Punjab and Mr. Sahai of Behar, supported the resolution.

Before the resolution was adopted, the President announced that he had received a message from Japan which said that the Indian community in that country had contributed Rs. 5,000 and they desired the President to remit that amount to Mr. Gokhale to be sent to South Africa. The President further announced that funds in aid of South African Indians would be collected after the day's sitting was over.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, in moving a resolution on Hindu and Mohamedan unity, said that it was no easy thing for the Moslem League to have publicly declared the adoption of the ideal of self-government within the Empire. In the past that ideal formed the subject of strong criticism, not only from timid Indians but from high officials in the land. When such was the attitude of officials, naturally some of the less advanced, timid and hesitating Moslems were more cautious and took time to consider what would be their position as regards the Congress. The speaker congratulated the Moslem League for declaring publicly that India could not rise if they confined themselves to a separatist policy. Last year the Moslem League adopted wholeheartedly the position of the Congress. If they, Hindus and Mohamedans, now stood face to face there was nothing to stop the Congress from stretching hand of fellowship to the Moslem League. Appealing to Hindus, he advised toleration. Appealing to Moslems, he asked them to regard every man as equal, as preached by Mohamed. In conclusion, Mr. Basu said: "Now, brethren, Hindus and Mohamedans, in our hands lies the destiny of our common country. Whether we belong to the same race or not, whether we believe in the revelations of the Gita or of the Quran, we have reason to be proud of our past in India. Asoka and Chandragupta, Akbar and Shahjahan are names which will rouse the enthusiasm of any race and shed lustre on the followers of any creed. The Moghul Emperors saw the vision of a united India. Under the aegis of British rule, let us realise that vision. Once we begin, our course will be less and less difficult. One we begin to feel that preferments are not pedestals on which a nation can rise, once we begin to feel that we are not distant communities, entrenched in different camps but parts of one body, our course will be easier. If

there have been misunderstanding in the past, let us forget them. Let them run out like the desert sands through the interstices of the wind and let us set about writing a new horoscope for India on the scroll of time and the India of the future will see a stronger, nobler, greater, higher, aye, brighter nation than was realised by Asoka in the plenitude of his power, than was a revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions. Shall we fail to do so? If we should suffer from misgivings, then we are not fit to enter the Temple of our Mother, raised to-day by the joint hands of Moslem and Hindu. God willing, we shall not fail. God willing, we shall stick to the banner we have raised. Storms may come and waves may break, but hold fast: the banner will yet fly triumphant and gather round it Hindus and Moslems in a common brotherhood, animated by the same objects, inspired by the same ideals, and working for the same aims."

Mr. Mudholkar, is seconding the resolution moved by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, said, that the proposition was fraught with great good for the country. The fundamental principle of the Congress was that all Indians were brethren, and that all should work together. Previously, only a few educated Mohamedans adopted that idea, but now they found that the organisation established for protecting Mohamedan interests had adopted the fundamental principles of the Congress. The League had not only adopted that principle, but had also recognised that the political future of India depended on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country.

Mr. Jehanger B. Petit, in supporting, said, that a visible indication had been given by the All-India Moslem League that it would co-operate with the sister communities for the advancement and regeneration of the country. He regarded this departure as a landmark in the history of the country. Some had predicted that it would be impossible for Hindus and Mohamedans to unite and work together. That prediction had been proved false.

Mr. Shesagiri Aiyer, in supporting, said that some delegates had objected that the resolution was humiliating to the Congress. He failed to see how it was humiliating to the Congress. But even if the Congress were humiliated by the union of the two great communities of India, that humiliation was desirable.

Mr. Khare, in supporting, said, he was glad to see a change in attitude of the Moslem League. From enemies they had become friends, and by their unity they would in the near future achieve self-government within the Empire.

Mr. Wacha, in supporting, said, that in his opinion, the Indian National Congress was entering to-day into a new nativity. The Indian National Congress is bound to achieve a new nativity. He was three score years and ten, but he hoped to see the fruition of the new destiny.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu moved following the resolution:

"That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Moslem League of the ideal of self-government for India within the British Empire and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country, which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart."

Mr. C. A. E. Ramaswamy Aiyer of Madras moved a resolution urging the separation of the judicial from the executive functions and the placing of the judiciary under the control of the highest court in every province. As it was an old resolution the speaker confined himself to pointing out the evils of the combination of two functions, and the urgency of their separation.

Mr. Khetish Chunder Ganguli of Bengal seconded. Other speakers supported the resolution which was carried.

ABOLITION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATES COUNCIL.

Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution urging the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State as at present constituted, and made the following suggestions for its reconstruction: (a) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates; (b) that with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected; (c) that the total number of members of the Council should be nine; (d) that the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils; (e) that not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council

should consist of public men of merit and ability, unconnected with the Indian administration; (f) that the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than 10 years, and have not been away from India for more than two years; (g) that the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative; (h) that the term of office of each member should be five years."

Mr. Jinnah, in moving the resolution, described how the Council was constituted. There was no place in the Council for the advocacy of the views of non-officials, because the Council was composed entirely of officials and it ought therefore to be abolished. The Council was formed in 1858 and it should have been reformed long ago.

Mr. Samarth, in seconding, thought that they were right in saying that it would be a retrograde step to change the present advisory Council into administrative body. One of the vital proposals in this resolution was that a portion of the Council should be nominated and then duly elected. All that he wished to say was that a further advance should be made in representation by election.

Mr. Krishan Ram, who supported, said there was absolutely no notification which required India to bear any portion of the expenditure and the Secretary of State's Council was in no way helpful for the administration of the country in its best interests.

Mr. Gopaldas Jhamalpal supported.

Babu Surendranath Mullick said that Europeans were indifferent in matters which did not touch their pockets. He insisted upon the total abolition of the Council and on its being placed under the direct supervision of Parliament. If they relied wholly and solely on the conscience of the British people, they might then perhaps expect full justice to be done to them.

The resolution was carried.

The Congress met at 1 p. m. on December 28th. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the well-known Punjabi National Song.

Sardar Nand Singh moved a resolution protesting against the prohibition of Indian immigration to Canada resulting from the continuous journey clause and urging upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of that regulation. The speaker said that instead of bringing glad tidings, Christmas week had brought a deplorable tale from Canada and other Colonies. In this matter Sikhs were feeling that injustice has been done to India and that the treatment accorded to Indians by the colonists was unjust and cruel, and they were condemning with one voice the colonial atrocities. After citing instances of the troubles to which Indians were subjected in Canada, the speaker prayed for the intervention of Government.

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, in seconding, said the world was God's and all men had the right of free access to all parts of it. This elementary truth had been forgotten by many races and countries, and this was the root cause of the troubles of Indians in the colonies. That inhuman and cowardly law, of the continuous journey regulation, was passed because Indians were sober, industrious and frugal.

Mir Ayub Khan, a prominent leader of the Mahomedan Community, supported the resolution in a forcible Urdu speech. The Mir had hitherto attended Congress as a visitor but was so moved by the last two days' proceedings that this morning he had himself registered a delegate, and took part in the proceedings. He said that his sympathies had always been with the Congress. There had always been something against Mahomedans, but since the Congress had extended its hand to Mahomedans, the latter were willing to join the Congress. The welfare of the nation could not be attained without the joint labours of the two great communities in India. He appealed to the people to contribute to the South African and Canadian Funds.

Pundit Rambhuj Dutt also supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Banerjee moved a resolution protesting against the continuance of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urging its repeal, especially in view of a recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta which had disclaimed the fact that the safeguards provided by the Act were illusory and incapable of being enforced. He said: "I am dealing now with what was a piece of panic legislation. The Government of India with all other Governments, with not always an easy conscience, is liable to panic; but, unlike other Governments, the Government of British India must not forget that its position is peculiar and nothing is more calculated to do it harm than its liability to panic, and nothing more dangerous than hasty action undertaken in fear or anger. Sedition may pass like the breath of the wind, anarchy may raise its matted locks in dark and unholy corners, but that may also go, but what it seems will, not go is the impression that a handful of boys with explosives in discarded tin-pots and a few hysterical newspapers can disturb the equilibrium

of the Government of India and bring it down head over heels; and that is what happened in 1910. The Indian Press was liberated in 1827 amidst circumstances of great solemnity, with a declaration that boldly looked the future in the face. The early rulers of India were not timid men, were not frightened of shadows, not men who carried their hearts on their sleeves, not men who troubled themselves with Continental analogies, not men who ran to Austria or Russia for models of Government. They rescued India from misrule and anarchy, they wrested the dominion of India from the French; they wanted to give India the benefits of British administration; they wanted to infuse the country with the Spirit of British rule. Those were men who wielded alike the sword and the pen, and were at home alike in the busy haunts of men and in the seclusion of the Council Chamber. This is what Sir Charles Metcalfe, the liberator of the Indian Press said to a deputation that waited on him in 1837. Referring to those who were opposed to the removal of the licensing laws for the Press, he said: "If their argument be true that the spread of knowledge may be ultimately fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that one point and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping the inhabitant in a state of ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country and ought to cease." These are memorable words, and their grave significance should never be lost sight of. Unfortunately they were lost sight of in 1910, and the Government of India took a hasty and hurried step towards what Sir Charles Metcalfe sought to avoid. Did they think what they were doing by the law they were passing? Killing sedition? Did they believe that they were choking off the subterranean channels through moisture brought to that plant of the noisome growth? They must have. But the question may be asked. Have they succeeded? Their success is writ in large characters for the man who runs to read. And so it was anticipated by those whom panic and passion had not blinded to reason. And sedition driven underground is more dangerous than sedition whose roots you can reach with one's eyes open. We barred our way to the sources of danger and, gentlemen, it was not as if there was no law dealing with sedition. It was not as if we had not succeeded in suppressing newspapers which were offending. In Bengal, the "Sandhya" had gone, the "Yugantar" had gone, the "Bandemataram" had gone. Sir Herbert Risley declared in a speech that out of 47 cases for sedition instituted under the laws then existing, the Government had secured a conviction in every one of them. What more could be wanted? The answer was given that the prosecutions involved great labour and much consideration. Consequently the Government wanted a sweeping measure, not causing so much trouble. Alas! the blindness of rulers and of men! How human foresight is apt to be vain, how human schemes go the wrong way! Gentlemen, you will allow me to pass to another branch of the subject. The Government of India had to put a sieve on their own conscience. They had to reconcile the British public and a Liberal administration. They had to re-enact what Gladstone had helped in removing, and who could find for them more plausible reasons than that keen, gifted and astute scholar and politician, Sir Herbert Risley? He brought into requisition the laws prevailing in Austria, the conditions of which he said were similar to India, forgetting that Austria-Hungary had their Diets and that Ministers could be removed. But these slight considerations do not affect our rulers when they draw analogies from the Continent of Europe for the enactment or introduction of a retrograde or reactionary measure. But, said Sir Herbert, we in India shall be better off than in Austria. The Bill does not propose to confer any power on the police. They will be absolutely outside it and will have nothing whatever to do with its administration. I think there is a difference between the police and the C. I. D. The one is open public, the other secret, subterranean. And Sir Herbert was only thinking of the police, keeping the C. I. D. in reserve. How is the law administered? As soon as an application is made for registration, the magistrate refers it to the C. I. D. and upon its report depends the fate of the newspaper or the press. There are many Pressmen in this assembly. They will correct me if I am wrong. But Sir Herbert Risley had not only to throw dust in the eyes of the British public. He had also to reintroduce on a much larger scale what Gladstone had repeated, namely, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and he pointed out the difference. It was not like the Press Act of 1878, a purely executive measure. The initiative indeed rests with the Government but ample security against hasty or arbitrary action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority. This was not all. This does not rest on the elusive assurance of an astute statesman. The Law Minister at the time, whose honesty and candour are above all question, said in words of great emphasis that he had provided safeguard which would make a Local Government hesitate before it made an order of forfeiture, because there was a tribunal which would sit over it and could reverse its decision. There was another safeguard. Under section 4 of the Act, the Government would have to state the offending words, signs or visible representations. That was the safeguard

guards. The Local Governments would have to particularize the offence and there would be the right of appeal. Well, no Local Government did set out particulars. In a recent case the High Court of Bengal held that the declaration of forfeiture was invalid and illegal. But the invalidity was protected by Section 22 of the Act and the High Court had no power to interfere. Then as regards the safeguard of appeal, this is what the Chief Justice has said: "Of the two alleged checks on executive action supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the courts, is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been, disregarded without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act. Well, gentlemen, this is what we have come to. We have a special law of a very drastic nature without any safeguards. We say that that law is not necessary. We say that that law can never serve the purpose for which it was intended. We say that that law will make criminal administration mere difficult, because it will shut out the sources of information. We say that it will make the general administration of the country a matter of grave concern, for it will act as a wet cloth on all expressions of public opinion. We say that, situated as the Government of India is, foreign in its composition and a loof in its character, that that law is a source of great pride (*sic*), that it is against the spirit of the British Constitution, that it is derogatory to the self-respect of a nation, of a people if you will, which is fast developing its self-consciousness, and we say, on the authority of the highest tribunal that the safeguards supposed to be provided do not exist, and we appeal to the Government of Lord Hardinge, who has shown a courage in his treatment of great and burning questions like the Partition of Bengal and the grievances of Indians in South Africa, and a just indignation over the Mosque bungle in Cawnpore, comparable only with that the early administrators of India, to remove a dark and inglorious spot in what is justly regarded as the brightest diadem in the British Crown."

Mr. D. G. Dalvi of Bombay, in seconding the resolution protesting against the continuation of the Indian Press Act, said that though he had agreed with the general principles of this Bill when it came on to the Statute Book, he was of opinion that it should have been repealed after four years. He said the Press Act was introduced when there was sedition in the country. Now that the panic was over, the law should be repealed. So-called anarchy and bomb-throwing had nothing to do with the Press in general. The police, having this weapon, carried on prosecution in a haphazard manner. It was essential that the executive power should be under the authority of the High Court. Indians highly cherished the liberty of the Press to which the Act gave check.

Mr. J. Chaudhari, in supporting, cited specific cases of hardships to which Pressmen had been put under the Act.

The resolution was further supported by two Sindhi speakers, after which it was carried.

Rai Baikunt Nath Sen moved a resolution with respect to the Public Services Commission, protesting against the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative and lack of character which some Indians had levelled against Indians. It prayed that the Royal Commission would recommend an increase of India in the higher appointments, a simultaneous Civil Service examination, that the age-limit for Civil Service candidates should not be lowered, that the judicial and executive services and functions should be separated, that restrictions against appointments to higher offices should be removed, that the division of the Services into Imperial and Provincial should be removed and that the people of these dominions of the Crown where Indians were not accorded the rights of British citizens should be declared ineligible for appointments in India.

In speaking to the resolution, Rai Baikunt Nath Sen said that it might be asked that, while the Commission was going on with its work, why should the Congress pass such a resolution? The reply was that serious charges had been levelled against Indians and, if the Congress kept silent, it might be construed as a partial admission, and therefore, they were going to emphatically refute those charges. Then he cited instances of some Bengali Civilians who had proved more efficient during the recent unrest in Bengal than European magistrates. In view of the progress made by Indians in matters of education, and in view of the present policy of the Government, the speaker thought the time had come when there should be a simultaneous Civil Service examination both in London and in India.

Dr. Niranjan Shree, in seconding, said that the first principle that should be recognised was that India was governed for Indians and that her children should first be admitted into the Services of the country and that non-Indians should be appointed only when there was no competent Indian and that only for a limited time. The division of the Services into Imperial and Provincial was most derogatory. A contented India with a service filled by her own sons was a greater asset to England than an irritated India whose loaves and fishes in the services were monopolised by non-Indians. The resolution being supported in Madras by two Karachi delegates was carried.

Other resolutions were adopted praying for the introduction of a permanent land settlement in ryotwari areas, for the opening of the higher ranks in the Army to Indians, for the introduction of free compulsory education, for the establishment of residential universities supplementary to the existing universities, for making provision for industrial and technical education, and protesting against the action of the Government of India in vetoing the election by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardi and Jaiwal as lecturers.

Another resolution urged that all High Courts in India should have direct relations with the Government of India alone.

The next resolution gave cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and another resolution urged the total prohibition of the recruitment of labour under indenture whether for work in India or elsewhere.

Resolution praying for an increase of the powers of local bodies, the revision of the Council Regulations, the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and the Punjab were moved from the chair.

The President moved another resolution authorising the All-India Congress Committee to arrange for a deputation to England to represent Indian views on the South Africa question, the Press Act, the reform of the India Council and the separation of judicial and executive functions.

The Congress next recorded its sense of appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee.

A resolution was moved by the Chair that the following message be sent to Mr. Gandhi and was carried unanimously:

"The 28th Indian National Congress, Karachi, expresses deep indignation at the ill-treatment of Indian strikers in Natal and accords its cordial support to your request for the extension of the composition of the Enquiry Commission by the addition of two gentlemen enjoying the confidence of Indians in South Africa, and fervently trusts that your demand will be satisfied so as to secure a full and impartial enquiry. India at your back in your struggle, heart and soul."

Rai Baikunt Nath Sen, in moving a resolution expressing regret at the retirement of Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. D. A. Khare from the office of General Secretaries, paid a warm tribute to the signal services rendered by them.

Mr. Wacha, on behalf of himself and Mr. Khare, thanked the audience for the kind words of praise spoken in appreciation of their services and said that they had only done their duty as servants of the Congress, and that their present retirement from the Secretaryship of the Congress Committee was in no way due to a want of interest. On the contrary their interest would last as long as health permitted. As a word of advice to the younger men of the Congress, Mr. Wacha said that the Congress had now been 23 years in existence, that it had passed through many a phase, through the phases of ridicule, contempt and obloquy, but that it was now entering on a new era when it was shaking hands with their Moslem brethren. A new star had arisen for the Congress and the course of this star would shape its future destiny. During its onward progress its course would be sometimes one of storm and stress. But remember this: "Toil on, toil on; but go onward in your progress. We can only reach our goal step by step, that goal which will crown us with success. Let it be self-government."

Nawab Syed Mahmud Bahadur and Mr. Subba Rao were appointed General Secretaries for the next year. Mr. Subba Rao in reply invited the next Congress to Madras.

Mr. Golam Ali Chagla, Secretary of the Reception Committee, proposed a vote of thanks to the President and said that the Nawab's presence had been productive of fruitful results. It was due to his presence that the Hindu-Mohamedan *entente* resolution had been adopted whose effect would be far-reaching.

Mr. Basu seconded and several delegate supported.

The president made the following reply:—

"Gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart I thank you for the very warm vote of thanks which you have just passed. It desire to convey to you once more my grateful appreciation of the great honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the deliberations of our National Assembly. I thank you all for the ready and willing assistance you have rendered to me in the discharge of my duties, and for the indulgence you have shown me in carry them out. It is not necessary for me to sum up the work accomplished during the last three days. I will only repeat, what my predecessors have said so often, that the work of this Congress is by no means over with the three days session, but that these three days are only the starting point and guide for continued and steady work in the course of the year that opens out before us. I do not wish to indulge in common places, but let me impress upon you that the Congress is not concerned with any work of momentary or local importance nor with the accomplishment of isolated objects. It aims at sustained and systematic work

towards continuous progress, including peace and plenty, self-improvement and solidarity. The Indian National Congress is not an annual show, but is an organisation designed to stimulate and guide serious national work in which all who have confidence in the country's advancement, on modern lines, and have faith in its future destiny, are called upon to labour in a spirit of self-sacrifice and co-operation and in the exercise of the public virtues specially demanded by the exceptional conditions of the country. As a visible representation of our national aspirations, the Congress will attract and rally together the best minds among us, and even occasional failure will impel them to strive onward further in the belief that, for committees as for men, the test of real greatness is the capacity for self-denial and disinterested devotion to the public good. The zeal, earnestness and mutual confidence manifest among all that worked for the success of this session, among the delegates, the members of the reception committee and the volunteers, are undoubted indications of our determination to be a united nation. Let us not hesitate, falter or despair. Let us march forward, on and on. Let us be up and down, and not rest until the goal is reached.

You gave me a very warm reception on my arrival here, and during my stay here received great kindness from you for which I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to you. I shall carry with me very happy recollections of your city and of your excellent qualities, which I assure you will endure till the last hour of my life. Once again I express my grateful thanks for all you have done to make my stay among you comfortable and pleasant."

On the conclusion of the President's speech the Congress was dissolved.

Selections.

The Tango.

ALL Britain is now divided into three parts. There are those who rave in praise of the Tango. There are those who rave against. And there are those—a quiet majority—who know little about it and careless.

True, it is not easy to preserve a virginal ignorance, since the newspapers and the theatres have made the Tango their own. But many excellent people are really clever in dodging inconvenient knowledge. A few years ago a play called "Ben Hur" enjoyed its day of fleeting popularity in London. A certain great man was asked if he had seen it. "Of course, on the hoardings," was his reply. "But I mean have you seen the play?" "A play, is it? Really, I thought it was some new brand of whisky." People of this kind note the constant references to "Tango Teas" and "Tango Suppers," but probably connect the word with the idea of some cunningly advertised drink or beef essence.

Those who are at all interested in the Tango, however, are interested very much. The question is the Tango a shameful and ridiculous dance or a thing of rare grace and beauty?—cuts across all social and party lines. There are sound Tories who applaud, and violent Radicals who condemn it. Serious youth is appalled, cheery sensibility delighted. It has its friends and its enemies in Mayfair and Whitechapel alike. To express an opinion either way in public is to invite the most deadly and withering retorts from offended partisans. The pro-Tango party draw all their arguments from the ball-rooms of London; the "antis" rely on terrible stories of the Paris cabarets. They may be left to fight the matter out between themselves. The unbiased investigator is only concerned with the actual facts.

It is hardly a year ago since the Tango reached this country from South America by way of Paris. It was at first no more than a music-hall freak. But some of those mysterious people who inspire new social fashions were attracted by its sinuous movements and the strange backward kick, and this year it made its way into private houses as well as public ball-rooms. Enterprising hostesses smiled a welcome to the innovation. Dancing, once regarded by young men as the outside edge of boredom, became suddenly popular. The languishing industry of Mr. Turveydrop revived into vigorous life. Everybody, in the limited social sense, began to acquire the knack of swaying and kicking on the approved Tango lines. The resulting spectacle was too much for Hepzibah Countess of Grundy. That lady—everybody remembers her husband's elevation late in Victoria's reign—above the signature "A Peeress," broke out into scarcely co-herent protests against the "disgraceful travesties of dancing" to be seen in London ball-rooms. She had a debutante of eighteen—a Miss Pordenape—to protect, and that ingenious young person's cheek was assumed to be scarlet over the shocking evolutions of the Tango.

Lady Grundy's protest, of course, only advertised the dance, and the Tango has now passed through many of the phases of a

popular craze. It holds the comedy stage without a rival. It has conquered the country houses. No great hotel is without its Tango teas and suppers. Millinery and dressmaking have responded to the Tango inspiration; and now even the journalists, the last to discover and the last to abandon a new idea, are beginning to discuss little else. That familiar figure, "the well-known Harley Street physician," has broken out. One side of the Street—say the odd numbers—recommends the Tango as an ideal exercise for the middle-aged. It is a fine, healthy exercise, "bringing all the large muscles in to play, inducing healthy skin action, and specially useful in cases of confirmed insomnia." The even numbers retort that grim possibilities lurk for the too vigorous Tango dancer—cardiac trouble, and muscular strain and liability to dislocation of the tibia. The "Lancet," too, will soon, no doubt, analyse the atmosphere of a Tango dance-room and prove that it yields an almost incredible number of bacteria to the square millimetre.

The aesthetics are equally divided. M. Richepin gives the Tango a distinguished ancestry and a good character. It is the incarnation of the spirit of the dance, and it comes to us from Pallas Athena, though it has had wanderings since it satisfied the Hellenic instinct for grace. Other voices scarcely less distinguished are raised against the innate savagery of a dance said to betray in every gesture its fitness for the cowboys and gauchos who evolved it. Indian or negroid—Spanish decadence grafted on to primitive animalism—this is the degraded ancestry of the thing European degenerates are not ashamed to embrace. Broadly speaking, the voting follows strictly party lines. The Academician condemns; the Futurist applauds. The school of art that still declares grass to be green is hostile to the Tango. Those who believe grass to be purple, with blotches of blue and yellow are warm friends of the Tango.

The argument, presumably will go on until the Tango—danced, photographed, "filmed," blessed and banned—has reached the stage of a generally recognised bore. Then, if it has real merits, it will quietly take its place in full odour of respectability in the repertory of established dances. Such was the fate of the Polka, the Lancers, the Schottische, and the rest. For the Polka, which so preoccupied Paris that in 1840 the *Times* complained that its correspondence was interrupted, was condemned, by Mrs. Grundy (not then ennobled) as a thing of license and contagious immodesty. Even the decorous waltz, the blameless mainstay of the modern programme met a storm of opposition when it reached these shores a century ago. The Tango may prove to have no more vitality than the American eccentricities which have had their little day in London, but has an interest for the moment as the expression of the spirit of the age. It represents a revolt from the tyranny of tradition, together with a bewildered outlook on the future. It says in effect, "Give us something new—or at least novel—ugly or beautiful matters not. Anything rather than dull perfection on the old lines."

It expresses, too, the modern passion for youthfulness. The child was curious to know what became of the old moons. A greater puzzle is what becomes of the old men and women. People refuse to grow old; perhaps because they are afraid to. They are like the wonderful one-horse shay, proof against the ordinary process of gradual depreciation. They last so many years, seemingly unchanged and unchangeable, and then—suddenly drop into pieces. Old age is unfashionable, and gravity pardonable only in the very young. It is said that the majority of Tango students are well over fifty. A boy may delight in bluebooks, a Greuzelike young girl may addict herself to the study of Eugenics; but that way fogginess and frumpiness lie for the man or woman over forty. Hence the excessive catering for the youthful in all departments. The newspaper reader who craved for "something about sunspots" has disappeared. His successor is assumed to be interested almost exclusively in the activities of those mysterious classes discussed in a scientific spirit by Mr. George Grossmith—the "bloods" and the "nuts" and their female equivalents.

And yet the silent majority really cares as little about these things as the honest yeoman under Charles II, troubled about the freaks of Scaly and Rochester. Modern feverishness is impressive enough in the newspapers, no doubt. But most men who have fairly extensive acquaintance will agree that on the whole the British pulse beats as healthful music as heretofore. John Bull is John Bull still, though he sometimes tries in his awkward way to cut a Parisian caper.—The *Saturday Review*.

Civis Britannicus—New Style.

THE strike of the Indians in Natal illustrates better than any other instance the unreality of much talk about the unity of the British Empire. A chief count in our case against the Kruger Government was their unjust and oppressive treatment of British Indians. We claimed from them full privileges of entry and residence for Indians in accordance with the London Convention. After the war, when country was under our control, we did virtually nothing to redress

or abate those grievances. Lord Milner allowed the matter to stand over, and when self-government was given and the Union Government was formed, the worse counsels of the Transvaal and Natal prevailed over the more liberal policy of the Cape. The liberties of entrance, settlement, and occupation were further curtailed, an ignominious system of identification was imposed, and a high license tax of £3 upon unindentured labor was extended from the Transvaal over the whole Union so as to keep all Indians to the more servile occupations. Protests and peaceable representations have procured some trivial concessions, but no real abatement of grievances. Two years ago, after prolonged negotiations with the Government, Mr. Gandhi believed himself to have secured satisfactory pledges for a removal of the more flagrant injustices. But nothing was done to fulfil the pledges. Last summer Mr. Gokhale, a distinguished member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, took the matter in hand, and, after a full investigation of the facts, approached the Government. He also obtained what he described as "a definite assurance" of reforms. In particular, he was informed that the abolition of the £3 license tax would shortly take place. But it seems that the Government is either unwilling or unable to redeem its promises.

It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that the Indians of Natal, weary of waiting, have elected to force matters to an issue by a strike and a formal breach of the emigration regulations. With one or two trifling exceptions, of which much has been made, their protest has been conducted in a peaceable and dignified manner. It has been met by wholesale prosecutions and imprisonment, accompanied—according to some reports—by brutal floggings. The indentured miners are sent back to work out their sentences in the mines under prison discipline, which seems to include the right to flog. The Prison Act of 1913, under which colliery compounds may thus be gazetted as gaols, is in itself an eye-opener as to what justice means for colored people in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, the two most responsible leaders of this movement, are sentenced to terms of hard labor. Armed police are everywhere in evidence, and the more truculent Natalians, as usual, are clamoring for the brutal license of martial law. It is easy to understand the panic which prevails in this least civilized section of the British dominions. Natal ought never to have received the status of a "self-governing colony." It is far less fit for such a Government than Jamaica or Ceylon. Its white population is a small racial aristocracy living on the labor of a somewhat larger body of Indians and a Kaffir population ten times its size. It lives in a constant liability to panics, and sees rebellion continually on the horizon. The true story of the so-called Zulu Rebellion seven years ago is one of the most discredited pages of our Imperial history. There was no rebellion. There was a poll-tax, oppressively imposed and illegally collected; protests, and in a few instances, a failure to pay; attacks on unarmed Zulus by fully armed police and soldiery; a harrying of fugitives, and one chief, disaffected on other grounds, with a band of riotous young men, showed fight. Nearly 3,000 Zulus were killed, hundreds of kraals burned, and a Jeffreys assize ensued. Not more than a dozen white men lost their lives in the whole course of the fighting, and no single attack by Zulus upon the white farms scattered over the country was alleged.

If Natal is allowed to have its head, it will adopt similar modes of statecraft in dealing with this crisis. Fortunately, the action of the Union Government will introduce an element of greater gravity. For, oppressive and shift as the Union policy has been, men like Mr. Botha and Mr. Smuts are at any rate open to considerations wider than the exigencies of the moment and the particular locality. They have doubtless their difficulties in making the racial pride, common to the lower type of Boer and Briton, conform to their own higher ideals of government. We cannot expect that the British Government in South Africa will accord to British subjects from other lands even that measure of consideration claimed from Mr. Kruger, or that they will go any further than Canada or Australia towards realizing full equality of rights for citizens of the British Empire. But we do expect, and we should insist upon, their not placing such British subjects in a worse position than aliens from foreign lands would be. For if the subjects of any other civilized State are unjustly or oppressively treated in South Africa, their Consuls are there to look after their interests, and their Governments will use the requisite diplomatic pressure to secure redress. The Indian Government has no representative in South Africa, nor, apparently, has it any status for pressing the claims of its people. But surely this a *reductio ad absurdum* of Empire, that a fellow-subject of that Empire should have less effective liberty and less security than a foreigner. If Empire is not to be a mere byword and laughing-stock, it cannot rest content with this situation.

It is suggested that the Indian Government can and ought to bring pressure on its own account. It can refuse to permit the migration of the labour which South Africa, for its own purposes and on its own harsh conditions, does require. It can discriminate against South African products, and perhaps in other ways make itself disagreeable. This retaliation it ought, perhaps, to practise, if this

is the only way of teaching the elements of justice and reason to South Africa. But surely the supposition that the Imperial Government itself is powerless to prevent such maltreatment of its Indian subjects is premature. What are these Imperial Conferences worth, and this continual bringing together of representatives of our Dominions for discussion of concerted policies of commerce and defence, if they cannot gain acceptance for some such elementary standard of Imperial citizenship as shall preclude at least the worst of the grievances from which the Indians suffer in South Africa? Alike to the Indian and the Imperial Governments the appeal is made, not merely, on grounds of abstract justice, or even of humanity, but also of urgent expediency. The nature of that expediency will be obvious to those who follow the wave of excitement roused throughout India by the reports of events in South Africa. The Indians are a sympathetic people. Moslems as well as Hindus are involved in these grievances, and the resentment against our Government, should they remain unredressed, is likely to have exceedingly grave consequences. Responsible Angli-Indians in India itself as well as here are well aware of this, and are endeavouring to secure some sort of effective intervention. We cannot, it is true, coerce South Africa; but surely we retain, by the Imperial connection, some effective powers of persuasion. If we do not, then the reality of Empire disappears together with its unity.

The Hapsburg Monarchy.*

THE relations of the various peoples which comprise the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary have long been an attractive subject of study to Englishmen. Several Englishmen who accidentally during their travels became interested in one of the numerous ethnological questions of the Empire have returned to the place and the subject again and again, until the watching of some well-nigh insoluble problem trying to solve itself has become a mental passion. One or two Englishmen in this way have acquired a masterly knowledge of some aspects of Austro-Hungarian life. We need only mention as an example Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, valuable articles by whom have from time to time appeared in the *Spectator*. But Mr. H. W. Steed says that in spite of the existence of numerous works on Austria-Hungary—some the results of first-hand study and others of reading and compilation—there is room for the observations of one who has passed ten years of constant residence in the Dual Kingdom. Certainly everyone will welcome this book from so able a writer and so well-known an authority on Austro-Hungarian life and politics as Mr. Steed. We think he over-emphasizes some of the influences at work in Austria-Hungary—notably the Jewish influence—but there is so much that is penetrating in this brilliant book that we can afford to put up with some prejudices (as we regard them) even though we may regret them.

If we had to summarize Mr. Steed's conclusions in a sentence we should say that he believes the Hapsburg Monarchy to be a very powerful instrument of cohesion, capable probably of upsetting all the predictions that the fissiparous tendencies of the Empire Francis will end in structural disunion at the death of Emperor Joseph. The very choice of his title shows how dominant Mr. Steed believes the symbol of the Monarchy to be. In his view, the frequent internal crises are crises of growth rather than of decay. It is notorious, none the less, that the peoples of Austria-Hungary are more conscious of their differences than of their brotherhood. They are like ships steering different courses, yet using the same star for the purpose of navigation; the star is the Hapsburg Monarchy. When the Emperor Francis Joseph addresses the various races under his control he calls them the "peoples," not the "people." "Nationality" for them means their own racial birthright, not membership of the Empire. Thus Austrian Germans speak of their "nation" and mean primarily the Germans of Bohemia, Tirol, Upper and Lower Austria, Moravia, Styria, and Carinthia, and secondarily Germans who are not Austrians at all—the Germans of the German Empire, Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Poles, and Ruthenes similarly speak of their "nations" in the ethnical sense. The Austrian essayist, Ferdinand Kürnberger, said that Austria could be comprehended only if it were remembered that she is a kind of Asia. The spirit of the country is both that of a child and of an old man. In the whirl of persons, with all their South German liveliness and Slav changeability, and in spite of the way they "dance up to all things with verve and grace," there is still an Asiatic stiffness, inertness, and conservatism which has "not budged an inch since Biblical times."

The sudden arrival of universal suffrage in a virtually autocratic country was a typical paradox. It was characteristic that the move should have been dictated by the Emperor and forced on by the Socialists working from below. Parliament was reluctant. "In point of fact," says Mr. Steed, "the introduction of universal suffrage was the fulfilment of a dynastic plan long formed and tenaciously pursued. To regard it simply as a 'popular victory' would be to

**The Hapsburg Monarchy*. By Henry Wickham Stead, London: Constable and Co., [7s. 6d. net.]

overlook the circumstance that in the Hapsburg Monarchy most things have another than their surface meaning, fulfil another than their ostensible function." The strength of the Throne was proved within very recent history when one of the long series of Magyar attempts to assert the separate nature of the Hungarian army failed like all the others. At the same time, Mr. Steed does not deny that the undermining tendencies of the Magyars are one of the most serious menaces to the Throne. The methods of the Magyars, indeed, are one of the great ironies which have to be remembered in stating a general rule as to the certainty of sweetening a people by a grant of autonomy. Englishmen who are still alive can remember the raptures of enthusiasm with which Kossuth was received in England when he pleaded for the cause of his countrymen. But never since the day when the Magyars got what they wanted have they shown any sign of according to their own subordinates the sympathy which they themselves once craved and won. The mean-ness is the greater because they attained more than they had deserved or even expected, thanks to the sagacity of Déak. When Austria was hard pressed by other troubles and the Hungarian question was still an open and dangerous sore, the Emperor Francis Joseph asked Déak on what terms he would settle the dispute. Déak, with an outward show of chivalry, answered that the Hungarians desired to take no unfair advantage and would require no better terms now than before. It was an answer worthy of that clever leader, for what had been asked for before was a maximum representing much more than the Magyars had hoped to receive. The Emperor, however, gratefully closed with the offer. The Magyars have forgotten everything and learned nothing new, whereas the Emperor himself has never ceased to learn and to change with the times. He has never changed too soon, but has shown an extraordinary aptitude in recognizing the hour of necessity. It may be said that his changes have been only opportunism or mere cynicism. But at all events they have served the Empire well, and have probably saved it. To some ardent proposer of a new scheme of regeneration he remarked: "En théorie, en théorie, peut-être; mais en pratique il faut avoir été Empereur soixante ans."

Next to the Crown in importance Mr. Steed places the army. The Church, the police, and the bureaucracy are all, in his opinion, of less account. Of the army he says:—

"It inculcates, moreover, unitary sentiment and devotion to the dynasty. In spirit it is far more democratic than the German army. The bulk of Austro-Hungarian officers are drawn, not as in Germany, from the aristocracy and the nobility, but rather from the middle and lower middle classes. Austro-Hungarian officers are, for the most part, hard-working, hard-living men, unspoiled by luxury, and striving to subsist on little more than their meagre pay. They stand nearer than the German officers to the common soldier. Cases of ill-treatment of men by officers are rare. The subaltern who should restrict his intercourse with his men to the shouting of a few words of command would soon be found wanting. The bulk of Austro-Hungarian regiments are racially composite. Their officers must speak enough of the languages of the men to be able to supplement the German words of command with detailed instructions and explanations in the mother tongues of the rank and file. There results a personal relationship that renders the army in Austro-Hungary a more human and humanizing organization than Germany."

On the Church Mr. Steed delivers a bitter and damning judgment:—

"It has great power, vast wealth, and little living faith. It is an institution, not an evangelizing nor always a purifying agency. 'In tutta Vienna non ho trovato una sola anima,' was the sad verdict of a profoundly religious foreign friar after considerable experience of the Austrian ecclesiastical world. The religious movement, nicknamed 'Modernist,' that affected some of the best minds in the French, Italian, German, and English branches of the Roman Church, left Austria-Hungary practically untouched. Austria has not produced a single 'Modernist' of note. One solitary priest who pleaded for greater spirituality in a book called *Nostra Maxima Culpa* was speedily silenced and is now forgotten. One Hungarian bishop revealed spiritual tendencies in a series of books and pastoral letters, but found himself condemned and obliged to retract. These are the only signs of loftier aspiration in the Church of Austria and Hungary. The rest is domination, intrigue, enjoyment of fat revenues, and maintenance of control over a people very observant of religious form and very void of religious feeling. In such conditions 'Clericalism' flourishes."

It is in his appreciation of Dr. Lueger, the famous Burgomaster of Vienna, and in his condemnation of Austrian "Liberalism" that Mr. Steed seems to us unnecessarily to excuse and sanction anti-Semitism. The Zionist organization—the most conscious and deliberate expression of Judaism—is but slenderly represented in Parliament, and the whole body of Jews is numerically inferior to such nationalities as the Ruthenes and the Rumanes. Mr. Steed attributes to Jewish capitalistic influences all the inaneities and inconsisten-

cies of Austrian "Liberalism." Moreover, he assumes in many highly civilized countries a degree of anti-Semitism which we ourselves have been unable to detect.

We have not space to mention all the admirable points in the book, but we must add that there is a brief but masterly summary of the South Slav question. Apart from the South Slav question Mr. Steed would assign special prominence (among the dangers that threaten the Monarchy) to the old problem of Transylvanian autonomy and to the newer question of Rumanian Irredentism in the event of the relations between the Monarchy and Rumania becoming less cordial. In this respect the bigoted Chauvinism of the Magyars is once more to blame. Mr. Steed, contrary to one received opinion, does not think that Germany is waiting anxiously for the break-up of the Empire.

"Germany seems unlikely to consent to any essential dismemberment of Austria-Hungary as long as the German Empire is able, by a policy of economic and political penetration, to use the Monarchy as its instrument. A main object of this penetration is to give Germany command of the route to Trieste and, through the Adriatic, to the Mediterranean. The Hapsburg Monarchy will probably be exposed to no mortal peril as long as it refrains from serious insubordination to Germany; and should a European conflagration ever arise out of the numerous unsolved international issues in Europe or the Near East, the Monarchy might hope, in the event of victory, to obtain with German help a considerable slice of Russian territory. In the event of defeat its existence, like that of the German Empire in its present form, might be endangered. But catastrophic hypotheses are best left out of account in these days of intertwined interests and of armies so colossal that defeat could hardly fail to be attended by revolutions fatal to thrones and to the existing social order; and calm consideration of the complicated factors involved leads rather to the conclusion that the Hapsburg Monarchy has but one sure way of escape from its difficulties into a more prosperous and tranquil future—the way of evolution, gradual or rapid as circumstances may permit, towards a form of internal organization better adapted than the Dual System to the permanent needs of its peoples."—*The Spectator*.

British Indians.

The Marquis of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, received on the 1st December, at the India Office a deputation from the All-Indian South African League, who conveyed to him the views of the League on the position of Indians in South Africa.

The members of the deputation were Sir M. M. Bhowaggee, Major N. P. Sidha, Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Messrs. B. Dube, J. M. Parika, C. A. Latif, S. A. Bhisey, N. M. Muzumdar, M. M. Gandexia, A. S. M. Anik, and Sorabji Shapurji.

Sir M. M. Bhowaggee expressed on behalf of the Indian people thanks to Lord Crewe for consenting to receive the deputation at a critical juncture. There was, he said, not a person of Indian birth in this country or elsewhere who was not in absolute unanimity with the objects of the deputation. As to the prevailing feeling—it might be called excitement—aroused among the people of India by recent events in South Africa, there was the powerful testimony of Lord Hardinge. The words of the Viceroy had served to some extent to pacify the intense indignation with which the people of India viewed the trend of things in South Africa. The deputation wished to associate itself with Lord Hardinge's demand for a searching inquiry into the grievances of the Indians in South Africa and the dismal events which had resulted therefrom. The tale of the sufferings and indignities to which British Indians had been subjected in South Africa for years past was long and squalid. It had been bad enough in the time of the Boers; it had been ten times worse since. Old laws to their detriment had been strengthened, new ones had been enacted, and all of them enforced with a rigour unknown before the establishment of British domination there. The effect of all this had been to harass the Indian settlers there, and to lower the whole of the King-Emperor's Indian subjects in the eyes of the world as a law order of human beings, unfit to enjoy the ordinary privileges of citizenship in any part of the globe, for this brand of treatment was being put upon them in other British colonies and in foreign countries. How the all-protecting and merciful rule of the British Crown, under which they were content and proud to live, could suffer 800 millions of its subjects to be thus degraded in the sight of nations naturally passed their comprehension. That there was no justification for such treatment was evident from the fact that responsible Ministers of the Crown of both parties had repeatedly admitted the injustice and harshness of the laws directed against them, and had given repeated promises and pledges for redress. Their pledges had remained unfulfilled.

Even such partial settlement of the most intolerable burdens, such as poll-tax and the unnecessarily drastic provisions of the Immigration Bill which was last year dangled before their eyes had so far been evaded. That settlement was understood to afford a temporary relief from some of the most irksome burdens which were making the very existence of the sufferers impossible, but were a long way off from any appreciable solution of their numerous wrongs, for so long as the people of India were laid under any disabilities on account of race or colour in any portion of the British dominions, so long must they feel sorely aggrieved. That bar sinister must be removed at all costs. It could hardly be contested that most if not all of the hard measures levelled against them were due to race prejudice, and were used with a view to their extirpation from the colonies. After years of patient suffering, and finding that even the little relief they had been led to expect from the more immediately pressing burdens was being finally withheld, some of them had protested in the last few days against their situation by passive resistance, and certain numbers of the indentured labourers had gone on strike. They knew the penalty of the technical offence they were committing, and willingly took their punishment. But the rigour and, in many instances, the brutality with which their punishment had been and was now being carried out was the main ground of their complaint. The horrible tale of their maltreatment in various shapes came from quarters on whose veracity full reliance could be placed. It had been refuted by the local authorities, but past experience of the attitude of the officials there towards British Indians justified belief in the complaints. Even the almost one-sided reports that had appeared in public journals showed that the indentured Indians had been sent back to the mines and fields to work under the lash of the sjambok freely wielded by their employers, and that it was only when thus driven to desperation that they adopted measures of self-preservation. The tale of so many deaths of Indians by the free use of fire-arms on the part of the local police, on the one hand, and, on the other a few scratches or wounds suffered by the latter in the scuffles proved conclusively that the reports of violence by Indians were exaggerated. At all events, there was a strong case made out for an independent inquiry on this point. Whatever the result of such investigation might be, it would be found that the wholesale exercise for the first time in the history of the British Empire of the provision of law which authorised the conversion of compounds into gaols could not have failed to result in a form of torture which the framers of the law could have scarcely contemplated. It was not denied that the sjambok and other weapons had been freely used to compel men to do the very work which in their last desperation they had refused to perform. This incident, this travesty of law, might be possible in a savage country, but it was a method of vindictive barbarism which ought to be impossible in any square foot of soil over which the British flag flew.

All this had been done in the sacred name of law. But the laws of South Africa, specially devised for the extermination of Indian settlers and immigrants, were not such laws as a free nation enacted for the preservation of life, property, and order. It was to the enactment of laws of this kind that the people of India strongly objected, and they sought the intervention of the Imperial Government to procure their repeal or modification. When self-government was conferred on South Africa it was well known that even when the authorities there had limited and controlled powers of administration they had adopted every means to oppress and disgrace the British-Indian settlers. In fact, by repeated solemn pledges the Imperial Government at that very time was under obligation to ameliorate their condition. It could not be contended that in transferring the administration to the Colony the Government deliberately avoided the obligation, leaving their Indian subjects to be trampled upon. In the discussions in Parliament a distinct assurance was given that the Crown's veto was reserved and would be freely exercised in regard to any measures which were unjust or oppressive towards its Indian subjects. That clearly showed that the self-government conferred was limited, with the authority of the Crown reserved. He contended that it was the Imperial Government's duty to mediate at this critical moment. On it, and it alone, rested the responsibility to safeguard the interests of India throughout the Empire. The Imperial Government had finally to arbitrate on these grave differences between the two sections of British subjects, and to that end the following immediate measures, the deputation respectfully submitted, should be adopted:—

1. The release of the passive resisters and strikers now in prison.
2. The amendment of the Immigration Act to remove the racial bar, the refusal of domiciliary and existing rights, and the repeal of legislation which offends against the religious and marital status of the people of India.

3. The abolition of the poll-tax.

4. The institution of a thorough inquiry into the responsibility resting on both parties, Indian and Colonial, for recent events by a tribunal with adequate Indian representation.

5. The adoption ultimately of such measures by the Crown as shall secure to British Indians throughout the Empire the citizenship which have been guaranteed to them by the solemn pledges of the Crown.

Mr. B. Dube quoted statements made by past Ministers of the Crown, including Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as to the rights of citizenship which should be enjoyed by Indian subjects of the Crown wherever they might happen to be. Coming to more recent times, he recalled the words of Colonel Seely: "If persons are admitted into British colonies they must be given civil rights. 'Free' or 'not at all' seems to me the sound principle for the British Empire." There could be no question then, Mr. Dube added, that Indians in South Africa belonged the ordinary rights of British citizens by virtue of their birth under the Constitution of the British Empire. He did not ignore the difficulties which faced the Imperial Government in South Africa. It was because the leader of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Ghandi, fully realised those difficulties that there was no demand at present for the full potential rights of citizenship under the Union. Those rights, it was hoped, would come later without any demand having to be made for them. Mr. Dube pointed out how the South African Union Government, instead of lessening the rigour of the laws and regulations that were humiliating to Indians, had materially increased and intensified it. He mentioned as a special grievance the fact that the wife of an Indian who was entitled to reside within the Union could not join her husband and live with him simply because she was married according to the rites of the Moslem faith, which permitted polygamy. Such a law was outrageous, a slur upon the good name of Indian women, and an indirect attack upon their religion. It had produced an unprecedented storm of indignation in every family in India.

LORD CREWE'S REPLY.

The Marquis of Crewe said:—I have listened with close attention to the observations made by the two speakers on behalf of this representative deputation. I need not assure you that the events of which you have spoken—events which cover a long period, events which prove a condition of general discontent among the subjects of His Majesty in South Africa, and which have now culminated in resistance to the law, in tumult, and in actual loss of life—these events are a subject of deep concern to all His Majesty's Government, and, of course, in particular to myself, who, as Secretary of State for India, am finally responsible to Parliament and to the Empire for the well-being of India and Indians everywhere. As we all know, India has been deeply stirred by the reports which have reached her, and though we need not adopt as proved facts every statement which has appeared in the press, yet it is evident that grounds exist for most serious disquiet, and there also exists material for close inquiry, both into the occurrences themselves and to the causes which have led up to them. —(Hear, hear.) As it happens I have enjoyed opportunities of studying this question, which, I think, may be regarded as unique. As Secretary of State for the Colonies for some years and since then as Secretary of State for India, I have been deeply interested in this question. I have discussed the question personally and at length with the South African Ministers specially responsible—with General Botha, with General Smuts, and with the late Mr. Fischer. I have also discussed it at length with representatives of Indian opinion, with Mr. Ghandi, Mr. Polak, and last, but not least, with Mr. Gokhale, whose passage to South Africa I have only encouraged in the hope that it might lead to a permanent settlement there. I need not debate on the character of the Indian spokesmen further than to say that I have always recognised in Mr. Gokhale a man of high ideals, and of a single-minded devotion to the interests of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa. I should like to say to this deputation as to South African Ministers. I believe that they are honestly anxious themselves to deal out fair terms to the Indian population in South Africa, and to see that the laws are humanely administered, but I am bound to say that they are often hampered by the existence in South Africa of a public opinion which is less enlightened than their own and by a degree of racial prejudice from which as individuals they are themselves largely free.

I think we shall be able to see directly the bearing of this particular fact on the position of affairs in South Africa. In the first place, it is generally conceded that South Africa can claim to restrict the immigration into its dominion—that is to say, that if there had been no Indians there at all now South Africa might have declined to admit any. But from this confession to reflections arise. In the first place, South Africa invited the Indians there, and she has profited greatly in two ways—first by the skilful labour of the indentured labourers in Natal, and secondly by the amount of pioneering trading which in the early development of the colonies was done by Indians.

Further, we have to bear in mind that a special claim is established by these facts for considerate treatment of the Indians, a claim which, I am afraid, we cannot regard as having been generally recognised in South Africa as a whole.—(Hear, hear.) The main claim all through has been that there should be no racial discrimination against Indians or against Asiatics as such, and objection is taken either to differentiation by the actual enactment of the law, or by administrative order, or—and this may be noted—by published official statements of any kind. Note the bearing of this fundamental contention on the argument which has been mainly relied on by South Africa through the whole of his controversy and difficulty. That argument is that although the laws are in terms restrictive because South African opinion instead on having them so, yet their operation has been so easily conducted that no particular grievances exist. That is the argument which has been used. On that it has first to be remarked that, besides practical grievances, there are such things as moral grievances which cannot be left altogether out of sight. Even taking the test of practical grievances, and regarding that as the reasonable subject of complaint, though I am quite certain that South African Ministers themselves have desired that the administration of the law should not be unduly burdensome to individuals, can it be said that this wish has always been carried out? The laws are necessarily administered by a number of different officials of all grades. Some of these officials may be stupid, and bound up with red-tape and the literal interpretation of the law. Others, again, may be so affected by racial prejudice that they don't wish that the burden of the law may be lightly borne. So that surely it is a dangerous thing to depend, as South Africa seems to have done, on rational and sympathetic administration of the law to protect individuals from the operations of severe enactments in such circumstances as actually exist in the South African Union.

Now take some of the quite familiar and special instances which have been touched upon in the two speeches which we have heard. Now it is not claimed by the Indian population in South Africa that South Africa ought to legalise polygamy, but, on the other hand, communities that practise polygamy surely demand reasonable consideration. And can it be fairly said that in individual cases this consideration has always been accorded? Well, then, it is apparently recognised by Indians in South Africa—and this, again, we have had mentioned in Mr. Dube's speech—that they cannot enjoy unrestricted movement from province to province. Again, we ask if the regulations which restrict that movement have been modified as far as possible, and has care been taken to the withdrawal of powers which have existed in the past for poor members of the Indian community? when we come to the most noticeable instances of any, and to the cause of the recent events of which we have been reading. What has been the history of the £3 tax in Natal, and the various questions of domicile which have been attached to that tax? Well, there is a regrettable obscurity as to what really occurred when the matter was last before the Union Parliament. Was it the fact that the Union Government were willing to drop the tax but that it was maintained in deference to the views of the Natal members? That, I understand, is disputed. How far was the abolition of the tax even actually foretold or promised? There again seems to be a difference of opinion as to what actually occurred. I can only say that it must be a great misfortune if the Indians in South Africa consider themselves to have been in any way played with in a matter of such weight and importance as this. This impost does not bring in a large revenue; it does not, so far as we can see, seem to serve any useful purpose; and a large body of public opinion in South Africa seems to regard it in a manner which I have just indicated; and yet it has become the main source of these recent difficulties. Rioting and loss of life have followed from it, with what is perhaps in some ways even more serious still, the prospect of long feud and the embitterment of relations for the future. A number of persons have been punished for breaches of the law, some with sentences of considerable severity; but what has doubtless roused more public feeling in India was the repeated allegations of personal ill-treatment by flogging and in other ways.

Now these statements which have been circulated demand inquiry—(hear, hear)—and I am glad to see that General Smuts has gone to Natal to make inquiry in person. I need not say that his Majesty's Government will accept—and in my view everybody ought to accept—categorical statements regarding the conduct of their officers made by responsible Ministers such as General Smuts and his colleagues. But it appears to me that it is to the charges of illegal—or what one may describe as extra-legal—violence that particular inquiry ought to be made. It is altogether wrong and purposeless of anybody to adopt a tone of menace towards South Africa. But I believe that the Government there will agree that if South African repute and the solidarity of the Empire were to be sustained by instituting a form of inquiry which was not solely official no sentiment either of national or of personal amour propre ought to stand in the way of such an investigation. And I add that such an investigation, to be fruitful, ought to be directed not only into the particular circumstances of the last few days, but into the substance of the complaints which are the cause

of the restless state of the Indian population of South Africa, I can assure you, in conclusion, that not only we at this office, but His Majesty's Government as a whole, will continue to give unremitting attention to this weighty subject, and it is due, I think, to my colleague Mr. Harcourt and to his staff at the Colonial Office to state my conviction that though he and they may participate less than we do in the actual Indian point of view, yet they are none the less anxious that complete justice should be done to these Indian immigrants in South Africa, whom circumstances have placed under the special care of their Department. That, I think, is all I have to say to you this afternoon. I need only assure you once more that I fully recognise both the important character of your deputation and the supreme importance of the subject upon which you have come to speak.

Sir M. M. Bhowaggee thanked Lord Crewe for his statement, and for its sympathetic tone. In order that there might be no misunderstanding on the subject, he wished to refer to the inquiry that was suggested. Would the interests of India be duly recognised by an adequate Indian representation? There was one passage in Lord Crewe's reply to which attention should be directed. It was the statement that it was simply because Indians had gone in large numbers to South Africa before all these questions arose originally, and because they had been the means of building up the prosperity of some of the South African colonies, that their residence there could be tolerated, and that if the Indians had not gone to South Africa when they did it would have been competent for South Africa to prohibit the immigration. To that view the Indian population would certainly demur, because as citizens of the British Empire, as loyal subjects of the Crown, they claimed the right of entry into all parts of His Majesty's dominions. If the deputation did not make that clear they would be accused by the people of India generally of not having represented their view on the subject. The deputation could go away with some satisfaction in the knowledge that at all events an inquiry was promised, an inquiry in which he assumed Indian interests would be duly represented. Something had been said about an inquiry by General Smuts. If recent telegrams had been read rightly General Smuts had ceased to inquire, and was now refusing to interfere at all. The deputation entreated the Secretary of State for India to use his great influence with his colleagues in the Imperial Government in support of Lord Hardinge's demand for an impartial inquiry, in which all, not only British subjects, but the world at large, might have confidence.—(Hear, hear.)

Lord Crewe, in reply, said:—I must deal at once, and shortly, with the two points which have been mentioned. In the first place, with regard to the general access of the subjects of His Majesty to all parts of the Empire. What I said with regard to the part played by the Indians of South Africa in building up the industries and activities of South Africa in the past was simply observed with the purpose of emphasising the claim which they thereby possessed upon the British and Dutch inhabitants of the Union. I had certainly no desire to engage in any argument on the abstract question of the access of all the King's subjects to every part of the Empire. Certainly I, for one, should never quarrel with any Indian who claimed that right, or who considered that he or she ought to be freely admitted to all parts of the Empire. But as you gentlemen, who are well instructed both in history and politics, are aware, various communities within the Empire hold strong views which tend to modify that right of free access. On the second and more important question, of an inquiry into South African events and of the form which it ought to take, I ought to state that I have not yet had the opportunity of discussing this question with my colleagues in the Government. In stating my conviction that some form of inquiry not purely official would be desirable in order to satisfy public opinion, I was expressing my own view, although I have no reason to suppose that it is not generally held. The object, of course, of any inquiry is to get at the actual facts. It is more for that purpose that an inquiry is held than in order to satisfy the rights or claims of any particular person or set of persons, and if you ask me without prejudice as to whether I think that the Government of South Africa would agree to the holding of an inquiry before a tribunal partly composed of Indian residents in South Africa, I must frankly tell you I don't believe they would.

Sir M. M. Bhowaggee said, he suggested that there should be Indians on the inquiry constituted by the Indian Government through the Imperial Government.

Lord Crewe: As I said, the object is that all the facts should be brought out in a manner which satisfied the public both here and in India and elsewhere, that they really have been brought out. If that is done, the actual machinery is surely of less importance. That is the fact that the truth is clearly brought out. That was the only point on which I had to make a small correction. I thank you very much for the kind words you have said with regard to my position in the deputation.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF AL-BAYAN FI ULUM-IL-QURAN

HELD AS AN
INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY
OF THE

HOLY QURAN

CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

The original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration; and revelation the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deeds; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the Comrade.—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran. Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **علم الکلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPUR, Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq, had been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.B.G.S., I.R.C.P.

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/6 so that learners of truth about Islam may easily purchase it.

Apply to—THE MANAGER.

The General Newspaper Agency

and Talanta Book Depot, Delhi.

Or Hajee Muhammad Ishaq, Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

منید عام در شاہوار یا علمی سمندر

(۱) «عظیم الشان قرآن شریف مترجم محشی» تقطیع ۲۰ جیب پائیس روپیہ

کی قیمت کی تفسیر حقانی کا ترجمہ چڑھائی کی علاوہ لغت و جاوندی کی جواہرات درج کئی کئی ہیں۔ ہدیہ مجلد سات روپیہ بارہ آنہ غیر مجلد چہ روپیہ آٹھ آنہ (۲) «الفراروق» مکتبہ علامہ شبلی ندائی قیمت تین روپیہ (۳) «الہارون» قیمت ایک روپیہ آٹھ آنہ (۴) «الامون» قیمت ایک روپیہ آٹھ آنہ (۵) «سیرۃ النعمان» قیمت ایک روپیہ آٹھ آنہ (۶) «جنستان عرب» قیمت ایک روپیہ چار آنہ (۷) «باب الاحادیث» قیمت بارہ آنہ (۸) «اولیائے دہلی» قیمت آٹھ آنہ (۹) «ترجمان حقیقت» ڈاکٹر اقبال کی کل نظمونکا مجلد مجموعہ قیمت ایک روپیہ دو آنہ (۱۰) «سراج الاخبار کابل» پندرہ روزہ ہفت روزہ فارسی زبان کا اعلیٰ ترین اخبار چند سالانہ دس روپیہ * لکھی کا پتہ اسلامیہ بک ڈپو و جنرل اخبار ایجنسی۔ بلیاراد۔ دارالاسط و دہلی

پروہی مفت منسالیجی

اعجاز نما چاول

گذشتہ اشاعت میں اعجاز نما چاول کی منسل قیمت ملاحظہ فرما چکی ہیں اسلئے دوبارہ تعریف کرنیکی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ چونکہ اس عرصہ میں بہت سی خطوط بیگم صاحبہ کی پاس اس مضمون کی پہنچی ہیں کہ اعجاز نما چاول کا رعایتی اعلان ایک مرتبہ اور شایع کرنا چاہئے تاکہ جو اصحاب اس تعجب خیز چاول کی زیارت سے محروم رہ گئے ہیں مستفیض ہو جائیں *

لہذا بحکم جناب عاشرہ بیگم صاحبہ یہ رعایتی اشتہار فہام کی غرض سے پھر شایع کیا جاتا ہے۔ یعنی جس قدر درخواستیں ۳۰ جنوری تک دفتر میں موصول ہونگی انکی خدمت میں اعجاز نما چاول بالکل مفت پہنچا جاویگا محض ایک چاندی کی ڈبہ، ایک خوردبین، دو عدد طین کی منتش ڈبیان وغیرہ (جو چاول مذکور کی ہمراہ دیجاتی ہیں) ان سب چیزوں کی قیمت وہ نہایت رعایتی بی صرف ایک روپیہ پانچ آنہ بدرجہ وی ہی لکھی جاوے گی۔ اخبار «زمیندار» لاہور اس چاول کی نسبت حسب ذیل خیرالائ کا اظہار کرتا ہے۔

ریویو «زمیندار»۔ عائشہ بیگم صاحبہ فی حال میں ایک چاول جیسپر پڑی سورہ اخلاص نہایت خوشخط حروف میں لکھی ہے۔ ہمارے پاس ریویو کی غرض سے روانہ کیا ہے۔ اگر کسی کی قدرتی بینائی اعلیٰ درجہ کی ہو تو وہ خالی آنکھ سے ایک ایک حرف پڑھتی ہو بخوبی قادر ہو سکتا ہے ضعیف النظر اصحاب خوردبین کی مدد سے جو چاول کی ساتھ دیجاتی ہیں ایک ایک حرف بلکہ ایک ایک لفظ کو صفائی کی ساتھ دیکھ سکتے ہیں۔ عائشہ بیگم صاحبہ کا کمال تعریف و قدر دانی کا مستحق ہے اسکی اصلی قیمت گیارہ روپیہ پانچ آنہ ہے۔ اخبار «وطن» کی ایڈیٹر صاحبہ اپنی ریویو میں چاول کی کمال تعریف کرتی ہوئے فرماتی ہیں کہ اسکی قیمت ۱۰ روپیہ ۱۰ آنہ ۱۰ پیسہ گیارہ روپیہ پانچ آنہ کچھ ہی نہیں ہے *

نوٹ۔ درخواستیں ۳۰ جنوری تک آجانی چاہئیں ورنہ عدم تصمیل کی

فکایت معاف *

ملکی کا پتہ۔ منیجر کارخانہ عائشہ بیگم قاضی اسٹریٹ امرتسرہ

خلع مراد آباد *

FABRIQUE IMPERIALE HEREKE, CONSTANTINOPE.**Turkish Fezes made in Turkey.**

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- (1) **CIGAR** and **CHEROOTS.**
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Manufactured in honour of our HERO whose name is revered in every Muslim Household. Unrivalled for freshness, purity and delicacy of aroma. Fresh TURKISH TOBACCO used. Made daily at—

The Upper India Cigarette Co.,

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LUCKNOW.**Wanted.**

A F. A. passed Mohamedan possessing good knowledge in English and Mathematics. Thirty or forty years old. Good manners and some religious knowledge is necessary, salary Rs. 40/- (forty only) per month, with food and free lodging, to teach two boys of Matriculation Class, with future prospects on best work.

*Apply to—***Mir Aslam Khan,****General Contractor,****Braid Lodge, Civil Lines,****Nagpur.****REDUCED PRICES.****To clear the debt and to save the property of a Mussalman.**

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Quran, with English Translation, 1st quality ...	20 0	9 0
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Selections from the Quran, 1st ..	5 0	2 0
Ditto Ditto 2nd ..	2 8	1 0
Life of Mohamed (may peace upon him) ...	1 8	0 12
Karima, with English Translation ...	1 0	0 6
Trilingual Dictionary, English-Urdu-Hindi ...	5 0	2 0
Urdu-English Dictionary ...	2 8	1 0
Ditto Ditto ...	1 4	0 8
English-Urdu Ditto ...	2 8	1 0
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Other useful notes, &c. of Matriculation are available at Reduced Prices.

APPLY SHARP TO—**O. M. CHIENE,***Receiver appointed by the Court,***ELGIN ROAD, ALLAHABAD.**

Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar-i Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1918, writes: "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to naughty diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive inasmuch as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

THE ROYAL YAKUTI ANANG VILAS.

THIS YAKUTI or life-giving nectar has been prepared from the best choicest and richest vegetable drugs. It has a wonderful property of increasing the virile power and rectifies all urinary disorders. In fact, it makes man a man. This valuable medicine is used in large quantities among Rajas, Maharajas and many of our esteemed customers. But we have ventured to give a publication simply with a view to place it before the general public owing the demand of several friends. It is needless to expatiate upon the magical qualities of this our invaluable medicine. We would not like to blow the French horn as is the fashion of the day, but suffice it so say that the use of the medicine is recommended to those who have any faith in the efficacy of Ayurvedic and Unani medicines. We recommend it also to those persons who desire to tone up the nervous system, to strengthen the body, refresh the memory, and to guard against debility. It works like a charm and the effect is lasting. It replaces lost power and rejuvenates the emaciated, and it is enough to say that man is not that which a perfume admires, it is that which diffuses fragrance of its own accord. Price per tin containing 40 pills, Rupees ten only (18s. 4d.). Postage extra. No Parcel necessary.

Dr. KALIDAS MOTIRAM, Rajkot, Kutchwar, India.

WEALTH BY THRIFT

AN EASY ROAD TO FORTUNE WITHOUT RISK.

French Thrift is Proverbial.

The French, by their thrift, have accumulated money to such an extent that they have become the Wealthiest Nation in the World. The French Middle and Working classes have long been famous for their thrift.

The methods of investing their precious savings adopted by these thrifty people are therefore of interest to others. They are never in doubt or fear, they sleep undisturbed by vision of misfortune and failure. They are never troubled with qualms of financial disasters.

The Scheme of Enormous Possibilities.

This scheme is that of purchasing Premium Bonds, which as far as safety is concerned, can be compared with our own Government Promissary Notes and Municipal and Port Debentures but which in addition, possess more than a spice of added interest by the fact that holders of such Bonds have a very good chance of receiving at some time in the shape of big premium of £ 10,000, £ 20,000, £ 40,000, besides smaller sums.

What Premium Bonds are ?

Premium Bonds are high class securities issued by various European Governments, perfectly solvent Municipalities and other public bodies as voucher or Scrip for loans contracted under Government Authorization for various public purposes. They are similar to the Promissary Notes, Municipal and Port Trust Debentures of this country. The difference between them is that while the later are issued for a certain period of years at the end of which they are repaid *en bloc*, the Premium Bonds system is to redeem a certain amount of stock every year until the whole loan has been paid off.

We do not deal in Lottery Tickets.

These debentures or Bond must not be confounded with Lottery Tickets. In the case of Lotteries, all the money paid for tickets is lost, except to the few who obtain a prize. In regard to Premium Bonds, there is no loss because all Bonds which do not secure a prize, are redeemed at their face value. Premium Bonds have an entirely different character from Lottery Tickets. Those who subscribe to them, those who buy them, agree to make a small sacrifice on the annual interest if the money they lend in order one day to have the opportunity of being favored by fortune and receiving in one lump sum more than they could possibly have received by the accumulation of many years of interest.

There are no Blanks.

Every Bond has an equal chance. The subscriptions of each and every Bond either with a prize or at par being as completely and perfectly assured as is humanly possible. There is no loss of Capital.

How the Premiums are Paid ?

The drawings take place at fixed and regular periods in the presence of Government Officials and the public. When a loan is issued, numbers corresponding to those printed on each Bond are placed in a large wheel made of brass with glass sides, which is then sealed up in the presence of Government Official and Committee of Bondholders.

Each number is rolled up in a small metal tube and cannot be seen before this tube is taken from the wheel.

On the day of the drawings, special officials turn the wheel round and round so that the numbers are thoroughly mixed. The seals are examined and then broken by the Government Supervisors, a slide in the wheel is opened, and a boy from an Orphan School draws out the metal tubes. The number first drawn wins the first prize, the second number wins the second prize and so on till the specified quantity of numbers has been drawn. The wheel is then sealed up again till the next drawing. This operation is repeated till every number is drawn out of the wheel. No new numbers can possibly be put in. The successful numbers are published in the Official Gazette, which we subscribe and check the numbers of our clients very carefully and advise him at once either by registered letter or telegrams, immediately any of his Bonds are drawn.

We collect and remit him the amount of all prizes and arrange to pay him of such prizes in Gold, Silver, or Bank draft as he may desire.

Interest of Negotiability.

To the Bonds, are attached coupons by which the holder can obtain payment of the interest due from time to time either through us or any bank.

The Bonds are payable to bearer and are readily saleable at the current market rates.

Easy Payment System.

With some persons it is not always convenient to invest considerable sums at one time and to provide for this contingency we have adopted a plan by which clients can purchase Premium Bonds by instalments, the payment thus being easy. This plan has been found to be of great convenience to persons wishing to buy a combination of several Bonds.

On receipt of the first instalment we forward to our clients a Contract Note stating the number of the Bonds we have sold him, and from that moment the purchaser begins to take part in all the drawings, and is entitled to any prizes which his Bonds may win; in other words, he enjoys precisely the same privileges as if he had paid the full amount of the purchase price cash down with order. On completion of payments, we forward these Original Bonds, and they then become the absolute property of the holder; they will continue to take part in all drawings without any further liability to the purchaser.

In order to control the government of the instalment business we make the following simple rules :—

1. The intervals between the dates of payment must not exceed one month, otherwise a interest on the late instalment at two pice per rupee per month will be charged.

2. Any balance of purchase money remaining unpaid at the time the Bond is drawn with a prize must be paid to us out of the amount of the prize won.

We have made these condition so easy that no one can take exception to them. On the contrary, we should make a wise investment while not wishing to deposit the entire price of the Bonds in one payment.

To every Purchaser of Bonds from us.

We render the following unique and valuable services absolutely free of charge :—

1. We carefully verify all Bonds before delivering them, and guarantee them to be in perfect order, fully paid up and free from all further expenses and liability.
2. We are always willing to lend him money on the security of his Bonds, arranging easy terms of repayment to suit his convenience.
3. We watch over his interest in every possible way, and under no circumstances do we disclose his name or business to third parties, without his consent until his Bond has not drawn for a prize, or at par.

The Premium Bond as a Provision for children.

Your money is completely under your control. You invest Rs. 100. This you may do in instalments if you will, but at any rate, having once paid Rs. 100, you have no further premiums to bother about each year. When you pay your premiums into an Assurance Society, they are in a sense lost to you. You cannot draw them again should you ever wish to do so. And if you fall on adverse circumstances and cannot keep up your payments you lose the whole amount paid to Society. In case of Premium Bonds you can sell them at any time and can help you.

Terms of Business.

Remittance can be made by Bank draft on Delhi, payable to us or self with an endorsement on the back.

By Cheque on any Bank in India payable to us.

By money-order payable to us.

By Currency Notes. 1st halves first and on receipt of the 1st halves the second halves must be sent.

By Interest Coupons, or drawn Bonds.

Two or more than two gentlemen who want to purchase Bond or Bonds in a company can do so, provided they may arrange to divide the prize amongst themselves, which may be won.

We issue regular receipts for the money which we receive for the purchase of these Bonds either direct or through Agents.

All orders which we receive in a week are sent to Europe on Thursdays, when from different governments we receive Bonds legally signed and sealed, which we send to our clients after necessary entries in our Registers.

The results of drawings, in Urdu or English will be sent to every purchaser free of any charge.

If the purchaser likes, he can sell his Bonds to another or give it to his friend or

relative without any formal transfer or endorsement on the Bond, but an entry in our books is necessary to enable us to send the results.

We are always ready to lend the money on the security of Bonds and sell it at current market price.

Letters and remittances should be addressed to—

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,
Dareeba Bazar,
DELHI.

Telegrams:—Exchange, Dareeba (Delhi).

Kinds of Bonds.

Prize winning Bonds are of two kinds those which pay out interest annually as well as give chances of drawing prizes. The other kind are those which concentrate the entire amount of their interest into the magnificent prizes distributed at the drawings in which they take part.

We shall be pleased to give the details of other Bonds not mentioned here as also their prices on applications.

Congo Free State Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987 Redeemable at Rs 800 at that date.

A decree, signed in Feb. 1988, by the Sovereign of the Congo Free State, authorised the creation by that State of a national debt of Fr. 150,000,000.

The Congo Bonds do not pay any interest but are redeemable, either with prizes or at par, with an annual increase of fr. 5 per Bond by way of interest. The Drawings are held in Brussels and drawn at par Repays from 1st May 1910 & 8,8 with 4,8 extra yearly

Six Drawings Yearly.

Annual Value of Premiums £20,480.

Feb. 20th	1 Premium ...	fr. 50,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,500
	3 Premiums at fr. 750	2,250
	20 " " " " " "	8,000
pt. 20th	1 Premium ...	150,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,500
	3 Premiums at fr. 750	2,250
	20 " " " " " "	8,000
June 20th	1 Premium ...	100,000
and	1 " " " " " "	1,500
Oct. 20th	3 Premiums at fr. 750	2,250
	20 " " " " " "	8,000
Aug. 20th	1 Premium ...	20,000
and	1 " " " " " "	2,250
Dec. 19th	3 Premiums at fr. 750	2,250
	20 " " " " " "	8,000

Besides these 600 Bonds are redeemed at each drawing at Rs. 135 each.

Price Rs. 64 cash or Rs. 15 with orders and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Antwerp Bonds.

Final Redemption 1993 Redeemable at Rs 66.

Issued in 1903. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

This loan, amounting to Fr. 100,000,000, was voted by the City Council, March 13th, 1903, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated March 26th, 1903. The Drawings are held in public at the Town Hall, Antwerp under the supervision of Government officials.

Annual Value of Premiums \$19,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Feb. 10th	1 Premium ...	fr. 25,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
Apr. 10th	1 " " " " " "	500
Oct. 10th	2 Premiums at fr. 300	600
Aug. 10th	20 " " " " " "	4,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000
June 10th	1 Premium ...	20,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	4,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000
Dec. 10th	1 Premium ...	10,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	4,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000

Price Rs. 62 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Brussels Bonds.

Final Redemption 1992 Redeemable at Rs 66

Issued in 1902. Annual Interest, 2½ per cent.

A Loan of Fr. 75,000,000 (£9,000,000) voted by the City Council, May 12th, 1902, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated June 3rd, 1902. The Drawings are held in public at the Town Hall, Brussels.

Annual Value of Premiums £16,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Feb. 15th	1 Premium ...	fr. 100,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	4,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000
Apr. 15th	1 Premium ...	10,000
June 15th	1 " " " " " "	1,000
Oct. 15th	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
Dec. 14th	20 " " " " " "	4,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000
Aug. 14th	1 Premium ...	200,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	5,000
	20 " " " " " "	3,000

Price Rs. 66 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Brussels Bonds.

Final Redemption 1995 Redeemable at Rs. 66

Issued in 1905. Annual Interest, 2%

This loan was voted by the City Council, November 13th, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated December 13th, 1905. The Drawings are held at the Town Hall, Brussels, under the control of Government officials, and in the presence of the public.

Annual Value of Premiums £36,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Jan. 15th	1 Premium ...	Fr. 500,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	5,000
Mar. 15th	1 Premium ...	25,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	4,000
May 15th	1 Premium ...	25,000
AND	1 " " " " " "	25,000
Sep. 15th	1 " " " " " "	1,000
Nov. 14th	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	4,000
July 15th	1 Premium ...	250,000
	1 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	20 " " " " " "	5,000

Price 64 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Ghent Bonds.

Final Redemption 1986 Redeemable at Rs. 60.

Issued in 1896. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

This is a Loan of Fr. 70,000,000 voted by the City Council, July 6th, 1896, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated August 13th, 1896. The Drawings, which are public, take place at the Town Hall.

Annual Value of Premiums \$8,000.

FOUR DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Jan. 10th	1 Premium ...	fr. 10,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
Apr. 10th	1 " " " " " "	500
Oct. 10th	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " " " " " "	3,000
July 10th	1 Premium ...	150,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	1 " " " " " "	500
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " " " " " "	3,000

Price Rs. 60 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

Credit Foncier Hollandais.

Final Redemption 1980. Redeemable at Rs. 18.

Dutch Mortgage Bond 1904.

A cheapest and best non-interest bearing Bond, Yearly number of Prizes 4440.

Six drawings are held on 15th February, April, June, August, October and December.

1 prize of Fr. 250,000

1 " " " " " " 150,000

1 " " " " " " 125,000

1 " " " " " " 100,000

1 " " " " " " 75,000

1 " " " " " " 62,000

6 prizes " " " " 1,000 each

6 " " " " " " 2,500 "

30 " " " " " " 1,000 "

60 " " " " " " 500 "

240 " " " " " " 250 "

492 " " " " " " 100 "

1200 " " " " " " 75 "

2400 " " " " " " 50 "

7560 at face value, i.e. 31-25 Frano each.

Price Rs. 25 cash or Rs. 8 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 2 each.

Croix Rouge de Serbes 1907.

Final Redemption 1981. Redeemable at Rs. 12.

A first class cheap non-interest bearing Bond. These Bonds have the advantage that, when drawn at par, they are not extinguished, but continue to take part in the drawings for prizes, and vice versa. When drawn with a prize, they continue to take part in the drawings for redemption.

THREE DRAWINGS A YEAR.

Jan. 15th	1 Premium ...	Rs. 25,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
AND	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
Sep. 14th	3 " " " " " "	200 1,000
	20 " " " " " "	50 1,000
May 14th	1 Premium ...	100,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	5 " " " " " "	200 1,000
	20 " " " " " "	50 1,000

Price Rs. 21 cash or Rs. 5 with order, and 9 monthly instalments of Rs. 2 each.

City of Ostend Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987. Redeemable at Rs. 24.

Issued in 1898. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

THREE DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Jan. 15th	1 Premium ...	fr. 60,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
	1 " " " " " "	500
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " " " " " "	2,500
	1 Premium ...	fr. 10,000
	1 " " " " " "	1,000
May 15th	1 " " " " " "	500
Sep. 15th	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " " " " " "	2,500

Price Rs. 60 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Liege Bonds.

Final Redemption 1995 Redeemable at £4.

Issued in 1905. Annual Interest 2%

A Loan of Fr. 50,000,000 voted by the City Council, April 19th, 1905, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated May 9th, 1905. The Drawings take place in public at the Town Hall.

Annual Value of premiums £11,000

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY

		Fr.
Jan. 15th	1 Premium	50,000
	1 " "	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	2 " "	200
	5 " "	150
	14 " "	125
	14 " "	1,750
Mar. 15th	1 Premium	10,000
	1 " "	500
May 15th	1 " "	250
Sep. 14th	2 Premiums at fr. 200	400
	2 " "	150
Nov. 14th	18 " "	2,250
July 15th	1 Premium	15,000
	1 " "	1,500
	2 Premiums at fr. 500	1,000
	4 " "	250
	7 " "	150
	10 " "	125

Price Rs. 62 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Liege Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987. Redeemable £4

Issued in 1897. Annual Interest 2%

The issue of this Loan, amounting to about 84,000,000 francs, was voted by the City Council, October 11th, 1897, and duly authorised by Royal Decree, dated October 30th, 1897. The Drawings are conducted in public at the Town Hall, Liege.

Annual Value of Premiums £9,600.

FOUR DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

		Fr.
Jan. 20th	1 Premium	10,000
	1 " "	1,000
July 20th	1 " "	500
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " "	150
Apr. 20th	1 Premium	50,000
	1 " "	1,000
	1 " "	500
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " "	150
Oct. 20th	1 Premium	150,000
	1 " "	1,000
	1 " "	500
	2 Premiums at fr. 250	500
	20 " "	150

Price Rs. 60 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

Egyptian Foncier Bonds.

Final Redemption 1953.

Issued in 1903. Annual Interest 3.

Redeemable at £10.

And guaranteed by the Credit Foncier Egyptian, one of the largest Land Mortgage Institutions in Egypt established in 1880, with a capital of fr. 80,000,000. The Drawings are held at Cairo.

Annual Value of Premiums £40,000.

A Drawing for Premiums on 15th of every month.

1 Premium	fr. 50,000
25 Premiums at fr. 1,000	25,000
April 1 Premium	100,000
Oct. 25 Premiums at 1,000	25,000

Price Rs. 100 cash or Rs. 50 with order, and 6 monthly instalments of Rs. 25 each.

Price for issue 1911, as above, and for issue 1914, Rs. 220 cash.

Hungarian Foncier Bonds 1916.

Redeemable at £12-0-0. One half only at £6-0-0.

These Bonds were issued in 1906 (after special Government authorization) by the Royal Hungarian Credit Foncier or Land Mortgage Bank, a rich and powerful institution, founded in 1863, which possesses a Capital of Forty Million Crowns, and a Reserve Fund of Thirty-two Millions Crowns. These Bonds bear no interest but take part in

Six Drawings for Prizes Yearly.

Feb. 25th, April 25th, June 25th, August 25th,

October 25th, December 25th.

At which are paid away the following enormous prizes:—

1 Prize of 1,100,000 Crowns, or about £11,250
1 " 550,000 " " £20,625
1 " 330,000 " " £12,875
1 " 200,000 " " £7,500
2 " 100,000 " " £3,750 each.
3 " 15,000 " " £562
3 " 1,000 " " £153

ETC.

738 Prizes per year, amounting to 2,842,500 Crowns.

The Bonds can be obtained from us, either in whole Bonds or two-half Bonds. Two half Bonds A & B series of same or different numbers. These Bonds are not extinguished by winning a Prize, but can win several Prizes.

The Hungarian Foncier 1906 Bonds are not only among the most promising and most advantageous Bonds, and those giving the most immediate chances of an enormous Prize but they are also among the very safest and soundest. They are secured and guaranteed by loans made to the Government and the Municipalities of many cities and towns of Hungary. They rank in fact with first class municipal stocks, and are officially recognised as trustees Securities in Hungary.

PRICE of one whole or two half-Bonds same or (different Nos.) Hungarian Foncier 1906 Bonds.

Rs. 250 Cash or with order Rs. 50 and 15 monthly payments of Rs. 15 each.

Half Bond either series Es 130 cash or Rs. 30 with order, and 7 monthly instalments of Rs. 15 each.

ESTABLISHED 1907.

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,

STOCK, SHARE & EXCHANGE BROKERS,

DAREEBA BAZAR, DELHI.

FOREIGN AGENCIES:

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LOANS on Properties, Shares and Securities arranged. Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers procured. ADVICE on Investments given.

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HIGHEST REFERENCE GIVEN.

ORDER FORM FOR INSTALMENT SYSTEM.

To

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,
SHARE AND STOCK BROKERS.

Sirs,

Dareeba Bazar, DELHI.

I wish to buy the following:—

(State which Bonds
or Combination
is required.)

At the agreed price Rs. _____

and I hand you the sum of Rs. _____ by Money Order, Bank Draft or Cheque,
and promise to pay the balance in _____ monthly instalments of Rs. _____ each.

This order is given on the following Conditions:—

1. That the Bonds you allotted to me shall participate in the approaching and every succeeding drawings until their numbers have been drawn for a prize or repayment at Par.
2. That I will be entitled to any prize which the Bonds allotted to me may win at the next approaching drawings or at any following drawings, subject only the deduction of balance then owing on my purchase.
3. That immediately on my having completed the payment of the entire amount the Bonds enumerated on your Contract Note shall become my property absolutely without any further liability whatever on my part and shall forwarded to me by Registered Post.

Name _____

Dated _____

Address _____

Ottoman Bonds.

Loan of 1870 (Bearing no Interest).

Redeemable finally in 1974 at not less than £9. 12s.

SIX DRAWINGS PER YEAR

February 1st, April 1st, June 1st, August 1st, October 1st, and December 1st, that is a Drawing every alternate month, at which the following Prizes are paid away:—

3 Prizes of 400,000 Francs or £16,000 each.
3 " 200,000 " £8,000 "
3 " 60,300 " £2,400 "
3 " 25,000 " £1,000 "
6 " 20,000 " £800 "
6 " 10,000 " £400 "
18 " 6,000 " £240 "
36 " 3,000 " £120 "

And many others making in all.

5,950 Prizes per year.

Every Bond takes part in every Drawing until its No. has been drawn, and will then be paid off on presentation either with one of the Prizes mentioned above or at par.

The Drawings and repayments are under the control of the European Council of Administration (in which the British Bondholders are represented by an English official), and are not in the hands of the Sultan or of his ministers.

The Prizes are paid in full, without any deduction. Bonds drawn at par are paid off at 240 francs (£9. 12s. each).

These Bonds are guaranteed by the Turkish Railways Revenue.

THERE ARE NO BLANKS, THE PREMIUMS ARE PRINCIPALLY AND WE CONSIDER THESE BONDS A SAFE AND ATTRACTIVE SPECULATION.

Price of Ottoman Bonds. Rs. 150 each for cash or Rs. 50 with order, and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Panama Canal Bonds.

Fully guaranteed by a deposit of French Government Securities.

Repaid at par £16.

SIX DRAWINGS PER YEAR.

February 15th, April 15th, June 15th, August 15th, October 15th, and December 15th, at which the following Prizes are every year paid away in cash:—

3 Prizes of 500,000 Francs, or £20,000 each.
3 " 250,000 " £10,000 "
6 " 100,000 " £4,000 "
12 " 10,000 " £400 "
12 " 5,000 " £200 "
30 " 2,000 " £80 "
300 " 2,000 " £40 "

Altogether 366 Prizes each drawing yearly, amounting to 3,390,000 francs, equal to £135,600. The minimum amount at which these Bonds can be repaid is 400 francs, or about £16.

Panama Premium Bonds were originally issued to raise money for the construction of the Panama Canal, but have never in any way depended upon the Canal itself. The payment of Prizes and the repayment of non-prize-winning Bonds at par, or £16, have always been, and WILL ALWAYS CONTINUE TO BE fully guaranteed by a deposit of French Consols in a French Government Bank. Under the Special Act of June 8, 1888, Trustees are appointed who manage this guarantee fund under strict control on behalf of the bondholders, redeeming the Bonds as and when they are drawn, either with Prizes or only with £16. The repayment of these Bonds being assured under Government control and supervision by an absolutely inalienable Guarantee Fund, it is obvious that Panama Premium Bonds are no more dependent upon or connected with the Panama Canal as an enterprise than they are with Suez Canal.

Price Rs. 105 cash or Rs. 25 with order, and 9 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Year of Issue	Interest P.A.	Yearly Drawings	No. of Prizes	Cash price Rs.
CITY OF PARIS BONDS.				
1871	3	4	352	75
1875	1	4	136	330
1876	1	4	52	330
1892	2½	4	136	65
1894-96	2½	4	84	62
1898	2	1	200	75
1899	2	1	132	70
1904	2½	1	50	63
1905	2½	2	100	62
1912	3	12	504	180

FRENCH CREDIT FONCIERS.				
1879	3	6	600	330
1885	2-60	6	318	62
1895	2-80	1	224	260
1903	3	4	560	300
1909	3	12	864	180

FRENCH CREDIT FONCIERS COMMUNALES.				
1879	2-60	6	318	75
1880	3	6	318	320
1892	2-60	4	152	260
1899	2-60	6	210	260
1906	3	6	660	300
1912	3	12	1368	180

Prices instalment systems on application.

MULTIPLY YOUR OPPORTUNITIES.

Our advantageous Combinations.

In buying Premium Bonds you are naturally anxious to win Prizes, and of course expect to win with them as quickly as possible and so often as possible. One single Bond would afford you many 'excellent' opportunities of winning Premiums, but it is quite evident that the more Bonds you hold and the more immediate drawings you are interested in, the greater will be your chances of a speedy and profitable return.

Our well-known combinations of judiciously chosen high class Premium Bonds are a great advance upon anything of the same kind ever brought before the public. Clients can make their own combinations if they wish. Prices quoted on application.

Combination No. 1.

Consisting 3 Bonds.

- 1 City of Brussels 1905.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais, 1904.
- 1 Servian Red Cross, 1907.

Participating in 15 drawings each year. Affords the holder 1684 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 105 cash
or Rs. 25 with order and 9 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 2.

Consisting 4 Bonds.

- 1 City of Brussels 1902.
- 1 City of Antwerp 1903.
- 1 City of Liege 1905.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais, 1904.

Participating in 24 drawings each year. Affords the holder 5135 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 200 cash

or Rs. 35 with order and 29 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 3.

Consisting 6 following Bonds.

- 1 City of Antwerp 1903.
- 1 Congo Free State 1896.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.
- 1 Servian Red Cross.
- 1 Panama.
- 1 City of Ghent 1896.

Participating in 31 drawings each year. Affords the holder 5326 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 320 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 30 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 4.

Consisting following 4 Bonds.

- 1 Panama.
- 1 Congo.
- 1 Ottoman.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.

Participating in 24 drawings yearly. Affords the holder 8750 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 320 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 30 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 5.

Consisting the following 9 Bonds.

- 1 Panama.
- 1 City of Paris 1892.
- 1 City of Paris 1899.
- 2 City of Brussels 1905.
- 2 City of Liege 1905.
- 2 Congo Free State.

Participating in 32 drawings each year.

Affords the holder 4068 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 580 cash
or Rs. 50 with order and 23 monthly instalments of Rs. 25 each.

Combination No. 6.

Consisting the following 11 Bonds.

- 2 Panama
- 1 City of Liege 1897
- 1 Hung. Foncier 1906
- 1 City of Paris
- 2 Congo Free State.
- 1 City of Antwerp 1887
- 1 Servian Red Cross.
- 1 Ottoman.
- 1 City of Brussels 1902.

Participating in 47 drawings each year. Affords the holder 1998 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 825 cash

or Rs. 100 with order and 16 monthly instalments of Rs. 50 each.

Combination No. 7.

Consisting the following 8 Bonds

- 1 Panama
- 1 City of Brussels 1905.
- 1 City of Brussels 1902.
- 1 Servian Red Cross
- 1 City of Antwerp 1903.
- 1 City of Ghent 1896.
- 1 Hungarian Foncier 1906.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.

Participating in 41 drawings each year. Affords the holder 6869 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 450 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 18 monthly instalments of Rs. 25 each.

Combination No. 8.

Consisting the following 19 Bonds.

- 1 Hungarian Foncier 1906.
- 1 City of Paris 1912
- 1 City of Ghent.
- 1 City of Brussels 1905.
- 1 City of Antwerp 1887.
- 1 City of Liege 1905.
- 1 Panama.
- 1 Congo Free State
- 1 Servian Red Cross.
- 1 City of Paris 1910.
- 1 Communal 1906.
- 1 City of Ostent.
- 1 City of Brussels 1902.
- 1 City of Antwerp 1903.
- 1 City of Liege 1897.
- 1 Ottoman.
- 1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.
- 1 Bevilacqua masa.
- 1 City of Madrid.

Participating in 110 drawing each year and affords the holder 9705 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 1450 cash

or Rs. 350 with order and 25 monthly instalments of Rs. 50 each.

REAL SILVER STUDS & LINKS.

FOR GENTS & LADIES SHIRTS

VARIOUS DESIGNS

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SHAPES.

Plain, Plain Engraved, Dumb-bells, Racket and Ball, Lock and Key, Square and Torpedo, etc. etc.,

Price Rs. 1-12 per set

Gold gilded Rs. 2

Heavy plated Rs. 2-8

Post Free.

Silver Rings, Nannagas, Cups, and other Jewellery gilded and plain. Watch chains, Button chains, etc., etc.

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THE DELHI EXCHANGE,

Brokers,

Darceba Bazar, DELHI.

ORDER FORM FOR CASH PURCHASE.

To

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,

SHARE & STOCK BROKERS,

Darceba Bazar, DELHI.

SIR,

Please forward to me:—

(State which Bond or Combination is required.)

IN FULL PAYMENT for which I/we hand you the sum of Rs.

in Draft on Delhi, Cheque, Money Order. Please forward me the Bonds Per Registered Letter as soon as possible.

The order is given on the following Conditions:—

1. That the Bonds you forward ^{me}_{us} shall participate in the approaching as well as in every following drawing, until they are drawn for repayment with a prize, or at par.
2. That you undertake to collect and remit me the interest ^{me}_{us} and watch the drawings on ^{my}_{our} behalf, without any charge.
3. That you undertake to remit me all prizes I may win, after deducting the necessary exchange charges, etc., etc., in Gold, Silver or Currency Notes.

Name

Address

Dated

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE
BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

ESANOFELE and MALARIA.

"Treatment with ESANOFELE controlled with quinine in most cases was recently given a fair trial. The majority of the cases belonged to the Parel Hindu Ophthalmic, where MALARIA OF A PARTICULARLY SEVERE TYPE raged this year. 43 cases of Malaria were treated of which FIVE WERE CHRONIC, with considerable enlargement of spleen and General Malaria Cachexia." Result :

REDUCTION IN THE SIZE OF THE SPLEEN	+	+
DISAPPEARANCE OF PARASITES	+	+
INCREASE IN THE HAEMOGLOBIN VALUE	+	+
GENERAL CONDITION OF PATIENTS VERY SATISFACTORY.		

Writing on the result of chronic cases the report state : — "Quinine would not have worked equally well in these cases and one is especially emboldened to give this opinion from the case of a Sakharan Jivaji, who was a chronic sufferer and ALWAYS TOOK QUININE OR QUININE AND ARSENIC MIXTURES WITHOUT MUCH BENEFIT.

"On the whole, ESANOFELE appears to have VERY GOOD EFFECT ON CHRONIC CASES.

ESANOFELE is obtainable from all Chemists and Dealers throughout BRITISH INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON.

General Agents:—

Messrs. B. G. GORIO & Co.,
3, Wallace Street, BOMBAY.

FOR INFANTS
"ESANOFELINA."
AFTER MALARIA.
FERRO CHINA WINE.

MANUFACTURERS:—

FELICE BISLERI & Co., MILAN, ITALY.

WANTED.

A trained B. Sc., salary Rs. 70 rising to 100 per mensem, and a trained B.A. with Mathematical qualifications, pay Rs. 50 rising to 80 per mensem. Experienced men those who have special qualifications in Mathematics may also apply.

The Manager,
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Meerut.

H. M. Ahmad Beg,

Indian Rubber Stamp Maker, Die Sinker, Copper, Zink Plate and Stone Engraver. Monogramist. Manufacturer of Brass Badges and Seals, etc. Dealer of all Stamping Requisites and Rubber Hand Presses.

31-10-14.

Chandni Chowk, DELHI.



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The Standard Electric
Bell sets, mounted on
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wire and 6 months
battery ... Rs. 7-8
5 yds. 1 year Rs. 11-0
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EAST-WEST CO.
Chandni Chouk,
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هماري هندوستانی بہنوں کو خوشخبری

اتالیقی نسوان — خواتین و بیگمات ہند کیلئے دریا در توزہ می۔
جملہ علوم و فنون حساب، کماتا بکاتا، سینا بروفا، زمانہ خط و کتابت،
مصوری، کپڑوں کی رنگائی، چپائی، گوٹہ کناری، ٹرٹ، چکن دوزی،
علم طبابت، انتظام خانہ داری وغیرہ کو نہایت قابلیت کی ساتھ دس حصوں
پر ختم کیا گیا ہے۔ اسکو پڑھ کر ہماری ہندوستانی بہنیں نہایت اعلیٰ قابلیت
حاصل کر سکتی ہیں۔ قیمت پانچ روپیہ علاوہ محمول ڈاک۔ مانی کا پتہ
املا میہ بک ڈپو و جنرل اخبار ایجنسی۔ بلہارن دارالسلطنت دہلی

DO YOU WANT

TO EARN ANOTHER

Rs. 3 A DAY?

Reliable persons can add another Rs. 3 a day to their present income by making hosiery on the celebrated "Durbar Auto-Knitter" at home. Previous experience not necessary. Distance no drawback. Work simple.

Our Proposition Briefly Explained.

Purchase one or more Auto-Knitters from us, accord to the number of members in your household who are ambitious to increase their earnings, and we guarantee thereafter to purchase work turned out by you with yarn supplied by us. Our profits do not come through the sale of the machines, but through the success of the operators.



Remittances are forwarded the very day that the finished work is received. The markets of the world are clamouring for hosiery made on the "Durbar Auto-Knitter." We are unable to keep pace with the ever-growing demand. We want more earnest workers—we want you. Write us now for full particulars.

Genz, Wheeler & Co.,

HOSIERY MANUFACTURERS,

Dept. 36, 11-2, Lindsay Street, Chowringhee Road, CALCUTTA.

THIS COUPON ENTITLES YOU TO FULL DETAILS.

FILL IT IN, DETACH ALONG DOTTED LINES, AND SEND TO--DAY.

GENTLEMEN,

I wish to take advantage of your offer. Please send me immediately full particulars, whereby I can earn Rs. 3 a day. Enclosed please find Anna Stamp to help to pay postages.

Name

Address

GENZ, WHEELER & CO., Dept. 36, 11-2, Lindsay St., Chowringhee Rd., CALCUTTA.

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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No. 3.

Single Copy
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The Week.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Jan. 7.

The first fruits of the changes in the military administration are already apparent. Two hundred and eighty Generals and Colonels, including Hadi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff have retired. Zia Pasha, Assistant Chief of the General Staff has been appointed Commander of the Tenth Army Corps. It is stated that he will be succeeded by a German officer. Other fundamental changes in the General Staff are impending.

Constantinople, Jan. 12.

Important modifications have been made in the powers of General Liman von Sanders. He now becomes Inspector-General of the Army instead of Commander of the First Army Corps, which will be commanded by a Turkish General, with a German officer as assistant. This is regarded as a concession to Russian susceptibilities. The newspapers state that General Bronsart von Schellendorf has been appointed Assistant Chief of the General Staff.

Constantinople, Jan. 12.

Djavid Bey has left Paris in order to renew loan negotiations. He will afterwards proceed to Berlin to continue negotiations with regard to the Bagdad Railway.

Constantinople, Jan. 15.

General Liman von Sanders, having been raised to rank of General of Cavalry in the German army, his appointment as Turkish Field Marshal has been submitted to the Sultan. The newspapers

announce that Mahmund Mukhtar Pasha, who was reported to have been recalled, will remain Ambassador in Berlin. This is not improbable, Germany having made friendly representation in his favour.

Albania.

Vienna, Jan. 7.

Martial law was declared in Valona late last night.

Rome, Jan. 7.

The unexpected news that martial law had been proclaimed at Valona is now explained. A vessel with 200 Turkish troops including six officers arrived last evening at Valona from Constantinople. It was intended to land at night and proclaim Izzet Pasha the former Minister of War in Turkey, King of Albania with a provisional government. With the assistance of the Dutch gendarmery officers proceeded to arrest the Turkish soldiers. It is known that Izzet Pasha has left Constantinople, but whether he is on board the ship which brought the expedition has not been ascertained.

Valona, Jan. 12.

A court-martial has begun under the presidency of Commander Weer, Commander of the Gendarmery of Bekir Aga. Six Turkish officers and five band leaders who were arrested here are accused of being ring-leaders in an attempted *Coup d'etat*. A number of implicated civilians will also be court-martialled. In fighting near El Basan between the troops of the Pretender, Essad Pasha, and the gendarmery, the former were defeated.

London, Jan. 12.

The Captain of the Steamer which conveyed the expedition of Turkish soldiers first to Valona and then to Trieste states that the commander of the Austrian cruiser *Panther* boarded him at Valona for examination of his papers and proved that 370 third class passengers whom he had shipped at Constantinople believing them to be time expired Albanian soldiers are really revolutionary irregulars. The majority were arrested and taken ashore with a large number of revolvers and hand grenades. The rest were conveyed to Trieste.

Few details have been received regarding the attempted *coup de main* at Valona. Apparently, however, no conflict occurred, the captain of the steamer agreeing at the instance of the local authorities to land no one, but take all concerned on to Trieste. Izzet Pasha positively disclaims any connexion with the affair.

Trieste: Turkish officers and troops who were not allowed to land at Valona have arrived here. They are being kept in quarantine under a guard of Austrian marines preparatory to being sent back to Turkey.

London, Jan. 15.

The settlement of the Albanian question seems to be remote. The Prince of Wied refuses to act until a loan of three millions sterling is raised under European guarantee. Meanwhile the Government of the country remains in a tolerably chaotic state.

Aegean Problem.

Berlin, Jan. 8.

It is understood that the Triple Alliance has agreed to the British proposal that Greece shall retain Chios and Mitylene.

London, Jan. 9.

The delay of the Triple Alliance to answer Sir Edward Grey's note regarding the Aegean Islands is due to some hitch at the last moment owing to seemingly certain reservations about giving Greece,

Lemon and Samothrace, besides Chios and Mitylene. Meanwhile, Turkey vehemently refuses to agree to the cession of Chios and Mitylene. Moreover it is doubtful whether the Greek evacuation of Southern Albania will be effected tranquilly.

Constantinople, Jan. 11.

It is understood that the Triple Alliance will reply to the British proposal with reference to the Archipelago when the Greeks have withdrawn from Southern Albania.

A satisfactory settlement is expected in a few days.

London, Jan. 11.

M. Venizelos has left Rome for Paris. It is understood that his mission to Rome has not changed the policy of Italy, but it will have the effect of postponing further the Greek evacuation of Albania.

London, Jan. 15.

Reuter learns that the reply of the Triple Alliance to Sir Edward Grey's note regarding the Aegean Islands was delivered yesterday. The Alliance generally accepts all the British proposals, including the reservations safeguarding the liberties of minorities, whether Greek or Moslem.

The general effect of the reply of the Triple Alliance to Sir Edward Grey's Note is to consent to Greek annexation of Chios, Lemnos and Samothrace, while Imbros and Tenedos remain Turkish. The replies, although practically identical, were presented separately with the purpose of emphasising the fact that the Powers concerned recognise that the ultimate solution of difficulties rests with Europe, not with one or the other group of powers.

Persian Railways.

Teheran, Jan. 6.

The Julfa-Tabriz Railway has reached Durabiz, thirteen miles South of Julfa. There remains about eighty miles to be reconstructed. The Russians say it will be completed by the spring of 1915. There has been no withdrawal of Russian troops from Kazvin yet.

Teheran, Jan. 6.

The survey party in connection with the Khoramabad Railway is obliged to remain for the present at Dizful owing to the activity of brigands along the route.

The party engaged in surveying in connection with the Khoramabad Railway, consists of four British engineers and one Belgian representing the Persian Government, with two assistants. The Persian Railway syndicate is communicating with the Foreign Office. It is believed that matters will be settled with the tribes and that the survey will be completed this winter.

Aga Khan and the Indian Moslems.

London Jan. 14.

An article by the Aga Khan on the Indian Moslem outlook is given the place of honour in the *Edinburgh Review* to be published to-morrow.

The article says that for upwards of two years they, in common with their co-religionists elsewhere, have undergone the most painful experiences, chiefly on account of international events. The resulting restlessness among them has led to much searching of heart among their best friends, while in some quarters, exaggerated ideas have been entertained regarding the effect of the events upon their hitherto hearty loyalty to the British Crown. The Aga Khan gives an instance of an article by a correspondent in India in the *Times* of October 7th, and dissects his lurid caricature of the Moslem attitude. He denies there has been any pan-Islamic agitation in the political sense. The Hindus, continues the Aga Khan, have no sentimental interests outside India apart from those provided by emigration of their co-religionists, but all sections of the Moslem world were moved by the deep sentiment originally called into being by the summons to the Islamic brotherhood wedded through centuries into a lasting bond of common faith, literature and outlook on history. After urging that Britain, in her own interests, should be the friend and supporter of the Porte, since the partition of her Asiatic provinces must be disadvantageous to Britain in any conceivable scheme of distribution, the article says that the Moslems were reassured to know that such considerations were duly recognised by the just and wise statesman, the present Viceroy, whose remarks on Persia on September 17th were also gratifying to them. Critics have also been perturbed by the appearance of a new type of Indian Moslem who, apart from Islamic religious and sentiment, has gone through exactly the same education and training as the young Hindu of the same social class. The men brought up under this new system are coming to the front. They have influenced the increasing approximation of political views and sentiments among the educated men of the different communities. This unity and measure of growth of Indian nationhood is part of the wise statesmanship of the British and of the Indians to seek, not so much to

satisfy Mussulmans as Mussulmans or Hindus as Hindus, but to win the hearty co-operation of all moderate, loyal and reasonable opinion wherever it exists, thus forming a most effective instrument in the discomfiture and importance of the small but active Indian element permanently hostile to the Government of India. Moslems, while co-operating with the Hindus on a vast number of public questions, have their special needs and outlook, but the crisis in the affairs of the League has confirmed the Aga Khan's conviction that the time has come to realise that the future depends not upon particular leaders but upon the people themselves. The Aga Khan emphasises the importance of the reconstruction of the London League on the basis achieved since the article was written. After surveying the directions in which legitimate discontent should be alleviated, such as the treatment of Indians in self-governing Dominions, promotion of economic development, and the giving of due weight in local as well as in larger issues to public opinion, the Aga Khan says that he looks to the future with hope and confidence, because he is convinced that British statesmanship will continue to respond to the growth of national consciousness in India, thus bringing the awakened people into closer sympathy and co-operation with the aims and ideals of the enlightened rule that has revolutionised the conditions and ideals of Indian life in living memory.



The South African Crisis.

London, Jan. 4.

Durban : Interviewed by Reuter with regard to the correspondence which has been exchanged between Senator Campbell, the well-known sugar planter and Mr. Gandhi, the latter said that he had appealed to Mr. Campbell to continue his co-operation and sympathy. Mr. Campbell, in reply, stated that he adhered to his opinion that the three-pound tax should be repealed and still supported Indians seeking redress from harsh administration and the licensing laws but that nevertheless he appealed to Mr. Gandhi to desist from lawlessness and not to refuse to accept the Commission composed of men with judicial minds and of known integrity. Mr. Gandhi replied that the strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were protests against Government's breach of promise to Mr. Gokhale and the three-pound tax, not against the general treatment of indentured Indians. He feared a recurrence of former measures if Government rejected the Indians' prayers. Finally, Mr. Campbell answered that he was glad that the strike was not intended as a protest against indentured Indians because allegations of ill treatment appeared to be the main plank of Mr. Gandhi's supporters.

Durban, Jan. 5.

The Rev. F. C. Andrews and the Rev. W. Pearson, who have come to South Africa to examine the Indian question, addressed a meeting of Indians at Sydenham to-day describing the deep feeling on behalf of South African Indians of all communities in India. The Rev. Mr. Andrews recited a poem in Sanskrit given to him by Mr. Rabindranath Tagore as a message to South African Indians.

Pretoria, Jan. 10.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, said, he would not embarrass the Government by resuming passive resistance while the strike was in progress.

Durban, Jan. 10.

The police employed at the time of the recent Indian disturbances are entraining for the Transvaal.

Delhi Jan. 10.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from the Rev. Mr. Andrews dated Pretoria 8th instant :—"Mr. Gandhi has announced that while the Railway strike continues he personally will advise the Indian community to suspend passive resistance, so as not to confuse issues or embarrass the Government." Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegrams from Mr. Polak, dated Durban 8th instant :—"In the case brought by Mr. West against Mr. Todd, Manager of Phoenix Wattles Co., for threatening to thrash him on account of Mr. West's interference in the case of an Indian strike alleged to have died from flogging," Mr. Todd has been bound over to keep the peace for six months and has been ordered to pay costs.

Pietermaritzburg, Jan. 11.

A section of the local Indians consider that the time is ripe for a renewal of passive resistance in conjunction with the strike, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's advice.

Imperial Legislative Council.

The New Educational Policy.

The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee moved the following Resolution on the 6th January :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the publication of (A) all official papers in the possession of the Government of India including correspondence if any with the Senate of the Calcutta University and His Excellency the Rector relating to the affiliation of the Ananda Mohan College up to the B.A. Standard and the orders of the Government thereon together with the replies if any to the representations of local public bodies and meetings (B) all official papers in the possession of the Government of India including correspondence if any with the provincial Governments and Local Administrations leading to the announcement made in para 25 of the Government of India resolution dated Delhi 21st February, 1913, regarding the desirability of introducing the school final examination in the provinces where it has not been introduced and in para 47 of placing the recognition of schools for the purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments and all subsequent correspondence relating thereto."

MR. BANERJEE'S RESOLUTION.

In moving the Resolution that stood in his name, Mr. Banerjee said that the Resolution was an appeal to Government to take the public into confidence regarding certain educational measures and proposals which had given rise to controversy and caused widespread alarm in Bengal. If there was one Department of Government more than another in regard to which there could be no secret and in which the co-operation of the people was essential for its success it was the Department of Education. This view was supported even by Lord Curzon, the author of the Official Secrets Act. The Resolution was brought forward to clear a misapprehension that might exist and secure a complete understanding between the representatives of the people and the Government regarding the vital issues affecting the education of the people, raised in the Government Resolution of February 21st, 1913, and asking for the publication of official papers relating to the application of the Ananda Mohan College up to the B. A. Standard.

ANANDA MOHAN COLLEGE.

Mr. Banerjee narrated the history of the Institution, which was named after one of the foremost men of India, the late Ananda Mohan Bce. He said the Ananda Mohan College was the only second-grade College teaching up to the Intermediate Standard in a district with an area of 6,382 square miles and a population of 4,562,422. In 1911, after the passing of the Universities' Act and the new Regulations, which imposed a heavy financial strain on the College, its very existence was threatened; but in the year 1909, with the help and support of Mr. Blackwood, who was then District Magistrate of Mymensingh, a sum of Rs. 1,23,000 was raised, which gave a great impetus to the College and for which the people were deeply grateful to Mr. Blackwood. In the year 1913 an application was made for the affiliation of the College up to the B. A. Standard, which was strongly supported by the Commissioner of the Division and the District Magistrate. The enthusiasm in the District was so great that about one hundred leading men executed a legal document by which they agreed to pay fifty thousand rupees, thirty-five thousand of which had been already subscribed and thirteen thousands collected. The Government was moved and agreed to contribute Rs. 55,000 and raise the annual grant from six to eleven thousand rupees. The University Inspectors, who were deputed to visit the College, reported in favour of affiliation up to the B.A. standard in certain subjects. The Syndicate recommended the affiliation, which was, however, disallowed by the Government of India on the ground that the building was old and that the staff had not been appointed. Mr. Banerjee said there had been instances where the necessary conditions had not been fulfilled, where the University had declined to recommend, but where the Government of India had granted affiliation. He gave the instance of the Rajshahi College, which was affiliated up to the B.A. in Physics in 1903, although the building and laboratory were not ready. The same case also happened with regard to the Sylhet College, whose affiliation the University declined to recommend but which was granted by the Government of India in view of the fact that the building would be proceeded with. He thought that no objection was raised regarding the affiliation of these two Colleges because they were Government Colleges; but Mr. Banerjee claimed that private Colleges, having regard to their limited resources, deserved more sympathetic treatment at the hands of the Government. This view was strongly pressed by the Education Commission of 1882.

SCHOOL FINAL EXAMINATION.

Mr. Banerjee next referred to the question of the School Final Examination and hoped that Government would do nothing to disturb the present arrangement. By the School Final system a bias was contracted by the local Educational officers against private schools; and it was their views that in many cases guided the

decision of the authorities. The system also disclosed the great danger to private institutions involved in the transfer of the power of recognition from the Senate to Government. The School Final was prevalent in Madras where it had reduced the number of candidates. It would never suit Bengal which had its own peculiar local conditions and where it was tried in the Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools and found wanting. If the system was introduced it would restrict higher education.

RECOGNITION OF SCHOOLS.

Mr. Banerjee finally touched upon the suggestion of placing the recognition of schools for the purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hand of local Governments. He said this suggestion of Government had been received with alarm and anxiety by the people of Bengal, who expressed their unqualified disapproval of the scheme in a public meeting held in the Town Hall in Calcutta at the end of July last. What was the justification for the proposal? Did the Senate of the Calcutta University ask to be relieved or was the work very inefficiently done? He understood that the Bengal Government with the concurrence of the Government of India consulted the Calcutta University who had urged weighty reasons against the proposal. The University did not want to be relieved nor had their work been inefficiently done in proof of which Mr. Banerjee quoted from the Bengal Administration Report. Regarding the Government plea of freeing the University for exercising more efficient control over schools and colleges Mr. Banerjee thought they had too much of it and Lord Morley was right when he said this plea of efficiency was carried too far in the government of this country. Referring to the right of the man who pays the piper to call for the tune, Mr. Banerjee said in Bengal there were about six hundred High Schools recognised by the University. Eighty of these were Government schools, about two hundred and sixty received Government aid and the balance entirely lived on private resources and to them the formula of piper and tune did not apply. Finally he said there was not only no justification for the proposed change but there were strong reasons to show that if it was introduced in Bengal it would be attended with serious risks. In conclusion he strongly appealed to Government. He was not without hope that the proposal for the transfer of the right of recognition of schools from the Senate would not be extended to Bengal. The resolution of the Government admitted that each Province had its own educational system. It had grown up under local conditions and formed a part of the general well-being. The people of Bengal loved their local conditions, in the shaping of which the Government had a supreme hand.

Before Mr. Banerjee concluded His Excellency pointed out that Mr. Banerjee had already exceeded forty minutes and asked him to resume his seat.

Mr. Banerjee concluding, made an eloquent appeal for the publication of papers and not to disturb present conditions.

Malik Tiwana, who followed Mr. Banerjee, pointed out that as a matter of general principle he was opposed to the publication of confidential papers.

The Maharaja of Cossimbazar supported the proposal and urged the publication of all the papers.

Rai Sita Nath Roy Bahadur, in supporting, dwelt on the excellent work done by the Calcutta University and appealed to the Government not to curtail any of its powers. The new idea would prove costly without any corresponding advantage.

Mr. V. R. Pandit was not against the School Final Examination but thought the present method of recognition of the Schools was the best. He pointed out that the University was in the best position to judge, not the local Government. Moreover, the proposed change would progress the development of Secondary Education. Concluding, he submitted that the change would not be welcome and asked for the publication of papers.

Pandit M. M. Malaviya, speaking on the second part of the resolution, said it was true that there was a divergence of opinion regarding the School Final Examination. In Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces it was coming more and more into favour. It was possible that in time opposition in Bengal would wear out but the publication of papers would be greatly welcome as it would throw a new light on the question. There was a strong feeling in all parts of India that the power at present enjoyed by the Universities should not be curtailed.

SIR H. BUTLER'S SPEECH.

The following is the full text of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's speech at the Imperial Legislative Council on Tuesday in connection with the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's Resolution relating to the educational policy of the Government of India :—

"Although the words of the hon'ble mover were rather strong and fulminant I gladly recognise the moderate tone of his speech and his desire to help. I hope that our educational debates will always be conducted in this spirit. The points on which we agree

are many and the points we differ on are few. I think, indeed, that the hon'ble mover is unnecessarily alarmed but I think his alarm is due to a misunderstanding which I hope to be able to remove. I may say at once that the Government desire wholeheartedly to take the people into their confidence. They have no secrets in education and I think that the action of the Government of India since the new department was formed and since His Excellency assumed the office of Viceroy have been consonant with this attitude. There is no intention whatever to substitute a policy of mistrust for a policy of trust and I think I am voicing the opinion and the feeling of you all when I say that it is inconceivable to associate a policy of mistrust with the vicerealty of Lord Hardinge. While there is no desire for any sort of concealment we have to observe the rules and customs of business which have grown up after long experience in the conduct of public affairs, and one of the first principles is this that those who correspond with the Government must feel that they can correspond freely and frankly without fear of the publication of their views except in special cases when the public interest clearly requires it. Many of you are business men and you know that you could not carry on your business for a day if you had not confidence that our correspondence would be respected. In the present instance the correspondence is not yet complete and matters are still under discussion but I hope to be able to tell you enough to satisfy you as to the action of the Government.

FIRST PART OF THE RESOLUTION

"I now turn to the terms of the resolution. As already explained it would be unusual to publish the correspondence between the Government of India, the University and others in regard to the affiliation of the Ananda Mohan College, the facts, however, can be stated in a nut-shell. In a letter dated March 9th, 1913 the Syndicate recommended the raising of the college to the status of a first grade institution, stating that it was in the contemplation of the governing body of the college to entertain the services of an additional professor in every one of the subjects proposed to be taught. From the papers it was apparent that the professors had not been appointed and that certain improvements in accommodation, which had evidently been thought necessary in the first instance, as the Local Government was prepared to give a grant of Rs 55,000 towards them, provided that a sum of Rs. 50,000 was collected by private subscription, had not been carried out. From the minutes of the Syndicate it appears that Hon. the Vice-Chancellor had stated that the question of class accommodation was the weak point about the College but that he had no doubt that whatever sum the local authorities might be able to raise would be spent in extending the class accommodation. He added that the consideration which weighed with him was the congested state of the Calcutta Colleges and that if a properly equipped Mofussil College could take in even 40 to 60 students, that would be a point gained. This letter was received by the Government of India at the end of May and on the 17th of June they sent their reply to the effect that the application had reached them just before the commencement of the academical year, that the present staff and accommodation were admittedly insufficient for the affiliation sought, and that the Government grants, which had been promised, were conditional upon the grant of this affiliation and upon the raising of Rs. 50,000 from local subscriptions. The Government of India were unable to sanction increased affiliation on the basis of unperformed promises, but they expressly stated that when improvements had been carried out they would reconsider the case. The Hon. Mr. Ghuznavi, who was interested in the case, wrote to me on the 19th of July that it had been decided not to press for affiliation and since then the Government of India have received no further information in the matter. They will gladly reconsider the matter if improvements have been effected and in view of the enthusiasm with which the Hon'ble member tells us the district is ablaze, I hope that the necessary condition will be fulfilled, in which case, I think, I may claim the action of the Government of India will have been stimulating to the cause of education. The Hon'ble Member charges the Government with according differential treatment to Government Colleges and to private institutions but he has to go back to 1909 for an instance to support his case. I may mention that in 1909 the present Department of Education had not been constituted nor had His Excellency assumed his office. I have therefore no first-hand knowledge of the cause in point, but I have been able to ascertain the facts and I think the Hon'ble Mover would do well to verify his statements before he makes them. I will quote the orders of the Government of India in regard to the affiliation of the Rajshahi College "With regard, however to the question of affiliation up to the B. A. examination, I am to offer the following observations on the proposals of the University for the restriction of the affiliation. In the case of philosophy the Government of India understand that since the date of the Senate's recommendation the college has complied with the requirements of the University by appointing a second professor to teach this subject, and they do not consider it desirable therefore to order its disaffiliation

in philosophy. The proposal to disaffiliate the college in physics and chemistry was apparently based upon the insufficiency of the provision of the staff and the inadequacy of the accommodation. The Government of India are informed that, so far as the staff is concerned, the requirements of the University in both these subjects have now been fully met. Sufficient accommodation has also been provided for the teaching of chemistry while it is understood that plans of the physics laboratory are being pushed on. Since therefore the new accommodation is being provided with reasonable despatch, and since the University inspectors in 1907 reported of the existing accommodation that it would do very well for the small B. A. and B. Sc. classes that the college was likely to have, the Government of India do not feel justified in ordering the disaffiliation of the college in these subjects. In these circumstances the Government of India are of opinion that the college should be permitted to retain affiliation up to the B. A. degree in physics and chemistry." The Council will observe that the case of the Rajshahi College was quite different in that the conditions required had been fulfilled or were in train. As regards the Braja Mohan College we seem to have but little information. So far as my information goes there never was a recommendation for disaffiliation. The commission proposed never was sent down but Messrs. James and Cunningham and Dr. P. K. Roy inspected the College in the ordinary course and made a report to the University. This also was before my time. So far as I have been able to ascertain no inquiry was made into the political aspects of the case. In any case, I think, I have said enough to convince the Council that the Government of India does not differentiate between Government and private institutions. As to correspondence with local public bodies there is little to say apart from the letters and telegrams from the hon. Mr. Ghuznavi and two telegrams received, one from the Secretary of the College, the other from the Secretary of the Mymensingh Association. Before any orders had issued from the Government of India the only communications received appear to have been the following: the Secretary of the College asked why the application had been rejected and was told that the reason had been explained to the University. A resolution was received from a public meeting in Tangail asking for a reconsideration of the decision and telegrams were also received from the Secretaries of the Mymensingh Association and the Nadiabass Sabha, Gobiudapur, to the effect that the local public were mortified. These documents were sent to the Government of Bengal with a request that the senders of the telegrams might be informed that the matter would be considered by Government should the application be renewed through the proper channel. No such application has been received.

SECOND HALF OF THE RESOLUTION.

"I now turn to the second half of the resolution. In respect of this, too, I am obliged to meet the resolution of the hon. member with a negative on the same ground, namely that it would be contrary to practice to publish the correspondence for which he asks. I cannot even indicate at present the nature of the correspondence because it involves questions still under discussion with the local Governments. Still less can I discuss questions of fact or policy on which the replies of local Governments are not yet complete. The discussion must therefore, so far as I am concerned, remain academic. I can, however, assure the hon. member that nothing will be done in haste or without full consideration. Indeed any action in regard to the recognition of schools will involve legislation with its attendant processes of consultation. It may, however, serve a useful purpose if I indicate at greater length than was possible within the compass of a general resolution, the reasons why the Government of India have consulted local Governments in regard to these questions. The two aspects of the resolution are distinct although collateral. Both refer to High Schools only which prepare boys in English either to complete their school courses or to go on to a University. I will deal first with the school leaving certificate or school final examination. This has a long history behind it. For more than thirty years the systems of school education have been criticised on all sides, as being unduly literary in character and unduly subordinate to Examination. The Matriculation Examination, it has constantly been said, has led directly to cram the development of the memory at the expense of the higher faculties, the neglect of character and the loss of health and buoyancy of mind. The interests of the majority have been the interests of the few and the conditions of the matriculation examination have cramped the scope of general education. I may mention that comparatively few pupils (about one-fifth of those studying in the high classes of a school) pass beyond the school stage to college. In order to meet criticisms of this kind the commission of 1882 recommended a school course of a modern and practical character, freed from the dominion of a matriculation examination. This recommendation was generally accepted but did not lead to any appreciable result. Either the time was not ripe or the desire for change had not really sunk in. The whole question was again considered by the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 who advised that the conduct of a school final or other school examination

was outside the functions of a university, that the university would benefit if the matriculation were no longer accepted as a test for service under Government, that a school final examination should be substituted as qualifying for admission to professional examinations, and that it could advantageously be made a complete or at least a partial test of fitness for entrance to a University. Sir Gooroo Das Banerji, a name always to be mentioned with great respect dissented from this advice on certain grounds, two of which have since been wholly or in part removed—first that there was then no definite scheme of school final examination and secondly that the resources of the universities would suffer if they were deprived of the matriculation. I cannot without unduly tiring your patience trace in detail the history of the question in the different provinces. You will find full information on the subject in the very able and exhaustive quinquennial review prepared by Mr. Sharp, which will shortly be published. Brief as this review is it will show that the history of the case has passed through three stages. In the first instance the idea was to produce a moderate side course and an examination which would serve as a certificate for employment without necessarily drawing students to a university career. In the second instance the idea was to frame a course which would meet the needs of pupils who did not want a university career but who did not wish to be restricted to a modern side education. In the third instance it was recognised that there were serious defects not only in the matter but also in the manner of examination and an attempt was made to substitute records of the pupil's school career and broad practical tests attainment for a purely written examination were carried out by the external authority of the university. Early attempts to establish tests other than those of an external examination were not successful. Within the last quinquennium, however, new systems have been framed in Madras and the United Provinces. Both of these systems lay stress on the record of the pupils progress maintained in the high classes of schools. The Madras system, while it includes examination, does not make the grant of a certificate conditional on the attainment of any prescribed standard in examination. The grant of a certificate under the United Provinces system does depend on the attainment of a certain proficiency based on written and oral examination. The certificates under both Madras and United Provinces systems are recognised by the local universities as equivalent to matriculation but the Madras certificate is, while the United Provinces certificate is not, the sole qualification for Government service of certain grades. The Madras certificate is open to pupils of nearly all schools and the system of school leaving certificates has practically superseded the matriculation examination. The United Provinces certificate can only be obtained by pupils of certain recognised schools but it is becoming increasingly popular. The only province other than Madras and the United Provinces which has an effective scheme of school leaving test is Bombay, where the scheme does not rely upon the record of a pupil's achievements and character but is purely examinational. This is not recognised by the University and is regarded as the sole qualification for Government employ at that stage. Incidentally I may mention that in both Madras and the United Provinces the test or examination is directed by a special board. In the former province this consists of the director, four officials and four non-officials. In the latter province it consists of the Director, two representatives of the University, one of the Thomason College, Roorkee, one of the Chamber of Commerce, two officers of the department, two non-official members appointed by Government, and the Assistant Director as secretary. I would ask you to consider that the Government of India have brought no pressure to bear in the matter as regards any details of either the Madras or the United Provinces' system. We have performed the growth of two systems very different in character. Our own suggestion combines the features of both systems but we recognise the desirability of an experiment. While we realise that the value of external examinations cannot be overlooked, because they set before the teacher a definite aim, and maintain a standard, we are convinced that the definite aim of external examinations often unduly overshadows instruction, and that the standard of an external examination is necessarily limited to examination results, especially in view of the large numbers that have to be examined, and does not take account of the record of mental development of external growth of character. Our suggestion is that a record should be taken of the progress and conduct of each pupil in the high classes of a High School, and of the marks obtained in the various school tests. The Inspector would enter his remarks upon these records at the time of his visits, and thus obtain some acquaintance with the career of each candidate during the two or three years before examination. The examination itself would be conducted partly by written papers on the more important subjects of instruction but also to a large extent orally, due regard being paid to the students past career. The Government of India have already stated that they are prepared to assist with such grants as they may be able to afford, the introduction of any such system which may be locally practicable. But there has not been any compulsion in the matter nor has the case passed as yet beyond the stage of suggestion.

RECOGNITION FOR SCHOOLS.

"I turn now to the recognition of schools. Every modern system of educational organisation is based on a large and growing measure of state control. It is generally agreed by thoughtful people now that the control of education is a duty of the State to the parents and the rising generation. Referring to secondary schools in their resolution of 1904 the Government of India laid down that whether these schools were managed by public authority or private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government was bound, in the interest of the community, to see that the education provided in them was sound. The Government decided to leave the final act of recognition in the case of all schools to the University. In practice the Universities have, in the main, been guided by the departments of public instruction examinations. Difficulties there have been, in certain quarters, but on the whole the advice of the department has been followed. The Madras University has delegated the act of recognition to the department entirely. We commend the success of Madras to the attention of Bengal. We cannot admit that we have thrown a dark shadow over Bengal education.

"I would like to say a few words of a general character in conclusion. I sometimes wonder whether people realise the enormous changes that are coming over our educational systems, and the necessity for recasting our ideas in regard to them. What may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer. What seems an impossible reform now will, perhaps, be out of date ten or fifteen years hence. Things are moving very fast in the educational world, and if India is to hold her place we must move in sympathy with them. When I look at the results already achieved with the materials at our disposal, and reflect on the possibilities as well as the difficulties of the future I rest in hope. I trust that I have convinced you that the Government of India has no sinister motives in the action which it has taken, but is carrying out a progressive and a fully accredited policy. I ask you to believe in the honesty and good intent of the Government of India and the Local Governments in regard to education. We are straining every nerve to make it more responsive to the needs of the people and the time, and we confidently count on the assistance of Indian parents in the great work before us all."

After Mr. Banerjee had replied the resolution was put to the meeting and declared lost.

Resolution on the Press Act.

MR. BANERJEE'S SPEECH.

In moving the resolution on the press Act Mr. Banerjee said he had no desire to revive memories of a controversy now practically dead and forgotten. The Act passed with considerable opposition in the country, and in the debate in the Imperial Council in 1910 on this measure, a general desire was expressed by the non-official Indian members, including many of the supporters of the Bill, that the Act should be treated as an emergent measure dealing with a crisis that had unfortunately arisen, and that it should not find a permanent place in the statute book; but, views did not prevail and the Press Act had become a part of the permanent legislation, and had been in operation for four years, and the public were now in a position to judge the results of its operation. He did not wish to quote the verdict of popular opinion as that might not be acceptable to the other side, but he would refer to an opinion of an authority of unquestioned weight and importance, an opinion of none other than the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of Bengal. Mr. Banerjee next quoted the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the *Comrade* case, and said he could not conceive of a condemnation of the law more restrained yet more emphatic. Such a law, so dangerously comprehensive in its scope and yet so exacting in its demands, needed necessary safeguards for its proper administration, and the Government anticipating the need of such safeguards wisely sought to provide them here. Mr. Banerjee read extracts from the speech delivered in the Imperial Council when the Press Bill was under consideration. Mr. Sinha was then law member of the Council and spoke in clear and emphatic terms on the meaning and intent of the Government, a declaration which was heartily endorsed by Lord Minto the then Viceroy.

The speech of Mr. Sinha was an authoritative pronouncement on the official side. The question which Mr. Banerjee now asked was, had the pledged safeguards been provided and if not the public had a right to demand that they should be provided.

Mr. Banerjee next dealt with Section 4, 6, 9 and 10 of the Press Act and said that whenever power was vested in the local

Government to direct a forfeiture, the obligation was also imposed to state in writing the subject-matter of the complaint in the notice of the forfeiture, but all that was nullified by Section 22, of the Act. That was the clear meaning of Section 22 and that was also the opinion of the High Court of Calcutta. He read Section 22 and also the opinion of the Chief Justice and asked that in the light of actual wording of the Section and the opinion of the Chief Justice, what became of the safeguards which Mr. Sinha as Law Member gave on behalf of the Government of India. The public were driven to that conclusion that a distinct pledge given by the Government of India through their Law Member remained unfulfilled. Safeguards were promised but the High Court said they did not exist. It was distinctly stated with a view to allay public fear and anxieties that the subject-matter of the complaint would be set forth in the notice of forfeiture and the parties would have opportunities of testing the legal validity of such a notice. It now appeared that the Government need not state the objectionable matter and the pledge stood unredeemed. The Government did not and could not mean such a thing. Apart from the high-mindedness of the Government of India there was internal evidence in the Act itself to show that Government fully intended to embody in the law safeguards promised by Mr. Sinha. Mr. Banerjee thought there was no intentional omission but an error in drafting. He was confirmed in that belief by the examination of Section 17 of the Act which provided for an appeal to the High Court against an order of the forfeiture, but an appeal to the High Court became meaningless unless the materials for a review were placed before that tribunal such as would be provided by the mandatory provisions of section 4, 9 and 10. The Act could not be allowed to nullify in one part what it proposed in another nor impose upon aggrieved parties impossible conditions as regards the burden of proof, for in the opinion of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the law as it stood required the aggrieved party to prove the negative, that the written matter complained of did not come within the all-embracing net spread by the act. To ask an aggrieved party to prove a negative was a logical impossibility and the gravamen of the burden was accentuated by the fact that he was required to prove an all-comprehensive negative viz. that the publication did not come directly or indirectly within the purview of the Act. The speaker quoted the opinion of Sir Lawrence Jenkins to further illustrate this point. He next said there had been sensible improvement in the situation and the tone of the press had changed for the better, which fact was admitted even by Anglo Indian writers who were opposed to the national aspirations of Indians. The improvement was due to the conciliatory and benevolent policy of Lord Hardinge and looking to the situation from the popular point of view, he was justified in demanding a substantial modification in the Press Act, and in making an ardent appeal to the Government to remove a just grievance. In conclusion, Mr. Banerjee said, the newspaper press was a great organ for ventilating public questions and an instrument of popular education. The press was a sacred gift of British rule and the amendment of the Press Act which he prayed for would soften the rigour of an everlasting ban.

MALIK TIWANA.

Malik Tiwana who followed Mr. Banerjee spoke amidst loud laughter. He opposed the resolution and asked for more stringent press laws. In course of his speech he said:—An unbridled press is the greatest curse of India and there has never been a more appropriate and more useful Act passed in this Council than the Press Act with the exception of two others, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act, which constitute its part and parcel and which are calculated to strike a blow at and suppress anarchism and seditious propaganda organised or unorganised. I think that it is the seditious press which lies at the root of the other two. It is papers or other seditious pamphlets which poison unsteady persons and result in engendering in their minds either conspiracy or an uncontrollable excitement.

MAHARAJA OF NASHIPUR.

The Maharaja of Nashipore speaking next could not say that circumstances had so changed as to demand a repeal of the Act and he did not think that time had come when Government should be divested of its power to control irresponsible writing. In supporting the latter part of the resolution, he said that if it was a fact that the High Court had no power under the Act to question the validity of an order of forfeiture passed by the Local Government, the ambiguity should be removed.

MR. K. HUDA.

Mr. K. Huda spoke in support of the motion and asked the Council to rectify an unintentional error. He also expressed his obligation to Mr. Banerjee for his resolution.

MR. RAMA RAGANINGAR.

Mr. Rama Raganingar while expressing himself against the repeal of the Act strongly spoke in support of the resolution. He explained the ambiguity in the law and asked for its removal.

MR. M. S. DAS.

Mr. M. S. Das said that after hearing Mr. Banerjee he was convinced that an amendment of the Press Act was necessary. He referred to Malik Tiwana's speech which urged for a stringent law which showed that demand for amendments were coming from both sides. He then referred to the "Comrade" case and urged the Council to accept the resolution.

Mr. Das was criticising the mandatory provisions when time was called.

DR. KENRICK.

Dr. Kenrick was the next speaker. He said that as member of the select committee on the Press Legislation of 1910 and as one having some experience of the working of the Press Act he desired to offer some remarks. Every one must admit that the Act had placed an extremely effective and powerful weapon in the hands of the Executive. But those who were best informed were aware that this weapon had been invariably wielded with extreme moderation in every case in which the necessity for using it had occurred during the past four years. As the Hon'ble mover had mentioned some 800 publications had been dealt with and in only one case had the legality of the forfeiture been contested and in that one case the forfeitures had been comparatively few. He might say that in many—if not nearly all of the cases in which forfeiture had occurred, the publications had been of the most flagrantly revolutionary character and in not a few of these cases it would have been deplorable if the law had not offered some effective and summary means of dealing with such publications. The most complete answer to the resolution was the fact that during the whole course of the time during which the Act had been in force, the only occasion on which the action of the Executive had been tested was that to which the mover had alluded. The Hon'ble mover had urged no doubt in the best faith that the safeguard promised by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha on behalf of the Government had not been fulfilled, but it was a fallacious argument to quote the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha's words, referring to one class of section dealing with the forfeiture of presses and securities and divorcing them from their context to apply them to a totally different section upon the strength of these alleged violated promise a charge had been levelled against the Government, that it had failed to fulfill its promises.

Mr. Banerjee rose to a point of order to protest against the remarks of Dr. Kenrick. He denied having charged the Government with a violation of its pledges.

Dr. Kenrick repeated his remarks and was supported on the point of order of the vice-president. Concluding Dr. Kenrick referred to the judgment in the "Comrade" case and expressed his opinion that the Act contained sufficient safeguard and asked the Council not to modify its salutary provisions.

MR. SRI RAM.

Mr. Sri Ram in supporting said that the request of Mr. Banerjee was very modest and drew the Councils' special attention to the second part of the resolution.

MR. ASAD ALI.

Mr. Asad Ali in supporting said the resolution concerned not one particular class but all classes of the Indian community. It neither asked for the repeal of the Press Act nor attempted to introduce radical changes into the Act. The first part of the resolution required a clear statement or description of the offending words or articles or signs or visible representations, within the meaning of the law in all cases of forfeiture and the second part required a modification of the section 22 of the Press Act so as to give real and definite powers to the High Court in dealing with forfeiture proceedings. Though certain sections of the Act provided in the earlier stages of forfeiture and before the application to the High Court that the Government would state or describe the offending words or signs or representations, one of the most important section, namely section 12, did not contain such a provision. In the absence of a statement or description of the offending words and even of a statement of the grounds that led to an action of forfeiture, no judicial authority however high and competent it be, could pronounce a judgment. The public were entitled to know the exact nature of the offence when an order of forfeiture was made. Though section 12 provided that the Government should state the grounds of its opinion, it was rather unfortunate that in a recent well known cases, it had failed to do so. After the frank pronouncement by Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the "Comrade" case, need it be said that the Press Act should forthwith be modified so as to empower the High Court to deal with press prosecutions in an effective manner? But the Act as it stood at present was an instrument of unduly great power in the hands of the executive so much so that it made the highest judicial tribunal feel their utter helplessness in the matter. Hence such small modifications in the essential particulars as the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee suggested would bring the Act in conformity with the liberal principles of the Government. The exciting and critical times that demanded a stringent law were happily gone by and the present

peaceful times no longer required such a rigorous Press Act. It was perhaps not fully known how little was the operation of the present Act calculated to promote free growth of an independent public opinion.

Both Raja Kashal Pal Singh and Mr. V. R. Pandit supported the resolution. The latter deprecated the discussion of section 4 as being outside the scope of the resolution and dwelt at length upon clause 8 of the Act. He urged the Council to accept the resolution.

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK'S REPLY.

The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock in replying quoted clauses in the resolution which he said represented the desire of the Hon'ble Mover to some extent. Some previous speakers had explained matters in which the mover had not been quite clear. He (the mover) proposed to secure the renewal of a similarity of procedure under the different sections of the Act without actually specifying the section which would have to be regarded. In fact the Hon'ble Mover was urging that the procedure under section 12 should be assimilated to the wording of section 4, 6, 9 and 11, notwithstanding that section 12 was totally different from these sections and the language used was quite dissimilar.

Mr. Banerjee rose to a point of order. The president asked him to reserve his explanations till the time of reply.

Sir Reginald Craddock continuing said he was explaining what the effects were of the amendments proposed and the only way in which the object of the resolution could be carried out would be the amendment of Section 12 which was not specifically referred to. But the circumstances were different in case of a keeper of a press or a publisher of a newspaper. Where his property was to be forfeited? Another safe-guard alluded to had therefore, been provided. The disseminator or the writer of a proscribed book or pamphlet was generally an unknown person and the bulk of such literature was either printed secretly or abroad section 12 therefore, referred not to valuable property or security but to probably a few books or pamphlets of probably trivial value. The forfeiture is publicly notified in the Government Gazette to all concerned that such literature had been proscribed as a warning to the public. It was true that the section might be used in regard to literature possessed or printed by the owners of known presses but the forfeiture of the literature did not entail the forfeiture of the press or of any security. No person of ordinary prudence would urge that it was incumbent upon the Government to do the very thing which this section was designed to prevent and to publish abroad the very words or pictures to which exception was taken. In the case of literature produced outside India Government have long enjoyed the power of preventing its importation under the provisions of the Sea Customs Act or its seizure and forfeiture if it escaped detection at the sea ports. The bulk of the literature affected was violently revolutionary and in a few cases though such literature might not be violently prejudicial to the English readers it might nevertheless be highly undesirable to spread it broadcast amongst the Indians. It was not possible, therefore to amend Section 12 in the direction of bringing it into similarity of procedure with the sections dealing with the forfeiture of valuable property. A great deal had been made of the remarks on the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha but as the Hon'ble Mr. Pandit had pointed out those remarks referred to forfeiture of presses and securities the Home Member proceeded to quote Mr. Sinha on this point. He said the Press Act of 1910 was thoroughly examined at the time of its enactment both by the Council and by a select committee, the members of which give minute of dissent but neither in the amendments proposed in the Council nor in the minutes of dissent was any attempt made to amend the section 12. The Hon'ble Mover may suggest that this was mere inadvertence but Mr. Sinha was making his speech not on the introduction of the Bill but after it had been carefully examined and the select committee had presented its report. The Bill was not a long one and such a marked difference between the working of the sections could not have escaped notice by accident. As a matter of fact the difference of words was absolutely intentional. The Home member referring to the second recommendation made by Mr. Banerjee said that the power should not be exercised by any authority lower than a local Government. The statute book was full of powers reserved to local Government which were responsible bodies and which were not in danger of using their powers arbitrarily or without discretion. The only reason for providing a reference to judicial decision was to ensure whether the orders passed were within the terms of the section or not.

Sir Reginald Craddock went on to quote Sir Herbert Risley on this point. It was quite clear that it was never intended to give the High Courts any powers other than those contained in section 4. Very naturally Government would always desire to comply with the formalities prescribed by law. But the construction to be placed upon orders complained of was a vital issue. If a technical irregularity which of course be unintentional in the wording of the order were to be allowed to vitiate the order, the most revolutionary pamphlet might be scattered broadcast throughout India while points of law or procedure were being debated. The speaker next discussed the judgment of the Chief Justice in the "Comrade" case. As the mover had referred to judgment once or twice and it might affect the general attitude of

the public towards the Act he wished to remove any misapprehension that might arise. It was quite true that the Chief Justice had complained that a mandatory portion under Section 12 had not been complied with in the Government notification but they could not find in his judgement any specific statement that he committed himself to any opinion that the interpretation placed upon the Macedonia pamphlet was far reaching or arbitrary and he stated his grounds, namely that it was no part of the High Courts' duty to pronounce on the wisdom or otherwise of Executive actions of Government and he stated his reasons in no uncertain terms. It had always been sufficient if Government stated which of the six clauses under Section 4 was held to be applicable to a case of forfeiture. Concluding Sir Reginald said:—"As for the future I have a lively faith in the independence of our High Court Judges and I feel no doubt that if at any time the Executive Government should exercise their powers under this Act rashly or oppressively that the Judges will find no difficulty in invalidating their illegal action." Sir Reginald Craddock opposed the resolution.

OTHER SPEAKERS.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who followed Sir Reginald Craddock, said that the remarks of the Home Member had greatly simplified matters. There was no suggestion in the resolution that the Mover wanted a repeal of the Press Act. He drew special attention to section 12 and held that the stating of grounds under that Section would not disseminate the offending words which both the Home Member and the Advocate-General apprehended. He condemned the restricted power of the High Court in dealing with the Press Act and urged the Council to accept the resolution as a strong case had been made out for Government to examine the whole position.

Sir Ebrahim Rahmatoola in supporting referred to the Home Member's speech and dwelt upon the existing safe-guards which he held were illusory. He recalled cases when Government had come up before the Council to modify the act or acts to conform the original intention of the legislature. Similarly they had come up for the revision of the Press Act. He urged the Council to accept the resolution.

Mr. Chariar in supporting criticised the speeches of the Home Member and the Advocate-General and said the High Court of Bengal had found that there was considerable discrepancy in declaration and performance. The request was modest and he saw no reason why it should not be granted.

Sir G. M. Chitnavis supporting urged for the alteration in the wording of the law so as to make safe-guards more operative.

Mr. Banerjee summed up the debate and urged that safe-guards were unoperative. He regretted the disposition of the Home Member to go over the pledge given in the past and pointed out to almost unanimity among the non-official members for the revision of the law. He further said that whatever might be the decision to-day they would further deal with the question.

A division being called the resolution was rejected by 40 voting against and 17 for it.

The Council then adjourned to the 18th instant.



Our London Letter.

London, 26th December, 1913.

THE "TIMES" ON "THE INDIAN PERIL."

Indian affairs have been rather prominent this week in London, owing to the four "remarkable" articles, which have appeared in the "Times" on what the national journal of England is pleased to call "The Indian Peril." Had this paper to-day the same influence in moulding British public opinion, which it undoubtedly possessed in times fortunately gone by, the wicked and malignant campaign, which it has just started, would have naturally been viewed with no little alarm and anxiety by all those, who have the true interests of the British Empire in India at heart. Those, who are familiar with Indian matters and are in a position to understand the real situation in India, however, are not likely to allow their own mind to be in any way prejudiced or in the slightest degree influenced by the present series of articles in the "Times" on the "Indian Peril," which obviously exists only in its correspondent's imaginative mind. To studiously misrepresent the facts of the whole case, as is being done in certain quarters at the present moment, is considered as nothing less than criminal by all thinking men and to deliberately stigmatise the great bulk of the Indian population as revolutionaries and seditious, when they are trying to do nothing more than demand the fulfillment of the fundamental principles of British justice and fair-play is looked upon as a gross outrage on the undoubted loyalty and devotion of the Indian people to the British Crown.

On the whole, the "Times" articles have fortunately not created that universal sensation in England that was no doubt anticipated and even the Tory Press in general has treated the matter with extraordinary indifference. The Liberal Press, however, has risen

to the occasion splendidly and has, at the outset, earnestly warned the Public to View these Stories with the utmost suspicion. The "Daily News and Leader" in a magnificent leading article on the subject, has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of all the arguments used in the "Times" in support of its doctrine and has thus undoubtedly rendered a truly Imperial Service. "All this" proceeds the "Daily News" "is preliminary to a demand for a revival of the deportations and for new restrictive measures. If this campaign in which we see the hand of the reactionary influences that played so evil a part in connection with the last period of unrest—is successful, there will be an "Indian Peril" indeed, and one from which we shall not emerge so fortunately as we did from the last."

There are of course, firebrands in India as elsewhere and their most useful agents are the reactionary Anglo Indians, who inspire the Press. But neither amongst the Hindus nor among the Mohaimmdans can there be found responsible leaders, who are disloyal to the British rule. They know that it is essential to the governance of India and that its withdrawal would be disastrous to their country. They are in a very real sense the bulwork of our policy there. If we lose their confidence in British justice, we shall lose the confidence of India. Now it is the chief vice of the policy that "The Times" represents that it drives these men into antagonism to the Government..... "The Westminster Gazette" speaks in the same view. "We have read these articles with some care," says the Gazette in a leader "and as members of the well meaning but misguided class appealed to, we feel impelled to say that, if they represent the last word of wisdom on the part of the administration, there is an Indian peril, and a very serious one..... We do not share the alarm of the "Times" correspondent. The problem is certainly more difficult than it was twenty years ago, and we must not expect dumb admiration and acquiescence from active and intelligent men to whom our rule is alien. We must make our rule as little alien as possible, and that primarily means breaking down the racial estrangement, which is the curse of India and a more fruitful cause of unrest than all other causes put together. The new India which is growing up will not submit to the hard line between the ruling caste and the ruled, which is insisted upon by so much Anglo-Indian opinion"..... It is indeed surprising that on an occasion, when great care and unusual delicacy are needed in handling question concerning India the "Times" has thought fit to open a crusade against all that is noble, progressive, loyal and self-respecting in that great Dependency of the Empire. No more mischievous motive could be considered than that underlying the recent articles in the "Times" and no more loyal section of His Majesty's subjects could be thus misrepresented than the vast millions of India, whose devotion and attachment to their Sovereign have been repeatedly and vividly demonstrated, even under the most trying circumstances.

EGYPTIAN PRINCESS WEDS AT WOKING.

On the afternoon of Sunday the 21st December, a numerous gathering was present at the mosque, Woking, at Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's invitation, to witness the Majlis-un-Nikah (Wedding ceremony) of Princess Saliah of Egypt with a Russian nobleman, who has recently embraced Islam, to which I made a brief reference in my letter of last week. Amongst those present were Mr. Abbas Ali Bai, Lord Headley, Colonel Bhola Nath, Miss Chatterjee, Mr. and Mrs. Ibrahim, Mr. H. Leitner (whose father had built the mosque), Mr. Abdul Haq, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mohamed Kassimoff, Mr. M. M. Shafi, Mr. Naimatullah Shah, Dr. Mohamed Deen of Bhowalpur, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Mr. Jial Shah. The Princess is a daughter of Prince Hilmi and a grand-daughter of the late Khedive Ismail of Egypt. She speaks, besides Arabic and Turkish, several European Languages, amongst them English and French fluently. The moslem name of the Russian nobleman is Ata-ul-Rahman Shaikh Jial-ud-din Mohamed.

Before the actual ceremony, Khwaja Kamal-ud-din delivered a very impressive sermon on the duties of "man and wife," after which the Khwaja Sahib conducted the Nikah in the mosque itself, thus giving the auspicious event a most inspiring atmosphere.

Subsequently, the party was treated to light refreshments, which were provided for the guests in the Memorial House, attached to the mosque, and after offering their hearty congratulations to the newly-married couple, the visitors gradually dispersed.

Reuter's message in this morning's paper, stating that an enthusiastic ovation has been accorded Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, on their arrival at Delhi, has made a very favourable impression on the Indian Moslem Community in London.

The great problem before the Indian Moslems in London at present, which awaits solution, is that relating to Mr. Ameer Ali's withdrawal of his resignation. It will be, no doubt, of interest to see as to how the Right Hon. gentleman will render his office of President of the London Moslem League an essentially political Body, compatible with his position as a Privy Councillor. Perhaps, on this occasion, he will use his own discretion without in any way troubling the Lord Chancellor for advice or permission.

TETE À TETE



No one who is acquainted with the true state of the country can deny that so far as the Mussalmans of India are concerned the dawn of the year 1914 was far brighter than the dawn of 1912 or 1913. The evil fortune of the Moslem world which brought to them repeated afflictions

during the last three years seemed to have exhausted itself, and the horizon was once more cloudless, even if the mist of suspicion still hung over the Community. With the New Year every public spirited Mussalman felt the necessity of taking stock of the communal situation and of re-arranging the programme of constructive work which had been at least partially arrested by the terrible visitations of the last few years. There was every hope that the energies hitherto absorbed in combating with repeated misfortunes would begin to be utilized for the purpose of self-improvement. It was at the same time believed that, in view of the universal dissatisfaction with the Press Act and with its administration during the period of the Cawnpore Mosque agitation, Government would now be pleased to modify the Act substantially, if not repeal it without further delay, and hopes were entertained that, apart from any considerations of justice, the Government of India would recommend to Local Governments the refund of all securities which they had declared forfeited with a view to inaugurate a new era of trust and confidence between Government and the public. The reply of Sir Reginald Craddock, however, to the recommendation of practically all non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council for an absurdly small modification of the Press Act shattered the hope that Government would at least modify the Act without further agitation in the country. But a worse blow to the hopes of those who desired the restoration of the country to its normal condition is the order of H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for the confiscation of the entire Press of the Zamindar, together with the enhanced security of Rs. 10,000, which the keeper of that Press had been called upon to furnish on the confiscation of the security of Rs. 2,000 previously deposited. It must be remembered that the articles which are declared to furnish the ground for the action of His Honour were published about two months ago, and it is a significant commentary on the declaration of the framers of the Act that it is a preventive and not a punitive measure which, unlike a prosecution causing endless excitement, provides a summary procedure. We fear this new prevention is worse than the old cure, and it is idle to talk of an appeal to the Punjab Chief Court when even the High Court of Calcutta has confessed itself to be helpless. Who can lightly undertake the "almost hopeless task" of proving the negative required by the Act when the words of Section 4 are all-comprehensive and nothing can escape the net of the Executive? It is merely throwing away good money after bad. But if a journalist who becomes a victim of the Act cannot obtain the redress of his grievances in a court of law, his only resort is the office chambers of the Executive, and that being the case, it is no use discussing the character of the publications on account of which such action is alleged to have been taken. Had the Press Act any reference to the intention of the publications we would have had no hesitation in attempting to prove the obvious fact that the Zamindar never harboured an unlawful intention. But it was found in our own case that the only thing with which that Act was concerned was the possibility, great or small, present or future, of exciting, somehow and somewhere, certain feelings in one or more human beings. We are, therefore, compelled to ask whether those objectionable feelings are more likely to be caused to-day by a perusal of three more or less obscure back numbers of the Zamindar or by the drastic action of the Punjab Government. Our own answer to this question can be given unhesitatingly, and it is this. The action of the Punjab Government is likely to disturb the sea's surface once more at a time when there was no sign of the rough weather through which the Mussalmans had recently passed. We want the calm and not the storm, and confine our remarks on the occasion to the earnest prayer to His

Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself to prefer expediency even to justice, and his own forgiveness to the vengeance of those who are exulting at the troubles of one of their own kith and kin. We feel certain that the Mussalmans, who cannot afford to do without a strong and independent Vernacular Press, would revive the *Zamindar* without much delay. But before they do it, will not the Punjab Government itself give back the life that it has taken, and teach the Moslem community a lesson in moderation and self-control, in dignity and even charity which it could remember far longer than lessons taught by confiscations and even bayonets? Many things can be repressed, but it is impossible to repress bitterness of feeling. H. E. Lord Hardinge realised this when he made the Cawnpore settlement. It would have been still better if Sir James Meston had realised it earlier. But the time for its realization by Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not yet gone, and we appeal to him to capture Moslem imagination and Moslem feeling by an act of grace. We feel certain that His Honour's example would not be lost on other Local Governments and his lead would be readily followed. We must continue to do our duty by the people and by the Government according to our lights regardless of possible consequences, to ourselves and the recent orders of the Punjab Government cannot affect him who is moved by the powerful impulse of a patriot's duty. But it is not inconsistent with that duty to appeal, nay implore Government to do nothing which may cause more excitement than that which already prevails. In voicing this appeal we feel certain that our views are shared even by those who were occasionally dissatisfied with the conduct of our ill-fated contemporary, for the appeal is made not in the interest of the *Zamindar*, nor that of the Press generally, nor even in the interest of the Moslem community, but first and foremost in the interests of peace and good government, and we are equally certain that our appeal cannot be unwelcome to the statesman who has repeatedly acted on similar impulses in the three years of his Viceroyalty.

Our readers must by now be quite familiar with the conspiracy that has been hatched in this country and in England of frightening the British public into a policy of repression to be pursued in

India against Indians in general and the Mussalmans in particular, the policy of suppression of newspapers and wholesale prosecution and deportations. It is not difficult to guess who are the chief conspirators in this country and who are their Indian accomplices. Were it not for the wise statesmanship of H. E. the Viceroy, who looks upon Indian questions from a detached point of view, and the support he gets from some of the Heads of Provincial Governments such as H. E. Lord Carmichael and from some of his colleagues, it would have become impossible for any public man in India to do his duty by his own people and by Government. Very few people realise what India owes to Lord Hardinge at this crisis; but when the historian of the future lifts the veil, the whole country would recognise the full measure of its obligation to the present Viceroy. In England, the *Times* is the arch-conspirator, but most Tory papers have lent themselves to create the "Indian Peril." The *Round Table*, which is edited by a young Tory not a minute older than some of the "hot-headed youngster" of the Moslem community, joins hands with the *Pall Mall* where Mr. Garvin displays every evening the awful signs of Tory dotage. But India is kept studiously outside Party politics, so that, like "everybody's child" who is nobody's child, India is bound to suffer for want of an advocate. The Liberals are willing to do her justice but they know little of India, and where a Moslem is concerned, and where Turkey is even indirectly in question, prejudice comes to the rescue of ignorance against the onslaughts of the Liberal political conscience. Add to it the tremendous disadvantage that all Indian news reaches England through tainted Anglo-Indian and Tory sources and that her cabled to England have more lives than the proverbial cat, as the references to Cawnpore incidents in English papers even to-day amply testify, and you get some idea of the almost hopeless situation. Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali found several occasions on which to counteract the false charge levelled against Indian Mussalmans of trying to dictate the British policy, and the Liberal papers do not believe it any longer, though significantly enough some Tory papers still repeat the lie. But in the earlier stages of their mission these gentlemen did not publish a word about the Cawnpore incidents in order that Ministers may not complain that they had come to embarrass the Government, and after the settlement by H. E. the Viceroy they were most anxious to bury the hatchet and consider those awful happenings as a mere nightmare. A few editors of Liberal papers were, however, privately told the facts of the case and were informed that apprehensions existed in India that those who were opposed to Lord Hardinge's settlement would try to take every opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the Moslem Press that had recently done its duty by the community. Even this has been productive of some results, and we are glad to note that at least an important portion of the Liberal Press is now no more labouring under the delusions which "news" manufactured in India was bound to create. The first-fruits of the Moslem Mission in England are the leading articles which the *Daily News* and *Leader* and the *Westminster Gazette* have published on the subject of the "Indian Peril" of the *Times*. The *Daily News* characteristically nipped the latest mischievous of the *Times* in the bud, and the *Westminster*

Gazette has given the *Thunder* its *coup de grace*. We invite the attention of our readers to these articles which are reproduced elsewhere. After the *Edinburgh Review* article of His Highness the Aga Khan—to whom the Mussalmans owe as much gratitude as the *Pioneer* and His Highness's once perfectly disinterested admirer, the *Times of India*, owe him a grudge—we hope all croakers in England and India will be silenced, and the "Indian Peril" would be as dead as Queen Anne. May it also be beyond resurrection is the prayer of every true well-wisher of Government and of India.

We cordially invite the attention of our readers to the appeal of the London Islamic Society published elsewhere. This is, perhaps, the oldest Moslem institution in London, and we believe Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim, now Member of the Royal

Commission on Public Services, was one of its founders. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami was its last President and can corroborate our statement that the Society has every claim on the support of the Mussalmans of the world. The Moslem population of London is largely of the student class, and the activities of societies with such a floating membership are naturally unequal. But the present generation of its members, and particularly its present office-bearers deserve every assistance. The main difficulty is the absence of a permanent habitation, and this can be removed by hiring a commodious house in a central place where prayers can be offered, and the meetings of the Society held at regular intervals. A reading room and a library would provide enough attraction for the members who are scattered all over a vast area called London and swallowed up among the seven millions that constitute the population of London. Egyptians, Turks, Persians, and Indians could thus meet together and exchange ideas about the causes of Moslem decadence and the methods of Moslem regeneration. In this connection we may mention that Ali Hikiniet Nalid Bey, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society who has signed its appeal for funds, is a young Turkish gentleman engaged in banking business to which the Turks are now fortunately taking. We trust the generosity of Indian Mussalmans will come to the assistance of a Society which has done not a little to enlighten English people on the subject of Islam and Moslem ideals, and to remove those absurd prejudices among which an English child generally grows up into boyhood and manhood. It must be in the recollection of our readers that the Islamic Society entertained Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali at a Banquet held at Hotel Cecil at which the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M. P., presided, and at which besides the exposition of Moslem views about Indian and Islamic politics by these two speakers, Sir Henry Cotton spoke on Indian unity and Mr. John Dillon, M. P., denounced the Press Act of which he had had considerable experience in Ireland.

We are informed on wholly unreliable authority that the following letter is lying undelivered in the Dead Letter Office at Delhi for want of sufficient address. It, however, bears the world famous name of "Gur" at the foot of it, and the police are investigating the matter with a view to make certain whether the document is a clumsy forgery, or has some connection with the Hon. Mr. Gur whose disappearance from the world of journalism may be as deceptive as most appearances are believed to be. It runs as follows:—

"DEAR WORSHIPFUL BROTHER,
"I gladly responded to your invitation to dine with you and your brother Masons, and you now expect me to respond to your invitation to become a Mason. Under ordinary circumstances conductors of newspapers have a ready reply for all offers. But such a "contribution" as a dinner could not have been rejected on the ground of "pressure on our space." However, I much regret to have to say that, in spite of the obvious temptation to embrace the opportunity of fraternizing with my pursuers, I am unable to respond to your invitation to be a Mason.

"It is not always wise to give reasons for one's views, and often enough a most excellent judgment is upset in appeal because the judge has taken the risky course of offering reasons of doubtful excellence in support of it. Nevertheless you are quite welcome to such reasons as I have to offer. In the first place, my becoming a Mason is not likely to benefit Masonry. I have noticed the sad absence of ladies in Masonic brotherhoods, and probably this is not sufficiently accounted for by the obvious fact that all "brotherhood" would disappear with the disturbing appearance of "Adorable Sisters" among the "Worshipful Brothers." Is it not a fact that you have a secret to keep, and what woman could be trusted with one? Now the weakness of a woman is the pride of a journalist. Think of the "copy" he could secure by becoming a Mason! Imagine the glaring headlines the *Daily Mail* would give when Isis is unveiled! Believe me every journalist has the soul of a Delilah, and it is not a small matter that I am laying it bare for your benefit. After this confession, do you think you would like me to be initiated into your mysteries?

"I have two other reasons also, but they will not take long in the telling thereof. With the Press Act hanging over it, journalism is by no means a bed of roses. Add to it the "Indian Peril" of the *Times* and the C. I. D., and then ask yourself whether a journalist outside the Lunatic Asylum can join a secret society. No, *non am*, no Masonry for my money!

"Thirdly, and lastly, I admit I know the full enormity of the sin of 'destructive criticism,' particularly after the political obiter dicta of a Judge lecturing on Education. But what of the greater sin of 'constructive' Masonry? Didn't some 'hot-headed youngsters,' and still more hot-headed octogenarians, try their hand as constructive masons in a certain city in a certain province and come to a sad end? No thanks, not if I know it. Yours Never, 'Gur.'

MISS MAUD ALLAN was coming to Delhi and all well-wishers of this country became preternaturally uneasy about the safety of Prestige. Would the dacoit still feel himself compelled to take his pursuers into partnership, or would he henceforward dis-

Saved!

pense with this necessary measure of precaution and pursue his calling as openly as, shall we say, the Police? Would the debtor, unwilling to meet his creditors, merely continue to rely on the laws' delays and the eternity that separates decree from execution, or, disdaining these Fabian tactics, would he henceforth defy the red-turbaned *Chaprasai* that only wants his signature on the summons, failing a small silver coin? Would the journalist continue to live in terror of the Press Act, or would he begin to suspect that High Courts and Special Tribunals are not incredible myths but have some substance and reality? Would the Indian still believe that in the warrant of official precedence the British Chancellor of the Exchequer comes much after a Chief Commissioner's head *Chaprasai*, or would it suddenly dawn on him that British Ministers must be respected alike by non-official journalists and official oratory? These were the grave questions that haunted loyal breasts when the placards began to announce "Maud Allan is coming." Miss Maud Allan came, danced and departed, and let it be proclaimed from the top of the Kutub Minar that Prestige was not only not shattered but has remained wholly undamaged. The dacoit's peculiar notions of safety and methods of company promotion and the red-turbaned *Chaprasai*'s small silver coin; the terrors of the Press Act and the latest warrant of precedence are all safe and untouched. Naked and naughty feet no doubt trampled over them, but they survived the delightful shock of such delicate hammering just as easily as a dowager duchess's wrinkles survive repeated vibratory massage. Not even to a perverted and prurient mind could the classic, if also somewhat needlessly entailed, draperies of Miss Maud Allan suggest thoughts that are not infrequently the outcome of the spectacle of a ballet dancer dressed in pink tights of the most approved pattern sanctioned by the Lord Chamberlain. Titian would have failed in his art if one could distinguish his "Profane Love" from his "Sacred Love" merely by the dimensions and weight of the draperies. So would Miss Maud Allan have failed in her art if one could measure one's pleasure only according to the scantiness of her attire. But we could honestly say that she did not fail, and that at times she gripped the thoughts of the spectators so fast that they forgot the entire controversy which had heralded her to India. In fact they felt a rude shock of surprise when after the fall of the curtain the lights in the hall were turned on, and they could note that the worshippers of Prestige had boycotted her because of her bare feet. Looking at the matter merely from the oriental point of view, her art appeared less like a dance in the ordinary sense and more like the posturing with which a decorous and often dull *mujra* is commenced, or the gestures known as *nirat* that accompany a love lyric. Hers was a more perfectly developed and more natural art, and could therefore be enjoyed by a staid Oriental no less than by a lively Westerner, and he who does not object to the art of an Indian *danceuse* could have no objection to the art of Miss Maud Allan. No one is called upon to bestow his approval on that lady's choice of this art in preference to any other; but no one has a right to trumpet forth his disapproval if he does not denounce in far more emphatic terms the very common art that is exhibited on the stage of advertising physical charms often only enhanced by what covers, though it does not conceal, them. The puritan,--and we have a sneaking admiration for him--would find more to object in many a swaying motion of the Tango even if danced in the costume of a nun than in the performance we saw at Delhi. Having said this, we may perhaps venture now to address a remark or two to Miss Maud Allan. We ask if she really thinks that the lightness of her draperies is necessary for the display of her art? Could she not in any case choose more secretive colours than she occasionally uses? No doubt her translation of Chopin's sounds into her own motion in the first item of this evening's programme was exquisite: her rendering of Mendelssohn's Spring Song was dainty and delightful, and her Blue Danube Valse was also highly artistic. But that which kept the spectators spell-bound was her rendering of Chopin's Funeral March in which she was almost as closely draped as a nun. We acknowledge that scantier clothing suited the Spring Song better. But it did not appear to us to be absolutely indispensable, and Art and Virtue may well make a concession to Philistinism and Vice occasionally, just as bureaucracy can afford to throw a crumb or two to democracy and discontent. In conclusion, we may admit that after all we have seen little of Miss Maud Allan in the performance she gave at Delhi, and had she given us the Salome dance we too may have felt inclined to side with the Police Commissioner of Bombay. But in that case we would have sought the assistance of the Bishop of Kensington in England also, even at the risk of having had to witness hostile Mr. Bernard Shaw's flashes

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

THE agitation which followed the Partition of Bengal in 1905 was unparalleled both in intensity and magnitude. It is, however, of so recent a date that it is wholly unnecessary to go into any details concerning the manifestations of the excitement of a large section of the Hindu community at the time. We have never disguised our own views about the character of that agitation, and it is, therefore, equally needless to re-state them. No one who went through that period of intense excitement could forget it, and no one could honestly say that such an agitation has ever been repeated in India since those days. The worst feature of that agitation was the sudden appearance of newspapers and leaflets openly preaching violence, assassination and revolt and the equally sudden occurrence of political crimes such as shooting, bomb-throwing, and dacoities.

This led the Government of India, after careful and anxious consideration which clearly showed the influence of two such statesmen and friends of India as Lord Morley and Lord Minto, to issue on the 3rd June, 1907 a Resolution which referred to "the recent outbreaks of lawlessness in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal" and to the attendant circumstance of a number of newspapers encouraging such lawlessness. It went on to say that--

The Governor-General has no desire whatever to restrict the legitimate liberty of the Press to criticise the action of the Government and he would be reluctant to curtail the freedom of the many well-conducted papers because of the misbehaviour of a few disloyal journals.

But in view of the Governments' responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, it could not tolerate the publication of seditious matter, and was determined to repress the dissemination of sedition and the promotion of ill-will between classes by firm and sustained action "under the penal law." Accordingly, His Excellency the Viceroy empowered Local Governments to institute prosecutions in all cases where the law had been wilfully infringed. In consequence of this, 47 prosecutions had been undertaken up to the end of 1909, not one of which had failed. In the words of the late Sir Herbert Risley, then Home Member, it was proved "that the law as it stands is sufficient to enable convictions for sedition to be obtained." In 1908, however, the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act was passed in order to add another weapon to the armoury of the State, and the combined effect of this judicial and legislative action was that the *Samitha*, the *Jugantar* and the *Bande Mataram* and other newspapers of a similar character ceased to exist.

This was what repression could do. But the wisdom of Lord Morley and Lord Minto had foreseen that repression had its limits, and could not work the miracles which a policy of reconciliation alone could accomplish. Without justifying the seditious newspapers in the least, one could yet explain their existence and their potency for evil, and it was such an explanation alone that could give a clue to the root-evil from which was springing up in the land the spirit of anarchy and lawlessness. The parasite in the blood was reached through the adoption of the well-known Reform Scheme, and no one who was old enough and able to judge the state of the country could fail to note the marvellous change that this measure of liberal statesmanship produced in India. Speaking from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale said that "there is no doubt whatever that the Reform Scheme . . . has largely eased the tension of the situation, and has brought over to the side of the administration factors that might otherwise have remained sullenly or helplessly aloof." The Viceroy himself felt justified in saying on the same day that "we are at the commencement of that new political era of which I have so often spoken." What is more, he signalled the commencement of that era of new hope by releasing the State prisoners who had been fourteen months previously deported under Regulation III of 1818. "Our justification for their release," said Lord Minto, "is based upon the belief that the political position has entirely changed."

It was, then, nothing short of "a cruel irony of fate," as Mr. Gokhale called it, that this bright prospect should have been dimmed by the appearance of a dark cloud partially concealing the sun so soon after the dawn; that the Press Act should have been the first statute to be enacted by the Reformed Council. No profound student of government can say that, taking detached periods of history, greater progress has been made by any country or people, and in a shorter space of time, under any other form of government than the rule of a dictator or autocrat. This can be readily confessed, without prejudicing in the least the claims of democracy to be the most satisfying and on the whole a very satisfactory system of government. Now, if Lord Morley had been in the fullest sense the Dictator of India for a decade after Lord Curzon's restless Viceroyalty, we feel certain that the bright prospect of 1910 would not have been clouded by a piece of legislation to which his whole nature must have been averse and which was entirely out of keeping with his entire political career. But the author of "Compromise" knew only too well that life was one long second best, and that he must allow himself to be saddled with the blame for inconsistency in order to be able to induce those whose cooperation was essential for the success

them. Just as the deportations were the price which his liberal statesmanship had to pay to "Anglo-India" for the Reform Scheme, the Press Act was no doubt the price which it had to pay for the release of the deportees.

Only a year before Lord Morley speaking in the House of Lords, dealt with the suggestion that we ought to have "some very strong machinery for putting down a free Press" in the following characteristically effective manner:—

A long time ago a great Indian authority, Sir Thomas Munro, used language which I will venture to quote, not merely for the purpose of this afternoon's exposition, but in order that everybody who listens and reads may feel the formidable difficulties that our predecessors have overcome, and that we in our turn mean to try to overcome. Sir Thomas Munro said:— "We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world—maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army; and teaching that army through a free Press, that they ought to expel us and deliver their country." He went on to say:— "A tremendous revolution may overtake us, originating in a free Press." I recognise to the full the enormous force of a declaration of that kind. But let us look at it as practical men, who have got to deal with the government of the country. Supposing you abolish freedom of the Press or suspend it, that will not end the business. You will have to shut up schools and colleges, for what would be the use of suppressing newspapers, if you do not shut the schools and colleges? Nor will that be all. You will have to stop the printing of undiscussed books. The possession of a copy of Milton, or Burke, or Macaulay, or of Bright's speeches and all that flashing array of writers and orators who are the glory of our grand, our noble English tongue—the possession of one of these books will, on this peculiar and perilous notion of government, be like the possession of a bomb, and we shall have to direct the passing of an Explosive Books Act. All this and its various sequels and complements make a policy if you please. But after such a policy had produced a mute, sullen, muzzled lifeless India, we could hardly call it, as we do now, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown. No English Parliament will ever permit such a thing.

It is true that "no English Parliament will ever permit such a thing;" but it is also true that the greater expediency of carrying the Reforms through an uncontrolled Tory Second Chamber, urged by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, and led by several ex-Viceroy of the same Party, reconciled Lord Morley after a year to that measure of repression, the Press Act of 1910. Nevertheless, we feel certain that Lord Morley, who was not unaware of the dire consequences of such muzzling in Ireland, would not have consented to it in India if he were not assured of the provision of what the late Sir Herbert Risley called a very complete judicial check upon any hasty or improper action by the executive. This consisted of "an appeal to a special tribunal of three Judges of the High Court against any order of forfeiture passed by the Government."

Be that as it may, the people who were to be thus muzzled would have under ordinary circumstances certainly opposed the measure, although even members of the first Reformed Council knew that not even the united opposition of all Indian members could bring about the alteration of a word of the Bill without official concurrence. But what did the Indian Councillors do? On the 4th of February, 1910, Sir Herbert Risley moved for leave to introduce the Bill. No member opposed the motion which was and put unanimously agreed to. The Bill was then introduced, and Sir Herbert Risley moved that the Rules of Business be suspended, as if the safety of the Indian Empire hung on the immediate passage of a Bill which Lord Morley had fought against for years. The Viceroy declared the Rules suspended, and thus, without publishing the Bill in the official *Gazette* for public information and criticism, the Home Member moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, with instructions to report on the 8th February, that is, after an interval of no more than three days. This motion too was put and agreed to without any dissent. On the 8th February the Report of the Select Committee was presented by the Home Member, who did not feel inclined to say a word in explanation of the Report, for the Bill emerged from the Select Committee practically as it had entered it. Once more Sir Herbert applied for the suspension of the Rules of Business to admit of the Report being taken into consideration immediately, and once more they were suspended. It was only when the Report was taken into consideration that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale explained the surprising silence and ultimate acquiescence of the non-official Members of the Council. After justifying in a semi-apologetic manner the minute of dissent which he and the Hon. Mr. Madhokar had appended to the Report of the Select Committee, Mr. Gokhale said:

My Lord, in ordinary times I should have deemed it my duty to resist such proposals to the utmost of my power. The risks involved in them are grave and obvious. But in view of the situation that exists in several parts of the country to-day, I have reluctantly come, after a careful and anxious consideration, to the conclusion that I should not be justified in opposing the principle of this Bill. It is not merely the assassinations that have taken place, or the conspiracies that have come to light, or the political atrocities that are being committed that fill me with anxiety. The air in many places is still thick with ideas that are undoubtedly antagonistic to the unquestioned continuance of British rule with which our hopes of a peaceful evolution are bound up; and this is a feature of the situation quite as serious as anything else. There is no doubt that even if the powers conferred by the Bill are exercised judiciously, some inconvenience and even hardship is inevitable to well-intentioned concerns. And if the powers are not exercised with care, great harm is bound to follow. Moreover, as long as the law continues in force, even the best

Indian concerns must work in an atmosphere of uncertainty and apprehension. But all these risks may be temporarily borne if they help in some measure to free the air of ideas of which I have spoken.

Even in a country in which true patriotism has to appear before the bureaucracy with bowed head and humble mien, while lip-loyalty stalks proudly to the accompaniment of a beat of drums and a flourish of trumpets, every subsequent speaker who could be expected to have the courage of his convictions offered the same explanation of his support of the Bill. As the concluding speech of the Viceroy clearly shows, the support of the Bill was understood by Government to "furnish the proof . . . that increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken, but would vastly strengthen British administration." Such a criterion of loyalty deprives voting of much of its significance. But partly through our national timidity, and partly through the intensity of our desire to convince Englishmen of our loyalty, we submit to this unfair test and vote for measures in the efficacy of which we have no faith. It is now well known that the murder of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alam in the High Court of Calcutta in broad day-light induced the then Law Member, Mr. S. P. Sinha to continue in office, although it is an open secret that he did not favour the Bill. We have a recent instance of the same political *gaucherie* of our Councillors in their reluctant acquiescence in the Conspiracy Bill introduced in the Session following the foul tragedy of the 23rd December, 1912, when the life of His Excellency Lord Hardinge was attempted on the occasion of his State Entry into this historic capital of India.

We must not, however, wander any further from our subject. It is no longer a matter of speculation, as it was to Mr. Gokhale on the 8th of February, whether the extraordinary powers conferred by the Press Bill would be exercised judiciously, entailing only "some inevitable inconvenience and even hardship to well-intentioned concerns," or would be exercised without care and would thereby result in "great harm." It is now possible to give not only an exposition of the expectations held out by the absence of some ugly features of repressive Press legislation and the provision in the Act of judicial checks upon hasty or improper executive action, but also to discuss the way in which those expectations have been proved by experience to have been vain and the manner in which the judiciary has declared the safe-guards to be illusory and incapable of being enforced.

To begin at the very beginning, it was proudly claimed by Sir Herbert Risley that the Bill, in the first place, did not create a Censorship. "It imposes no antecedent restraint on the Press: a man may publish what he pleases; he has the widest range for every form of intellectual activity within the limits laid down by the law." Secondly, it was claimed that it was not, like the Press Act of 1878, "a purely executive measure." "The initiative," said Sir Herbert, "indeed, rests with the Executive Government, but ample security against hasty or arbitrary action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority." Thirdly, it was declared with much show of pride, the Bill was not "a measure of universal licensing with power to the Government to withdraw or refuse a license at discretion." "The liberty of unlicensed printing," said self-conscious virtue, "for which Milton pleaded three centuries and a half ago, and at the time pleaded in vain, is untouched by this Bill." All that the Bill did, according to its author, was to demand security from the journalist or printer "in the interests of the community in order to guarantee that those who undertake for the first time the important task of instructing the people regarding public affairs shall at any rate be fully aware of the responsibility they incur."

Now, as regards the absence of a Censorship, it is true that the Act of 1910 is an improvement on its short-lived predecessor of 1878; but it is just as well to remember that in this there was less virtue than necessity. In according his sanction to the Vernacular Press Bill, the Secretary of State had expressed an opinion that the clauses providing for Censorship were liable to abuse, and although the Government of India had sinned in a hurry in retaining those clauses while passing the Bill in one sitting, they repented at leisure, and on the 16th October, 1878, brought in and passed an amending Bill for removing all provisions relating to Censorship. In this connection, Sir Herbert Risley himself referred to the provision of Censorship as "impracticable," and thus reduced the boast to the more modest dimensions of a confession.

We shall deal later with the question whether "the limits laid down by the law" did or did not confine Sir Herbert Risley's "widest range for every form of intellectual activity" within the exceedingly narrow compass of eternally praising the acts and policies of all officials. But we think it is in public interest to give some idea of the absence of "antecedent restraints on the Press" when translated into the daily life of a journalist in these days. He writes a restrained and remarkably respectful critique on the work of a Provincial satrap and a high Police dignitary which rouses gubernatorial gorge and offends the highly developed susceptibilities of the Police official. A co-religionist of the editor in the C. I. D. comes to him the next day in the unquestionable shape of a sympathiser and a friend in need. What has the Editor done? How does he propose to escape? Done? Escape? What does the man mean? Why, does not the Editor

know that there is such a thing as the Press Act which empowers Government to demand a heavy security without any time limit for the bond, without recourse to a law court—where lawyers could be engaged, evidence heard on both sides, cross-examination and arguments indulged in to one's heart's content—and without appeal to any tribunal? Does he not know that the journalist is in this matter in a worse position than a confirmed criminal? Caste? Of course, he would lose caste, and naturally his movements henceforward would acquire a new interest for the C. I. D. What else did he think? Had he been living in a fool's paradise all this time? What to do now? Well, it was a very difficult and a very delicate matter. As a co-religionist and friend the visitor would do what he could in the matter. On the whole—and this comes after a judicious pause to show the *extempore* character of the suggestion—it would be just as well if the Editor called on the Police dignitary, sought his advice and offered to keep out such matter from his paper in the future. In the meantime the visitor would try to appease his superior. The unsuspecting Editor calls on the Police dignitary the very next day. He basks in the sunshine of the office verandah for an hour or more and is then admitted into the presence of an officer who is as frigid as an iceberg, and as rigid as if he had swallowed a poker at breakfast. The Editor mumbles and mutters his regrets to begin with, then plucks up courage to ask the dignitary's advice, and ends with an abject promise never to do it again. The Police dignitary puts on an extra shade of seriousness on the situation, accepts the apology with evident reluctance, and finally warns the Editor in pulpit accents. The Editor returns home a wiser, if also a sadder man, and ruminates over the assurance of Sir Herbert Risley that he is as free as the air and "has the widest range for every form of intellectual activity." Oh, no, we have no Censorship in these days. The provisions of the Act of 1878 were "impracticable," and—present day administrators are practical men.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

III.

A few months ago we had undertaken a brief survey of Moslem affairs in India with a view to indicate the directions in which the united efforts and energy of the community should be applied. Certain events, however, of more immediate concern, which happened in quick succession, obliged us to defer till now the detailed consideration of the problems arising out of the subject. In the first article some considerations were set forth which emphasised the need of such a survey. We said that the Mussalmans of India were just emerging from a period of stress and storm and that the future was full of uncertainties, if not of perils. In the plastic state of mood and feelings in which the Mussalmans find themselves prompt and well-directed efforts have got to be made to create a new unity of purpose and to clear the path ahead. As we said, the past has been crowded with events, and the experiences of the Mussalmans are, if they only knew, a powerful challenge. They have to take stock of the present situation, and restate their purpose and brace themselves up for a long spell of sustained endeavour. We indicated in bare outline the character and range of the great tasks which awaited them. The first great task for them is unquestionably to provide themselves with adequate intellectual and moral equipment to preserve their status and individuality amongst the progressive races of India. In this connection we made some general observations in the second article and briefly outlined the position of the Mussalmans in the matter of communal education. The question, however, is of such fundamental importance that we cannot leave it without further examination.

The first thing that should strike the educational reformer amongst the Mussalmans is the attitude of the bulk of the community towards education generally. No doubt a considerable demand for modern education has grown up amongst the Mussalmans in recent years. Economic causes are ruthless in their operation, and the Indian Moslems, in spite of their proud and sullen temper of some decades ago, have been driven to recognise that they will have to adapt themselves to modern conditions if they want to live. The desire for education as it exists amongst the Mussalmans to-day is, therefore, no more than a concession to the grim forces which embody the physical appetites of mankind. The desire is right and irreproachable so far as it goes; but it does not afford much help in evolving general standards for the organisation of Moslem education. It breeds no ideal and indicates no direction along which the whole community should move. Communities cannot live by bread alone any more than individuals. They must have some great fertilising purpose to make their lives worth living. The satisfaction of physical appetites is not achieved through a high purpose worthy of the higher man, but through an imperious, animal instinct. If Moslem education is to remain a merely bread-winning device, its organisation on communal lines would be an expensive futility. There are, we allow, enough men amongst the Mussalmans who talk frequently of types and ideals in regard to Moslem education. Most of them are men who had burnt

their rush-lights at the lamp lit by the late Sir Syed Ahmad in the seventies. Their talk is usually brave and pleasing; but when they come to formulate their ideals in definite terms they break down in confusion in the majority of cases. The fact is, though a right instinct early saved the Mussalmans from accepting the gross material values which modern secular teaching of the West tends to place on life, they have evolved no values of their own. They have yet a hazy sense of something they need. Their ideals have not yet taken shape and emerged from the cloudland.

Most of the existing vagueness and confusion is no doubt due to the conditions obtaining in this country. The Moslem educational problem is in one essential respect part of the larger problem of Indian education. Its main difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Indian society has to take its new life and vigour in an atmosphere of alien culture and through the inspiration of an alien civilisation. Those who describe this as an experiment, give but an imperfect idea of their sense of risk and adventure. Western education in India is, as a matter of fact, an experiment only in the sense that its result are not yet definite and assured. Its full significance, however, can be grasped only when we try to know what it really is—a fixed, arbitrary, irrevocable mould through which the growing mind of India has to pass. The evil effects of this artificial process have not become so glaring because the Indian mind, thanks to its innate vitality and nimbleness, has escaped without much violence through the iron standardising of mind that is going on in Indian schools and colleges. All the thoughtful Indian observers are becoming increasingly conscious of the waste, the injury and the make-believe that this process perpetuates. The Government is also beginning to perceive in its own way that the ideals and methods of Indian education are not what they ought to be. The true solution of the problem would be reached when the process named above comes finally and absolutely to an end. To state it more plainly, education in India can be a real and vitalising thing only by its becoming *national*.

All education in its essence aims at the equipment of the rising generation with the full experience of the race. The people of India will have to assimilate accumulated human experience and make it a part of their consciousness if they aspire to become great, free and powerful. But the process of assimilation will never effectively set in as long as the direction of Indian education remains a jealous concern of the State. What makes the Indian problem an almost unique phenomenon in the history of the world is that the State is not the natural expression of the will of the people. It enjoys a measure of confidence and a larger measure of acquiescence of the governed; but it has nevertheless no roots in the soil. Through an accident of history, or what may be more aptly called a dispensation of Providence, the British have come to govern India with the great ideals of the West. They have given peace and enlightenment to the land and have ensured the essential conditions of progress and material well-being. The Indian people have found in the new environment their main chance for self-development. They have now reached a stage when they keenly feel that their further intellectual and social development depends on the degree of control they are allowed to exercise in the direction of Indian education. If the ideas of the West are to become not a dead-weight but an inspiration to the Indian mind, the education of the coming generations should be allowed to develop on national lines. The experiences of the West would sink into a mere mimicry if the people of India are not permitted to develop any intellectual initiative. They alone know their needs, and now, two generations after the foundation of the first University in India for imparting instruction in European literature, philosophy and science, Indians are to a great extent in a position to adapt the Western teaching to their own conditions. They have to recover their genius and the faculty of self-adjustment, and this they can never do unless they are free to build up a thoroughly national system of education.

These observations apply with equal force to all the different communities of India. The Mussalmans should evolve a system of communal education based on their distinctive needs. The proposed Moslem University is an attempt to solve only a part of the problem of Moslem education. The need for the organisation of primary and secondary education is even more insistent. And then there is the growing necessity of making provision for technical and industrial training which should equip a large number of Moslem youths annually to take part in the economic development of the country. But the most important and insistent need is the elaboration of ways and means for the education of Moslem girls. This is a problem to which little attention commensurate with its urgency has been directed. Those, however, who have any insight into the condition of modern progress may realise how far the problem of Moslem advancement as a whole depends on the organisation of women's education. In itself it is a vast subject, but the peculiarities of the Moslem social system render it an anxious problem. We shall discuss the subject, with reference to the facts of the situation in our next, and consider the lines along which progress appears to be possible.

Return of the Moslem Mission.

I.

It was expected that Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali would land at Bombay on the 19th December, and had received at Aden a request from the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay to address a public meeting on the subject of their work in England on the evening of the 19th. But owing to delays on the way due to the heavy Christmas Mail which that boat was carrying she could not land her passengers before the morning of 20th December. When the delegates reached the Pier their numerous friends and a large number of other Mussalmans welcomed them and placed garlands round their necks. They called the same morning on the Hon. Mr. Claude Hill, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay by invitation, a visit which they repeated the next day. In the afternoon they went to meet the Hon. Mr. Gokhale at a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association where the situation in South Africa was discussed. In the evening they addressed a crowded public meeting convened by no less than a score of the leading Mussalmans of Bombay and presided over by Mr. Jinnah, formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The proceedings of this meeting are reproduced from the *Bombay Chronicle*, of which the Editor, Mr. Harman, formerly of the *Calcutta Statesman* expressed regrets at his inability to attend the meeting in the course of a letter welcoming the delegates and complimenting them on their work both in India and England. Next day after their second visit to the Hon. Mr. Claude Hill the delegates were entertained at luncheon at the Orient Club by the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Kt., President-elect of the All-India Muslim League, at which every prominent Bombay Mussalman was present.

ARRIVAL AT DELHI

After meeting a number of their friends at Agra, including Mr. Alay Nabi, President of the United Provinces Muslim League, the delegates travelled on to Delhi where they reached on the afternoon of the 23rd December. Their many friends and other representatives of the Mussalmans of Delhi met them at different stations on the way to Delhi and garlanded them and filled their carriage with flowers. At Delhi, however, nobody was permitted to receive them on the platform by order, as the Railway Officials stated, of the local authorities of Delhi, and even those who travelled with them in the same train were locked in by the police so that the delegates met the large crowd of the inhabitants of Delhi that had come to welcome them outside the Railway station premises. Once outside, however, they were swallowed up in the enormous crowd that was impatiently waiting on the road and in the Queen's Garden. A procession was formed and great efforts were made to take off the horses and let the men pull the carriage of the delegates, but the latter after a time persuaded the people to allow the procession to proceed without unhorsing their carriage. Another extraordinary feature of the arrangements made at Delhi was the order of the police prohibiting the procession from going through the town. It, therefore, proceeded from the station to the Jame' Masjid without entering the town, but in spite of these prohibitions the crowd numbered no less than ten to fifteen thousands. In the mosque they joined the sunset service after which the Shahi Imam, Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Syed Ahmed Saheb made a stirring speech welcoming the delegates back to Delhi and strongly repudiating the unfounded contention of some people that they were not the true representatives of Indian Mussalmans in their mission to England. He thanked them for their services in the cause of the Moslem Community and Islam and offered a fervent prayer for the success of their work and their own safety from all kinds of perils. News was brought that the Sangam Theatre, which is the largest hall in Delhi, and had been selected as the place of meeting where the delegates were to address the people of Delhi, was already overcrowded and no room could be found for a much larger gathering that was still in the mosque. On this the assembly in the mosque desired Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali to address them on the spot, an invitation which they declined in view of the arrangements previously advertised. They then proceeded to the Sangam Theatre in company with a number of leading Mussalmans of Delhi headed by the Shahi Imam who was elected to the chair. He recited verses from the Koran and once more welcomed the delegates back to Delhi, after which an address was read by Mr. Abdul Aziz and presented in silver caskets to the two delegates by Dr. Ansari and Dr. Abdur Rahman respectively. They also received silk scarfs from the guild of butchers of Delhi who had closed all the shops for the day in honour of their return. The address was as follows:—

"Our honoured delegates,

"We, the Mussalmans of Delhi, heartily congratulate you on your safe return home, and acknowledge those pure and true services which in this short space of time you have rendered with courage and persistence in spite of various difficulties."

"When you left India the time was one of considerable anxiety, and we the Mussalmans were looked upon with suspicion and misunderstood in a number of ways. It was necessary at the time that our true point of view should be explained and our real feelings interpreted to a people who are entitled to rule over us as a nation. We admire your courage in realizing your duty at such a critical juncture, in ignoring those dangers by which every independent Mussalman seemed to be surrounded, and in giving precedence to the real and true needs of the Community before personal consideration.

"We are sufficiently acquainted with the difficulties and perplexities which beset you in the earlier days of your Mission, but we heartily appreciate the patience, dignity, independence and courage with which you struggled with them, and we congratulate you on the success which you achieved in obtaining the ear of the British public. It is only due to your efforts that people in England have turned their attention towards the intolerable rigours of the Press Act and the necessity of its repeal, and that they have felt the difficulties and afflictions on account of which our Press is now so weak and helpless. The importance and urgency of the work of which you have laid the foundation is now being felt by the entire country and we trust that through its united efforts this intolerable repression will cease for ever.

"We consider the views that you have from time to time expressed on the subject of the mutually tolerant and fraternal relations of Hindus and Mussalmans to be an excellent instance of your appreciation of the needs of the time and of your political astuteness and sagacity, and we believe that the proper appreciation of the principle which you have enunciated will react favourably on the future relations of the two communities. We take this opportunity of acknowledging the loving regard you have shown towards your afflicted brethren in South Africa and your intrepid advocacy of their cause.

"Among all this worry and work, however, the most important and most deserving of appreciation of your successes is that which you have achieved in fully impressing upon the minds of the British people the idea of Moslem brotherhood and that everlasting feeling of oneness which the Mussalmans of one country entertain towards Mussalmans of another. And you have also proved that our Islamic sympathy and our religious sentiment are not inconsistent with our loyalty, and that it is the duty of those responsible for the government of Great Britain to give them due consideration.

"In conclusion, we offer thanks to Him who unites the separated, who has once more brought you among us, and we pray to God to keep you firmly on the path of truth, righteousness, independence and integrity. May you be the pride of your country and your community, and may you have occasions of rendering still greater public services."

BOMBAY MEETING.

We give below the proceedings of the meeting held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay and reserve for a subsequent issue the speeches made by the delegates at Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore and an account of the enthusiastic reception accorded to them by thousands of people who filled the Railway Stations, lined public roads and crowded the *Shamiana* and the Hall where they addressed the people.

At Bombay, the proceedings began with a recital of a passage from the Koran invoking blessings, and various telegrams and letters sympathising with the meeting and welcoming the delegates were read. The chairman then addressed the meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

He said: Gentlemen,—I thank you and the Zia-ul-Islam for the honour you have done to me in asking me to take the presidential chair this evening. This meeting is called with the object of receiving Messrs. Wazir Hassan and Mahomed Ali, who are well known to you, on their return from England, and to give them an opportunity to place before us and the public, the report of their work in England in connection with their recent mission to England. Before I call upon them to address you I should like to say a few words.

We all know that the immediate issue for their departure to England was the Cawnpore Mosque Case which had assumed a very serious aspect indeed; but which, thanks to the high statesmanship and great foresight of our Viceroy Lord Hardinge, was grappled by him without any loss of time and settled in a most satisfactory manner. I think I am only echoing the feelings of every Mussalman from one end of the country to the other when I say that we are sincerely grateful to him and it is most fortunate that we have

the Viceroy like Lord Hardinge at the head of the Government of India. His policy and attitude on most important questions has been such that he has won the hearts of the people of the country, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and that seems to me to be the right key to the good Government of any country. I hope I am not transgressing from the purpose of the meeting in expressing our most heart-felt and sincere thanks to H. E. the Viceroy for his most sympathetic and wise pronouncement on the South African Indian question recently at Madras. I will only say this that by this he has rendered not only the greatest service to us in our struggle for justice and humanity there but to the whole of the British Empire at large.

GROUNDLESS MISLEADING AND FALSE REPORTS.

Now coming to the object of this meeting, I would like to say that at the present moment the political atmosphere with regard to the Mussalmans of India in our own country as well as in England is surcharged with groundless, misleading and false reports. Let me at once say that Mussalmans have the same respect for and confidence in the Government as they ever had, and nothing is further from their mind that is to embarrass the Government, much less to undermine the Government as is declared and repeatedly alleged in certain quarters falsely. It is a base vilification and slander upon the fair name of Aligarh to say that the young men of Aligarh are disloyal. It is a libel upon the most cultured and educated class amongst the Mussalmans who are true and loyal subjects of H. M. the King-Emperor.

NO LONGER A DICTATORIAL POLICY.

The fact is that the Mahomedans have passed the stage of political infancy and have grown up to the stage of manhood and therefore can no longer be controlled by dictatorial policy from without or within. They will not obey even the semi-dictatorial policy of a few individual leaders as they did a few years ago.

NOT BLIND SUBMISSION, BUT INTELLIGENT AGREEMENT.

There comes a stage in the development of people when the Government has to consult the people and to take them into their confidence before they adopt a particular measure or policy, and in India that stage has been reached. The Government of India can be carried on successfully now on the lines of partnership between the English and the Indians as was explained by Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons at this Budget debate this year and not on the old lines of command and order by the English and mute obedience by the Indians. In other words not blind submission to, but what is required is intelligent agreement of the people with the Government.

A MISCHIEVOUS GAME

The necessary corollary of this situation is that you must respect and consider the opinion of the people of India and tolerate their criticisms. It is no use turning this legitimate frame of mind of the people, which is the outcome of education and enlightenment into sedition and disloyalty when no such thing really exists. It is no use deriding at the opinions and criticisms of the people or treating them with contempt. It is no use saying that it is only the opinions of young and hot-headed and then trying to minimise the weight of it. These are false methods and will not stand long. Because in the end truth and reason must prevail. Let it be realised that among the Mahomedans there is no such thing as "split." There is no such thing as two parties—the young and old. I know that some people would like very much to see that there were such a thing as "split" but let us hope that Providence will disappoint them. I make bold to say that the Mussalman community was never more united or at one on all the fundamental questions of policy and principle than it is to-day. Differences of details there are and will be, as you find all over the world amongst the most highly organised nations. Besides, it will be a very unique community indeed, consisting of 70 millions of people, if there were no such differences. I would therefore appeal to those people who do and will try to make out that there are two parties or that there is a split not to indulge in this game. It is most mischievous and fraught with most serious consequences.

THE LONDON BRANCH AND THE CENTRAL LEAGUE

There are two incidents worthy of notice which took place in England while Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali were there. One was the controversy between them and the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali. I do not wish to revive the matter as it is closed now, but it has raised a question of the greatest importance to us, viz., whether the London League is to be subordinate to the Central League or co-ordinate with, or independent of it. This question no doubt will be considered at Agra shortly when the All-India Moslem League will meet on the 30th of December 1918.

DENIAL OF MOST ELEMENTARY RIGHT.

The other is the refusal of the Secretary of State for India to grant private interview to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali. With the greatest respect for Lord Crewe, it seems a denial of a most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible. But perhaps it was due to some under-current which His Lordship did not quite realise at the time. Let us hope that this will not form a precedent.

THE PRESS ACT

It must be remembered that Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Wazir Hasan went to England at a time when Northern India particularly was electrified by the situation in Europe, viz., Turco-Balkan War. On the top of that came the Cawnpore Mosque case and the treatment of some section of the Mussalman press by the Government in demanding securities and forfeiting them under the Press Act, and the general attitude of the Government for the moment in that part was such that the most conservative and orthodox man in the community was roused to a sense of indignation that knew no bound. But we are all very happy indeed to find that the situation has now changed. The war is fortunately ended. The Cawnpore Mosque matter was so unguaranteedly settled by H. E. the Viceroy. But there still remains the question of the Press Act. If it can be worked as oppressively as it was during the recent events I have referred to, and the power of the High Court under the Act when put to the test of a judicial decision has proved futile, as it was so laid down by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, is it not the duty of the Government and the people alike to consider how this Act can be put right in the light of what has happened in the past? No doubt this question of the Press Act will be taken up by the Indian National Congress at Karachi and the All-India Moslem League at Agra, this month, and will be considered by these two, the most representative organizations in the country. I would however like to point out to our people that moderation and sobriety should be the guiding principles to our public utterances whether in speech or print. It lends dignity and adds strength to a good cause; too strong a language and rashness spoils a really good cause. But this must be observed by all sides equally. At the same time I have always maintained that it is the duty of every honest citizen to fearlessly and independently point out to the Government what our complaints are and appeal for redress. It is the duty of every right-minded citizen to criticise and oppose a measure of the Government if he is so convinced.

APPEAL FOR UNITY.

In conclusion, gentlemen let me tell you that the present situation is most critical. All the Mahomedan forces should be brought together and firmly united. Let not differences appear on the surface where no differences really exist. Let us not think so much of the past or live on the past history and glory. Realize the present and prepare to improve the future. Salvation of India lies in the true union of the people, and her onward march of progress depends upon constitutional and constructive methods. When England and America think of the Union of the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world—when you find the "Entente Cordiale" between England and France an accomplished fact—when you find that Europe consisting of different nationalities and powers can maintain what was known as the "Concert of Powers" during the recent war, is it too much to ask and appeal to Hindus and Mahomedans, the two great communities in India, to combine in one harmonious union for the common good where we have to live together in every district, town and hamlet, where our daily life is interwoven with each other in every square mile of one common country? This is the problem of all problems that India wants a statesman to solve, and when that is solved, true advance and real progress can be achieved.

I now call upon Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali to give an account of their mission to England.

Mr. Wazir Hasan's Criticisms.

WORK OF THE MISSION.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, who received quite an ovation on rising to speak, made a very stirring speech in Urdu, which was most remarkable alike for its lucidity and its scathing comments and which was very often greeted with cheers. He prefaced his remarks by outlining the recent events that had stirred the Mussalmans of India.

namely, the reversal of the partition of Bengal, which, partly because it appeared a sister community, and partly because it held out a pledge of provincial autonomy, the Mahomedans acquiesced in without much complaint; the Italian raid on Tripoli; the Russian advance in Persia with its attendant horrors such as the bombardment of the Mausoleum of the Holy Imam at Meshed; the French activity in Morocco; the outbreak of the Balkan war, which the Turks were promised would not break out; the atrocities perpetrated by the Balkan allies which were allowed to continue unchecked; and finally the deplorable and distressing events at Cawnpore; and remarked that all these made the Mahomedans of India miserable, and when their position became critical, it was the inspiration of Mr. Mohamed Ali which led to their decision to proceed to England for the solution of their difficulties.

The speaker then proceeded to give a brief account of the steps which they had taken in England with a view to solve these difficulties and observed that fresh difficulties were placed there in their way. He referred to what he called a malicious libel against the younger Mahomedans which appeared in the London *Times* a fortnight after their arrival in England and which, he said, was intended to prejudice the British public against them. He also referred to the desire of His Highness the Aga Khan, of whose disinterested zeal for the community he spoke in most eulogistic terms, to find an occasion for the removal of the misunderstanding sedulously sought to be created by the *Times* by means of false charges made by its correspondents.

THE HISTORY OF THE DINNER.

This introduced the subject of the projected dinner which His Highness the Aga Khan himself suggested to give to the speaker and Mr. Mohamed Ali, and he pointed out how, at first, want of sympathy, then procrastination, and, finally, the publication of the garbled version of the correspondence on the part of Mr. Ameer Ali, accompanied by his uncalled-for resignation upset their programme of work. In this connection he made scathing remarks about the comments of some of the Anglo-Indian papers and particularly the *Times of India*, whom he reminded that after all the animals of the Zoo, which according to that journal had wanted to be publicly fed, were lions, and that it must not be too sure of its own safety behind the bars, for if somehow these lions managed to come out of the cage, the question would be who should form their first tasty morsel, and he thought that it was not unlikely that the *Times of India* would prove sufficiently tender and succulent.

THEIR MOTIVES QUESTIONED.

The speaker then proceeded to discuss the question whether there was a young party of extremists among the Mohamedans, and he wanted its views to be pointed out to him in its own words so that he could find an indication where to draw a line between moderation and extremism, old Mohamedans and young Mohamedans. At present all that had happened, he said, was that all the Mohamedans felt equally miserable, and while one class among them who had understood the true nature of the British people, openly showed its misery, the other, suspecting the British, kept his grief to himself and only let it increase in the process of nursing it secretly. This was sometimes due to suspicious libellous to the British character, and sometimes due to a desire to gain the rewards of moderation in the shape of titles and similar other official recognitions. But he wanted to know how this class of people could be called by the British themselves more loyal than the others. In any case, he said, he was prepared to face calumny and suspicion on the part of others, but he wanted that if he had erred in carrying out the wishes of his community his punishment should be meted out to him by his own people and not through outsiders. He regarded his own people as the final judges from whose verdict he could never appeal.

As regards the success or want of success of the mission, he assured the meeting that they had done what they could under the circumstances that were created for them, and in the short time at their disposal, and he urged upon them that, even if there were seventy doors locked against them it was their duty to knock at each of them until they were opened, and he assured those who thought that they had succeeded in closing the official door against them that they must not believe that they were now left in peace for ever, for they were going to recommence their efforts as soon as possible, and he knew not any official door that could withstand their incessant knocking.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

SIX OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS.

Mr. Mohamed Ali was then called upon to give a brief account and he too was accorded a similar welcome by the meeting. He started by apologising to the meeting for the lateness of the hour, for it was then already half past eleven o'clock, and continued his speech in Urdu. He said neither he nor Mr. Wazir Hussain had slept a wink on the preceding night for they were both watching with great eagerness the lights of Bombay. Although on the first occasion he had returned from England after an absence of three and a half years he did not watch for the first sight of Bombay with that feverish

restlessness with which he sat on the deck on the previous night when he was returning after an absence of only three and a half months. This was not because he was any more anxious now to meet his own family, many of whom had learnt of his departure after he had gone, but because throughout their work in England, what troubled them most was not what the *Times* or its understudy in India, the *Times of India* published, but the fact that they could not see what effect these publications had on their own people. However, they would have no feverish anxiety now because, at the very gateway of India, this large and enthusiastic gathering made it clear to them what they thought of that mission, its motives and its work. He pointed out, among others, the six questions that were troubling Indian Mohamedans when they left for England. Out of these, the question of Adrianople was settled by the Turks for themselves and immediately on arriving at Paris they had heard the good news from H. M. the Sultan's representative H. E. Rifaat Pasha, Ambassador in Paris. But he wished to point out what very few knew in this country, namely, the assistance that their sympathetic and large-hearted Viceroy had given to them in the solution of this question. He said he was assured that H. E. Lord Hardinge had pointed out to the Secretary of State for India some of the unpleasant consequences of the British foreign policy in connection with Turkey, and it was this telegram which had the effect they all desired. The Cawnpore question again was settled within three weeks of their arrival in England, thanks to the courage and wisdom of the Viceroy, and he assured the meeting that they did not desire to claim the least credit in this matter, and remarked that whatever credit there was, was due to the Viceroy and his confidential advisers and the Cawnpore Mohamedans themselves.

QUESTIONS AFFECTING INDIAN MUSLIMS

The remaining questions were the repeal of the Press Act, of which he had been made a victim; the Muslim University; the separation of the judicial and executive functions; and the extension of Executive Council Government to the remaining provinces in India. On these questions they were invited during their stay in England to write to some of the most distinguished and influential Liberal papers in spite of the boycott in the Tory press which finally broke down; but they were unwilling to discuss these questions publicly unless and until they explained them in the first instance to the Ministers, or, as they found afterwards, the Ministers refused to give them a hearing. They knew what the effect of such a refusal would be in India, and they pointed it out to the Ministers and they were anxious that their request for an interview should not be rejected. They had approached the Ministers most cautiously, and through agencies which they hoped would prove most effective, but in spite of all this, the Ministers would not see them. This took considerable part of their time, over and above the month that was wasted over the controversy which the action of Mr. Ameer Ali and the *Times* forced upon them, and they had on that account to give up their projected visit to Turkey and Egypt on their return journey. It was only when every effort to place the true Muslim views before the Ministers had failed that they decided to explain them to the British public. Very little time was then left, but they found several opportunities for doing this, and he could say that a good many more people in Great Britain, now knew and felt that there were 70 millions of Muslims subject to His Majesty in India whose opinions really mattered than was the case before they had started on their mission.

As for the Ministers, he would not say much on the subject of their refusal to see them for that might embarrass them even more than the publication of their views in England. He was sorry that the Ministers did not see them, but this much he knew that before long they themselves or some others would return to England and press their suit again, and whatever might be their disappointments to-day, they felt certain that in the end there would be only one result and that a most hopeful one. Although the British press was too much occupied by British sport and the trivialities of British politics, it was not wholly unwilling to lend itself to the publication of genuine Indian and Muslim grievances, and as for the public, if it was ignorant, it was desirous of knowledge if they only assisted it in gaining that knowledge. He had met many people in England who knew nothing about the thousand and one things that agitated the public mind in India, but he had seldom met an Englishman or an Englishwoman who did not sympathise with them when once he or she was placed in possession of facts, and that being the case, if the Indians were not satisfied with making the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy the real sovereign of India, it would be a criminal neglect on their part if they did not adopt every legitimate measure in enlightening the real and ultimate rulers of the Indians on the subject of India.

GRATITUDE TO THE GUESTS.

A resolution was then passed expressing gratitude to the two guests for successfully carrying out the mission they had undertaken on behalf of the community, the chairman personally bearing testimony to the excellent work done by them during his stay in England for a fortnight.

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

The Indian Peril.

Under this heading the "Times" has published a series of four long contributions dealing with what that journal calls, and would like people in Great Britain to believe to be, "the present situation in India." We regret we are this week unable to reproduce these articles themselves owing to unusual pressure on our space, although they are already in type. But we publish the "Times'" own comments thereon, and the comments of two Liberal Dailies, "the Daily News and Leader" and the "Westminster Gazette." The original series will be published next week. We, however, reproduce the article of "Asiaticus" in the "National Review"—to which we referred in a previous issue—as it is correlated to the "Times" series and evidently has the same object in view.

The Danger in India.

We begin to-day the publication of a short series of articles on the present situation in India, from the pen of one well qualified to discuss the subject in the light of intimate knowledge. Again and again in recent years we have reluctantly felt it our duty to call attention to the dangers which increasingly threaten the security of British rule in India. The series of articles we have from time to time published have been from the pens of various writers, and it may save unprofitable speculation if we say at once that the present series is the work of another but thoroughly experienced hand. We may be asked why we think it necessary continually to revert to the problems of unrest in India. The answer is that though the outward manifestations of unrest are intermittent, yet it is always there, it grows more difficult to deal with as the years pass, and it should steadily be taken into account in any consideration of the future of the British Empire. There was one conspicuous lull in the activities of those in India who are hostile to British rule. They remained comparatively quiet during the year which preceded the visit of the King Emperor and in the year which followed it. The extraordinary and unquestionably sincere expressions of loyalty which attended His Majesty's visit proved that our difficulties in India are not insoluble, and that the strongest link which binds India to Great Britain is the devotion which the people are still willing to accord to a just and beneficent hereditary ruler. Nevertheless we said at the time, and again urge, that the demonstrations which marked His Majesty's visit should not be taken to indicate that unrest is at an end. We predicted that it would again be revealed, and the present series is designed to show the degree to which it has recurred. The first article follows an unusual but appropriate course, for, instead of plunging into the menacing aspects of the situation, it recites very vividly the remarkable accomplishments of British rule. It discloses the steady development period of prosperity, happiness, and peace such as India has never known before. It may truly be said that the people of India were never so well off, never wisely cared for, never so secure, as they are to-day. They are more lightly taxed than any people in the world; they have never until now had such facilities for education; they are the recipients of more benefits from the State at a low cost to themselves than any other Oriental country. Why, then, does discontent among them remain so potent a factor?

The writer of these articles does not attempt to analyse in detail the origins of unrest, about which there has perhaps been much inquiry. The immediate impulses are sufficiently well known, and the underlying fundamental objection to alien control cannot be recognized or admitted while the British Empire in India endures. The purpose of the articles is twofold. The later sections will describe the present character of the movement against British control, and they will discuss the extent to which it is supported. The writer will endeavour to show that the revolutionary agitation—for it is nothing less—is confined to a limited number of literate malcontents, who constitute only a very small proportion of the people of India. They typify the results of a system of Western education crudely absorbed without any of the correctives which operate effectively in the Western world. We are not fully in accord with the conclusions of the writer on this particular point. The kind of criticism which is based upon a counting of heads can very easily be pushed too far. All revolutionary movements have originated among comparatively small groups, and the Indian movement is not less dangerous because the bulk of the people are still outside it, and are likely to remain so. What the writer has to say about the character of the movement is specially interesting. Its propaganda has become intentional in form, the centres from which it is controlled are established in foreign countries, and it seems to command considerable resources. Its outcome is seen, not only in the deeds of violence which have repeatedly startled India, but still more in the insidious attempts to tamper with the faithfulness of the Native Army and to turn schools and colleges into nests of sedition.

After the attempts on the lives of two Viceroy, and the double murder in the heart of London, it ought to be unnecessary to dwell upon the realities of the movement. Yet while these successive outrages were soon forgotten in this country, the slow but steady trickle of news relating to other murders and plots and conspiracies is almost entirely disregarded. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there are influences now at work in India which may at any time produce the most startling results in a land specially liable to waves of excitement which spread like wildfire.

The writer will deal, further, with other factors now operative in India unconnected with the revolutionary movement, which are producing change not dreamed of five years ago. One of the most remarkable characteristics of modern India is the rapidity with which new situations are created. India is no longer stagnant, no longer a country where conclusions formed ten or twenty years back are necessarily applicable to day. There was very little variation in India during a period of thirty or forty years; but nowadays those who return after an absence of only two or three years sometimes find the situation in many respects almost unrecognizable. The swift alteration in the attitude of the Mahomedans may be noted as an example. Five years ago no one would have considered possible the present combative demeanour of many of the younger Mahomedans, or their new friendship with the Hindu National Congress. There are signs that the hostile elements among Indian Moslems are at last receiving a check, but tendencies have been meanwhile displayed which must henceforth be reckoned with. The excitement about the treatment of Indians in South Africa is more widespread and more formidable. It embraces all classes and communities, and though it implies no disloyalty, it raises issues about the future status of Indians in the Empire which must in time be far more a cause for anxiety to British statesmen than all the bombs ever made and all the plots ever concocted by Indian Anarchists. We wish the Commission, which General Botha has very properly appointed to consider the grievances of Indians in South Africa had included men more widely known throughout the Empire. The stories of ill-treatment are unquestionably exaggerated, but it was very desirable that they should be investigated by Commission whose findings would have been accepted without question in India. The recent financial crisis in Western India and the Punjab will, we fear, add to the complications of a situation already full of troubles. Its consequences are not yet generally discerned. The total losses to investors are believed to amount to many millions. The check to the industrial development of India will be regrettable enough, but the vague discontent likely to be engendered will be of more immediate importance. The writer of the articles reaches certain conclusions which he believes will be useful for future guidance in dealing with Indian affairs, but the most notable piece of advice which he gives is that "you cannot safely think of India in terms of Western conditions." Many of our mistakes in India arise through a failure to observe this wise and salutary admonition.—*The Times*.

India and South Africa.

We conclude to-day a short series of articles on the perils of the present situation in India. In his final contribution our Correspondent, whose competence and authority are self-evident, draws home the lessons he has throughout endeavoured to teach. "A small section of the population is working, strenuously and successfully, to bring about the alienation of vast, unwieldy masses." That, he says, "is 'the Indian peril,' and if it is not understood in time, there will be a rude awakening." "If these masses are allowed to be alienated, India, he declares, will become ungovernable, and nothing is so certain as that any visible weakening of the British Raj will bring about alienation on a large scale." "It is strength in government which alone attracts support in the East." Our Correspondent appeals to the well-meaning but misguided politicians and publicists at home to do justice to the

fellow-countrymen in India and to remember that the great question to be resolved is, "Can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire?" In common with most Englishmen who have direct knowledge of the problems of government in the East, we believe that a British democracy can govern our Eastern Empire—on one condition. The condition is that our democracy shall exhibit qualities hitherto inherent in the British character and in harmony with British political ideals. These qualities are fearlessness and justice. India was not won by fear, and cannot be held or ruled pusillanimously. Justice to India implies justice towards 300,000,000 of people "split not only vertically into discordant elements deeply permeated by traditional enmity, but horizontally into thousands of castes, and quickly roused to violent fanaticism"—not merely justice towards a clamorous and superficial minority, whose audacity grows with every sign of administrative weakness. Such justice can only proceed from an India Office and an Indian Government thoroughly British in tradition and instinct. The Indian mind is not to be won nor its allegiance assured by timid attempts to approximate the standards of government to the nostrums of "litterates" who have acquired a veneer of Western civilization. Even the thorny question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa, to which our Correspondent alluded yesterday, can best be handled by a Government which represents the rights and interests of India as a whole, and is not open to suspicion in our self-governing Colonies of being in any way amenable to pressure.

South Africa has still to deal with the problem of her Indian population in its full perplexity. This would seem to be the meaning of the telegrams which we publish to-day as to the expressed intentions of Mr. Gandhi and the other Indian leaders. There had been hopes that the appointment by the South African Government of a Commission to enquire into the recent disturbances in Natal would have convinced the Indian leaders that their best course was to lay their case before the Commission and to await its findings with such confidence as their belief in the justice of their claims inspired. Instead of doing this, they have from the first taken up a position of extreme hostility to the whole enquiry. They question the impartiality of two of the members of the Commission—Mr. Baselen and Mr. Wylie—both distinguished King's Counsel and both unquestionably competent to exercise, as Commissioners, judicial functions irrespective of their personal opinions. They demand that the numbers of the Commissioners shall be increased to five by the addition of Sir James Rose-Innes and Mr. W. P. Schreiner, whom they believe to be favourable to their cause. As far as this demand is concerned, it is probable that the two gentlemen named—whatever their private opinions may be—would not accept appointment as additional members of the Commission. If they did so, they would tacitly endorse the reflections which have been cast upon the impartiality of Mr. Wylie and Mr. Baselen. But the demands of the Indian leaders do not end there. They are said to have declared that— if the Commission is reconstituted as they have suggested—they are prepared to accept its findings as to the allegations of ill-treatment of Indians during the strike; but that they will not allow the recommendations of the Commission—however it may be constituted—to affect their attitude towards the Government. They also claim the immediate release of all Indians who are now in prison for passive resistance. Further if the totality of these demands is not instantly conceded by the Union Government, the Indian leaders threaten an immediate renewal of the passive resistance movement. They have, in fact, issued an ultimatum couched in extreme language—an ultimatum, it may be added, issued in reply to the effort of the people and Government of South Africa to devise by means of a semi-judicial Commission some fair settlement of their grievances. It is clear that the Indians of South Africa have grievances. The tale of them need hardly be recapitulated at this stage. Enlightened public opinion in South Africa has frankly admitted them. The appointment of the Commission was in itself a formal recognition of their existence. But it was much more than this. It showed that General Botha and his colleagues recognized the embarrassing effect of the agitation in South Africa upon the Government of India.

The Commission has already held its first sitting. An announcement then made by the chairman shows that the Commissioners themselves fully recognize the right of the Indian Government to be represented at the enquiry. It is also evident that the Commission is preparing to carry out its duties in a thoroughly judicial spirit. Every facility is to be afforded to the Indian leaders for the preparation of their case. With this object the Commission has recommended the immediate release of those leaders who had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their part in the late disturbances. This recommendation has been accepted by the Government. The leaders concerned have been set free. The enquiry is to be conducted with open doors, and the Chairman has declared that he and his colleagues are ready to receive, through counsel, the representations of the Union Government, the Natal

Indian Association, and all other interested public bodies. The work of the Commission, in fact, is already well in train. It is obviously desirable that its findings should be issued as soon as possible. Meanwhile, as we announced yesterday, Sir Benjamin Robinson, a highly-placed official of the Indian Government, is leaving for Durban immediately. It may be conjectured with some confidence that his reception by the South African Commissioners will not be merely that of one who states a case. His knowledge of Indian conditions will make his advice and opinions welcome. Though he has no formal position as a member of the Commission, his actual standing with the Commissioners will be scarcely less important than it would be if he was one of their colleagues. All these facts go to show that there is among the white population of South Africa a genuine desire to compose the Indian grievances. But our Cape Town Correspondent probably does not overstate the facts when he declares that Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum makes it most difficult for any self-respecting Government like that of the Union to treat his demands as a basis for future negotiation.—The Times.

'The Indian Peril.'

John Bright's maxim about "The Times"—that he was never quite sure he was right until that journal said he was wrong—has not lost its value in these days. Indeed, we doubt whether there was ever a period when it was more relevant than it is to-day. Putting aside its monotonous frenzy on the Ulster issue, there have been its curious Mexican campaign with its steady bias against the policy of President Wilson and the United States, and its apologia for the Russian Government published in its recent Russian supplement. Yesterday it started a new crusade of a particularly mischievous kind. It published the first of a series of articles entitled "The Indian Peril" and in its leader columns it was good enough to tell us the purpose of these articles. It is to expose a revolutionary movement in India, to alarm public opinion by re-capitulating "the deeds of violence which have repeatedly startled India" and to show that the movement at present "is confined to a limited number of literate malcontents." All this, we take it, is preliminary to a demand for a revival of the deportations and for new restrictive measures. If this campaign—in which we see the hand of the reactionary influences that played so evil a part in connection with the last period of unrest—is successful there will be an "Indian Peril" indeed, and one from which we shall not emerge so fortunately as we did from the last.

We caution the public to view with the utmost suspicion these stories of a revolutionary movement and these records of violence. There are, of course, fire-brands in India as elsewhere and their most useful agents are the reactionary Anglo-Indians who inspire the Press. But neither among the Hindus nor among the Mohammedans can there be found responsible leaders who are disloyal to the British rule. They know that it is essential to the governance of India and that its withdrawal would be disastrous to their country. They are in a very real sense the bulwark of our policy there. If we lose their confidence in British justice we shall lose the confidence of India. Now it is the chief vice of the policy that "The Times" represents that it drives these men into antagonism to the Government. It was so in the case of the partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon, wittingly or unwittingly, gave the impression that the dismemberment of Bengal was directed against the Hindus, and that his idea was to favour the Mohammedans. Whatever his intention the result was disastrous. The country was swept by a great wave of indignation. The deepest feelings of the people had been outraged, and the measures of repression which the reactionaries here and there urged upon the Government had no effect. A most oppressive Press law was enacted and men were deported without trial and without a fragment of evidence being produced against them. Then, as now, the Tory Press talked of a revolution and ignorantly treated agitation as the work of a few "literate malcontents." Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed. The partition of Bengal was modified, the Morley reforms were granted, and the King paid a memorable and triumphant visit to India. The effect was instant. The agitation was killed by the removal of the grievance and the "Indian peril" subsided through an act of wisdom that restored confidence in British rule.

It might have been supposed that this lesson would have had some effect upon those who are so ready to see in every movement of Indian opinion a new campaign of sedition and revolution. Not so. Having done their best to detach Hindu sympathies, their attention is now turned to the Mohammedans. There has developed in the last two or three years a Mohammedan vernacular Press, which a wise policy would encourage. But the reactionary sympathy with the Mohammedans was subject to the condition that they should not imitate the Hindus by cultivating a public opinion of their own. The emergence of this Press was regarded as a bad sign. Then came the Cawnpore episode and again we heard of the "Indian peril" and

of the need of strong measures. But again it was realised that the officials and not the people were in the wrong. The mosque that had been desecrated was restored—after a score of people had been shot dead in the street—and the danger of a grave Mohammedan revolt passed away. But the Mohammedan Press which had voiced the feelings of the people was brought under the penalties of the Press Law. Several of the papers were confiscated and the "good conduct" money they have to deposit was impounded. The incident has left behind a feeling of bitterness, which centres in the reasonable demand that the Press shall not be subject to the petty oppression of an official. In this connection there is the other grave and long standing grievance as to the associations of the executive and the judiciary. The point, however, to remember is this, that in the present case, as in that in Bergal, the agitation is not the outcome of any sympathy with revolution, nor is it the work of those who are disloyal to the British rule. It is the out-come of serious mistakes by the officials, which have had to be publicly repudiated. If we want to avoid an "Indian Peril" we must take care that these mistakes are not made. If we want a real "Indian Peril" we shall treat every protest against injustice as an evidence of sedition and every leader of the people as a "literate malcontent" who must be deported.—*The Daily News and Leader*.

The Indian Problem.

The *Times* yesterday concluded a series of articles on what it describes as "The Indian Peril," which wound up with an appeal to "well-meaning but misguided politicians" and "publicists at home" to give over all criticism of administration in India and leave the men on the spot to deal in their own way with agitators and disturbers of the peace. We have read these articles with some care, and as members of the well-meaning but misguided class appealed to, we feel impelled to say that, if they represent the last word of wisdom on the part of the administration, there is an Indian peril, and a very serious one. No Service has had on the whole a freer hand than the Indian Civil Service, and none for a long period of the nineteenth century better justified itself by results. But when this same Service itself tells us that India under its rule is in an alarming state of unrest, we are not only entitled but compelled to seek for reasons, and we shall be very easily satisfied if we permit ourselves to be assured that it is all the fault of a handful of agitators, and that all will be well if we shut our eyes and instruct the Government of India to administer strong doses of press-laws and other resolute specifics suited to a turbulent and ungrateful people. To do the Government of India justice, that is not the opinion of its most enlightened members. There are many men in the Government, and among them some of the most experienced administrators and most careful students of Indian character, who see that conditions in India are changing rapidly, who deplore the estrangement between the Government and the literate Indians, and who believe that it can and must be cured by a constructive and sympathetic policy. These are not mere idealogues who ignore the distinction between East and West, or who fail to see that the numerically small class of educated Indians are not the millions of India. But they do see that in India, as elsewhere, the educated class is a very important class, and that it is immensely desirable for the Government to get and keep in touch with the considerable number of educated men who are or would be well-disposed, if they are treated as friends and not as enemies.

The writer of the *Times* articles is aware that the literate Indians are a power for mischief. He knows that, though only a small fraction of the three hundred and fifteen millions of India, they can work powerfully on the inarticulate millions, when these are disturbed by famine or plague, by fears about their property or religion. That, indeed, is a basic fact about India. But the idea that it is to be cured by snubbing or repressing the literates is quite futile. Immense mischief has been done by the harsh and contemptuous language which is commonly used both in this country and in India about the Babus, by the habit of treating them as upstarts and interlopers, who have no concern with the dealing of the Raj with the millions of India. After all, they are in a special sense our product, and their education is the education which we have introduced into India. Their failure, if it is a failure, is our failure, and it is our duty to repair it. Many of them are men of great intellectual ability and genuine patriotism; and if the new wine of western culture has gone to the heads of some of them, that is no peculiarity of India. The same may be said of the young Japanese, whom we treat with such respect, and young Chinaman. Young India, in this sense, may be a small minority as compared with the millions of peasants, but it is far too big to be suppressed, and any anti-literate policy, such as this correspondent seems to recommend, will merely result in driving the mischief beneath the surface. The young men will pass from the moderate party to the anarchist; more bombs will be thrown; unrest among the peasantry, so far from being cured, will increase mysteriously, and in ways which the Government will be unable to check.

It is related that when the Chinese mandarins met at Peking after the disastrous war with Japan, they said to one another, "This is what comes of using modern weapons." We are quite aware that there are Indian civilians of the old school who hold exactly this language about India. "If only," they say, "we had been allowed to go our own way, without any of this infernal dictation from Westminster, if only Lord Morley had never existed, and the "Radical Party could be abolished, how different it would have been." And yet the same people will tell us that the worst year of unrest was the year which followed the long Conservative regime, the year before Lord Morely had introduced his reforms. We can imagine nothing more dangerous in the present state of India than a reversion to what are called the old ways. India, by the admission of those who know it best, is changing so rapidly that men who have been a few years away from the scene scarcely know it when they return. There can be no safety in such circumstances for any Government which is not flexible, youthful, and hopeful. The task is immensely complicated, but also of fascinating interest. The old formulas which applied to the period of conquest and settlement will not serve for the period of development under modern conditions. Benevolent autocrats ruling over children must give way to sympathetic guardians who will take the growing sons into partnership. The problem must be solved that way or not at all. We may anathematise the young Indians, wish them differently made or at the bottom of the sea, but they are there and will be there in increasing numbers. If we cannot conciliate them, they will sooner or later raise the millions against us.

We do not share the alarms of the *Times* correspondent. The problem is certainly more difficult than it was twenty years ago, and we must not expect dumb admiration and acquiescence from active and intelligent men to whom our rule is alien. We must make our rule as little alien as possible, and that primarily means breaking down the racial estrangement which is the curse of India and a more fruitful cause of unrest than all other causes put together. The new India which is growing up will not submit to the hard line between the ruling caste and the ruled which is insisted upon by much Anglo-Indian opinion. Old observers tell us that this has increased rather than diminished in recent years. The Indian civilian of modern times is more than his predecessor a sojourner in a strange land instead of a resident and a neighbour. We must alter that if we can, and refresh the Service with a more flexible type of men who will see the Indian problem as constructive and progressive and cut themselves loose from outworn traditions which have come down from the period of conquest.—*The Westminster Gazette*.

The Mohamedan Danger.

Less than ten years ago we were accustomed to think of the Mohamedans of India as the most loyal and peaceful community in the Dependency. They had their little outbursts sometimes, but always during their religious festivals, when they came into conflict with Hindus. There were on such occasions a few broken heads, a few repressive movements by the local police, and perhaps a minor trial ending in a few mild sentences. The quarrels of Mohamedans with the Hindus revealed no symptom of antagonism to British rule. So settled became the belief in Moslem docility that British administrators forgot the experiences of their predecessors. They never quite realised that confidence in Mohamedan tendencies was of comparatively modern growth. Yet in 1871 so competent an observer of the late Sir William Hunter wrote a book entitled *The Indian Mussalmans*, which contained in its opening pages these words:

The Mussalmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India. For some reason or other they hold aloof from our system, and the changes in which the more flexible Hindus have cheerfully acquiesced, are regarded by them as deep personal wrongs.

In the past eighteen months the faith of the Government of India in the tractability of the Mohamedans has been very rudely shaken. We have seen the Moslem League joining in the agitation for self-government, and openly associating itself with the propaganda of the Hindu Congress. We have seen Mussalman speakers making very foolish and inflammatory speeches about the Balkan War, and apparently expecting Great Britain to crusade in behalf of Turkey. We have seen a little dispute about the out-buildings of a Mosque at Cawnpore develop into a grave riot, in which many were killed and injured, while the whole of Moslem India waxed excited about a trivial controversy which would have attracted no attention whatever half a dozen years ago. Finally, we have seen the Aga Khan resign the presidency of the Moslem League, and Mr. Ameer Ali retire from the London branch, leaving the Mussalman movement in both countries to the guidance of less cautious and far more inexperienced hands. It is instructive to examine these occurrences and to endeavour to ascertain their origin.

In the March number of the *National Review* I discussed at length the new unrest among Indian Mohamedans, and when thus dealing with its earlier phases had no conception that it would so soon require further discussion. For an explanation of the closer relations now subsisting between the Hindu and Mohamedan political movements my readers may be referred to my previous article. It is convenient to take up the story afresh with the Cawnpore riots, which have an interest far exceeding their immediate magnitude. The Cawnpore disturbances repay close study, for they show exactly how grave trouble will arise in India if it ever comes. I once asked a very great and experienced soldier what his views were about the possibility of a rising in India. He said: "If we ever have one again, I am quite sure it will begin from some totally unforeseen and probably entirely trivial cause. It will be produced by some silly story which we cannot stop, or by some paltry occurrence to which we shall attach no importance. Such a rumour or incident would not be the real cause of the rising, but it will serve to start it." The Cawnpore riots sprang from just such a source. They began in connection with the tiny washing-place of an obscure mosque, and the story of that washing-place reverberated throughout India until it inflamed millions of Mohamedans and produced dozens of truculent mass meetings.

The blame for the Cawnpore trouble does not rest upon Moslems alone. It seems reasonably clear that the local authorities, and still more the United Provinces Government, were not entirely free from fault. So long ago as 1909 the Municipal Board of Cawnpore innocently decided to make a new road through the Machhli Bazaar quarter of the city. Its plans included the demolition of many buildings, and it is said that the original scheme would have involved the removal of three Mohamedan mosques and two Hindu temples. The scheme was afterwards modified, and it was proposed to acquire for the purposes of the road only a small portion of the courtyard of the Machhli Bazaar mosque, together with a little washing-place or bath-room which did not form part of the main building. The mosque authorities were duly notified, and at first made no objection. It is a very open question whether this wash-house was technically a sacred place or not. As a layman, with some experience of mosques, I should say that it had no genuine sanctity whatever. Various Mohamedans of high position who were consulted at a later period by Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, advised him that it "had not the same sanctity as the place of worship proper." Eminent interpreters of Moslem law and custom have since invested this trivial wash-house with the most sacred character; yet it was a spot where shoes might be worn, and all familiar with Moslem places of worship will know the distinction thereby implied. The fact is that the law-givers of Islam are sometimes very ready to frame rulings to suit their own requirements.

For three years the matter seems to have attracted little public attention, but towards the end of 1912 many Hindus of Cawnpore protested against a proposal, which formed part of the road-making scheme, to remove one of their temples. Sir James Meston went to Cawnpore in November, discussed the question with prominent Hindus, and agreed that the temple should not be disturbed. His visit seems to have caused the Mohamedans of the city to turn their attention to the Machhli Bazaar mosque. The Mohamedan representatives on the Municipal Board brought the question before that body in March, and at their instance the Board sent to the provincial Government a recommendation "that no portion of the mosque be acquired, in defence to the wishes of the Mohamedan community." The Government declined to accept the recommendation. A further attempt in May to pass a resolution asking the Government to reconsider its decision was defeated by the casting vote of the chairman of the Board. An amendment accepting the Government's decision as final was carried by the same single vote. A deputation of Mohamedans waited on the Collector of Cawnpore, but without result. Two memorials were submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, and backed by Mohamedans notables, but they were both rejected. On July 1 the wash-house was demolished by the local authorities, and then the trouble began.

As to this portion of the narrative, it must be said that the provincial Government and the local authorities were both to blame because they did not set about their undertaking in the right way. There are diplomatic methods of adjusting such little difficulties which are well understood in India. A conciliatory official would assuredly have managed to build a new wash-house first, and then, after a suitable interval, would have obtained the consent of the users of the mosque to the removal of the old one. The Government was wrong because it did not perceive how easily this small grievance might be magnified. It should have paid more heed to the Mohamedan protests, however trifling the matter seemed. Sir James Meston has explained that he was influenced by the opinions of the Mussalmans he consulted, who doubted whether the wash-house was part of the sacred buildings; and he was still more influenced by the fact that similar alterations had recently been made in mosques at Lucknow with the consent of the local Moslems and without complaint. These are reasonable grounds to advance, but they do not remove the impres-

sion that between March and July the Cawnpore case was not very judiciously handled.

After the wash-house was demolished excitement quickly grew. Mohamedan newspapers published in other parts of India called attention to the behaviour of the Cawnpore authorities, and made vigorous protests. It is quite certain that the Cawnpore Mohamedans would never have resorted to violence had they not been subjected to inflammatory incitements from without. The Mussalman agitators who are so new and sinister a feature of the Indian landscape, were looking for a fresh pretext to stir up strife, and they found it at Cawnpore. The Hindu newspapers of Calcutta and elsewhere, which in the past have shown small consideration for the sanctity of Moslem mosques, joined in the outburst of manufactured indignation. The agitation came to a head on August 3, when thousands of Mohamedans met at Cawnpore to protest against the destruction of the wash-house. The day was a Sunday, and the bulk of the mob was composed of mill-hands, for Cawnpore is a great manufacturing centre. It is worth while noting that the industrial development of India is providing new fields for agitators. The task of sowing sedition among the peasantry is tedious and often unprofitable, but the ignorant and excitable mill-hands in the great cities are soon roused into violence, as Bombay has found to its cost. On this occasion a crowd, which is said to have numbered 10,000, swarmed down to the Machhli Bazaar mosque and began rebuilding the wash-house. It was confronted by the Collector, the Superintendent of Police, and two European sergeants, together with a small force of native armed police. There were only four Englishmen against a dense mob which had got completely out of control, and was beside itself with passion. The evidence of eye-witnesses is that the shouting and the din were terrific. The Collector, with great intrepidity, rode forward and urged the rioters to disperse, but was assailed with volleys of stones and bricks. The police then fired on the rioters, and nineteen were killed, including one Hindu and one plain-clothes constable. The wounded numbered nearly fifty. Such is the history of the Cawnpore riots, which collapsed very quickly.

A large number of arrests were made, and eventually 120 persons were placed on trial on charges of rioting and causing grievous hurt. The principal of the local Mohamedan Theological College was charged with sedition, the accusation being based upon a speech he delivered at the meeting which preceded the riots. A fund was raised for the defence of the accused persons, and over £4000 was quickly subscribed. It is significant that the Mohamedans of the Bombay Presidency made very little response to the appeal. A curious thing was that a separate fund for the relief of the families and dependents of the rioters slain by the police was headed by a subscription from the Viceroy. On August 16 Sir James Meston received a deputation of influential Mohamedans who asked that the demolished portion of the mosque might be restored. He declined to consent, stating that it was his clear duty "to proceed on the principle that the Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force." On September 20 Sir James Meston left for England to give evidence before the Indian Finance Commission, and Mr. Baillie was appointed to officiate as Lieutenant-Governor during his absence.

On October 13 the Viceroy paid a special visit to Cawnpore, and inspected the Machhli Bazaar mosque. Within two hours of his arrival Lord Hardinge announced to a gathering of Mohamedans that he came to bring them peace. His decision was that an arcade should be built eight feet above the surface of the road, on which the mosque authorities might reconstruct their wash-house. The pavement below the arcade was to be used as a footpath, as proposed in the scheme for the new road. Lord Hardinge added that, having brought peace, he wished also to show mercy. He therefore "invited" the local Government to withdraw the charges against the arrested rioters, and to order their release. The 101 persons still in custody were set free within an hour. Lord Hardinge left Cawnpore later in the day. He had brought peace, but he had also produced in the minds of Indian Mohamedans a feeling that they had triumphed over the Government of India. When Mr. Tilak was convicted Bombay rioted for a week. One wonders what would have been the state of Western India to-day if, at the close of seven days of uproar, Lord Minto had taken a special train to Bombay and "invited" Lord Sydenham to release Mr. Tilak. The *Pioneer* summed up the impression left upon most thoughtful men when it wrote:

The Mohamedan community throughout these provinces was determined to utilise the incident for a trial of their strength in their recent attitude of combination against the Government. They have joined issue, they have maintained a united front, and they have prevailed. There can be no doubt about this point.

One cannot take the responsibility of condemning Lord Hardinge's action. He must have known the requirements of the situation, and his decision was assuredly not a mere impulse. Those who know him are well aware that the ignoble motive of seeking popularity with the crowd must have been equally far from his thoughts. All that will be said here is that if his action was a necessity, it was a very

regrettable necessity, for it has made Indian Mohamedans feel that they can upon occasion dominate the Government. It placated the Moslems of Cawnpore, but it only spurred the followers of Islam in Calcutta to renewed clamour. Within a week a mass meeting had been held in Calcutta at which the Viceroy was called upon to order the restoration of the demolished wash-house "in its original shape." The Calcutta malecontents passed a further resolution of a singularly impertinent character, calling upon the Mohamedan leaders of the United Provinces "to explain to the Moslems immediately under what religious authority they consented to His Excellency's settlement of the mosque problem." They have since held a far larger gathering at which they have renewed the same preposterous demands. There is good reason to believe that the Cawnpore outbreak was really fomented from Calcutta, where many Mohamedans are now in close alliance with Hindu agitators. The Mohamedans of Bengal are of a very different stamp from their co-religionists in the United Provinces. They have less restraint and respond far more readily to incitements; and their emissaries find pliable material in the mill-hands of Cawnpore, who are not typical of the true Moslem stock of the United Provinces.

I very rarely devote these notes to a narrative of such length, but the Cawnpore episode has not been closely followed in this country, and its significance ought to be more widely understood. Its net result has been that the younger Moslems, who are active apostles of discontent, claim that they have won a "victory," which they are exploiting to the utmost. Their achievement is recorded at a time when many other symptoms of Mohamedan unrest have become visible. At Aligarh College, where the late Sir Syed Ahmed dreamed such glowing dreams of the future of Indian Moslems, respectable Mohamedans of moderate tendencies were recently howled down and refused a hearing, although some of them had been working for the Mohamedan cause when their assailants were still unborn. The young men who rejected their counsel were for the most part products of Aligarh, whose education has given them the power of expression without any accompanying restraint. A sinister feature of the new Moslem movement in India is that Aligarh graduates are in the van. They are thrusting aside the older men, joining hands with the Hindus, and openly preaching hostility to British rule. They have seized upon the Balkan War as a pretext for incendiary oratory. They pretend that the Powers of Europe are conspiring to seize the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and they are obtaining large sums from ignorant Mussalmans for the alleged purpose of preserving the Sacred Places from desilement by Christians. The old Indian game of spreading excitement by unfounded rumours is being steadily pursued. Moslems are told, and are being persuaded to believe, that hundreds of innocent devotees of the faith were shot down at Cawnpore by the brutal minions of the Government. There is much wild talk of risings. Attempts are being made to tamper with the loyalty of the Mohamedan troops. Foolish efforts, which meet with little response, have been made to get into touch with Moslem Governments of other countries. The Mohamedan population in the larger centres of India is getting thoroughly out of hand, and that is a development far more dangerous and menacing than all the Hindu plots and outrages of the last six years. When the Moslems of India grow disloyal, we are very near grave trouble.

For an analysis of the earlier causes which have led to this deplorable situation, I must again refer my readers to my article in the *National Review* for March. It remains to record its most serious result up to the present. His Highness the Aga Khan has notified his intention to relinquish the presidency of the All-India Moslem League, and Mr. Ameer Ali has withdrawn from the affiliated organisation of Moslems in London. The Aga Khan has long been the recognised leader of nearly seventy millions of Indian Mohamedans. He is a prince of cosmopolitan experience, of great intellectual attainments, wielding in this and other countries an influence which no other Indian Mohamedan can hope to rival. His skill as a writer on Eastern questions has been repeatedly shown in the pages of this Review. That he has long wanted to withdraw from the presidency of the League, for purely personal reasons, is well known. Despite his guarded and careful explanations, which show complete devotion to the Moslem cause, it is difficult not to feel that his resignation at this juncture is really due to the new tendencies now visible among Indian Mussalmans. They have got beyond his control, and it must be assumed that he is no longer willing to bear a responsibility which he cannot exercise. Mr. Ameer Ali's published reason for his resignation are evidently marked by similar reservations. Had he felt able to say all that was in his mind, he would doubtless have made it clear that a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council could not be associated with the new and reckless activities of the League. The "Young Moslems" have in short, captured the organisation, and are starting Islam in India on fresh and dangerous paths. The old leaders are dropping away, and the new men who are taking their place mean mischief. No more sinister tendency has been revealed in India during the last half-century.

ASIATICS in the "*National Review*."

CORRESPONDENCE



The London Islamic Society's Appeal.

TO THE EDITOR, "COMRADE."

SIR,—May we crave the hospitality of your columns in order to draw attention, on the part of your numerous readers, to a cause which must be held sacred by all those who have the true interest of Islam at heart?

The Islamic Society, founded in 1886, is the only Moslem institution in London which has as one of its objects the promotion of brotherly feelings between Moslems from all parts of the world. It thus acts as a social Union in this great metropolis for the followers of the holy Prophet and facilitates intercourse between them. The Society also tries, as far as possible, to remove misconceptions prevailing amongst non-Moslems regarding Islam and Moslems, and likewise attempts to promote the religious, moral, social and intellectual advancement of the Moslem world. As a matter of immediate urgency, we may add that the extension of the burial-ground for the Moslems in London is also amongst its objects.

To enable the Society to satisfactorily carry out its aims and objects, it is obviously necessary that it should be financially supported by all Moslems. Though it has so far certainly discharged its duties creditably and usefully, in spite of a not too prosperous exchequer, it is now felt that the time has arrived when the Islamic Society should take a more active part in the Moslem world of London, so that it may be able to exercise its healthy and invigorating influence amongst the Moslems to the required degree.

As soon as our funds permit we hope to secure permanent offices on a moderate scale in a central locality in London, which may serve the double purpose of offering suitable accommodation for the Society's periodical meetings and lectures as well as the weekly prayers on Fridays and other special occasions, such as the Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zoha. The Society cannot be reasonably expected to establish itself firmly until it has secured its permanent head-quarters, and it is the solemn duty of every Moslem and well-wisher of Islam to help it at this moment.

Apart from the Ordinary and Life membership of the Society, open exclusively to Moslems, our non-Moslem sympathisers are welcome as Associates of the Society, particulars of which can be had from the Hon. Secretary at the address mentioned below.

In earnestly appealing to the generosity of your readers to help us in this sacred and noble cause, we feel confident that our humble appeal will be heard in that true spirit of Islam which the occasion undoubtedly demands.

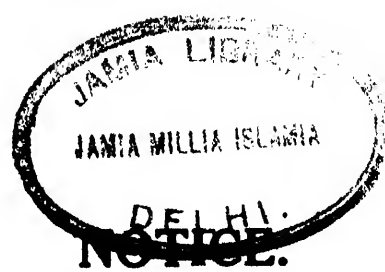
Donations may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer at the address mentioned below or to the Society's Bankers, Messrs Williams Deacon's, Ltd., Marylebone Road, London, N. W., and will be gratefully acknowledged.

We are, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

ALI HIKMET NAHID (*Vice-President*).
SYED ABDUL MAJID (*Vice-President*).
JEDAL SHAH (*Hon. Treasurer*).
ABDUL HAQ (*Hon. Secretary*).

The Islamic Society,
46, Great Russell Street,
London, W. C.



THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF AL-BAYANFIULUM-UL-QURAN

HELD AS AN
INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY
OF THE

HOLY QURAN

CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

The original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings, their transformation into any shape they like : the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject : the debates on the mission of the true Prophets ; the different aspects of inspiration ; and revelation, the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints ; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles ; the soul and the next world ; the transference of man to it ; the reward and punishment of good and evil deeds ; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings ; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade* :—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent ; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **علم الکلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPURI, Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq has been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.R.C.S., I.R.C.P.

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about Islam may easily purchase it.

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اعجاز نما چاول

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لہذا بحکم جناب عائشہ بیگم صاحبہ یہ رعایتی اشتہار فہام کیفرض سے پھر شایع کیا جاتا ہے۔ یعنی جس قدر درخواستیں ۳۰ جنوری تک دفتر میں موصول ہونگی انکی خدمت میں اعجاز نما چاول بالکل مفت بھیجا جاویگا۔ بعض ایک چاندی کی ڈبہ، ایک خوردبین، دو عدد تین کی منقش ڈیوان وغیرہ (جو چاول مذکور کی ہمراہ دیجاتی ہیں) ان سب چیزوں کی قیمت وہ نہایت رعایتی یعنی صرف ایک روپیہ پانچ آنہ بذریعہ وی بی لٹی جاون گی۔ اخبار "زمیندار" لاہور اس چاول کی نسبت حسب ذیل خیالات کا اظہار کرتا ہے۔

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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opposing Mr. Churchill's estimates. The personal relations between the Chancellor and the First Lord are extremely strained, says the journal, and the resignation of one or other of the two in the next few days is regarded as possible. Moreover, if Mr. Churchill's proposals are defeated in the Cabinet the whole Board of Admiralty will resign. The Cabinet will discuss the subject on Thursday.

London, Jan. 20.

Mr. Winston Churchill has issued a statement declaring that all newspaper statements about cabinet proceedings are based on surmise and gossip and should be uniformly distrusted. The statement that the Admiralty has expressed its intention of resigning is untrue.

When Mr. Churchill made his statement with regard to the rumoured resignation of the Board of Admiralty, he and the other members of the Admiralty were discussing the estimates. 'It is regarded as practically certain that the statement was made on the authority of the whole Board as well as of Mr. Churchill. With regard to Mr. Lloyd George, it is stated on his behalf that he will most certainly not resign. In view of the interview with Mr. Lloyd George published in the *Daily Chronicle* on the January 1st, gossip has been busy ascribing to the Chancellor the determination to curtail the naval estimates. It has become generally accepted that such a situation exists. The *Daily Telegraph* reflects this prevailing supposition. It is understood that Mr. Churchill will provide four dreadnoughts.

Turkey

Constantinople, Jan. 19.

It is stated that Bulgaria has sold 200,000 rifles captured from the Turks at thirty francs each. It is believed that they are being acquired for the Turkish Government.

Turkey

Constantinople Jan. 20.

The boycott of native christian places of business especially Greek continues. The windows of a Greek confectioner were smashed on Sunday and customers insulted for purchasing goods from non-Moslems. The propaganda in favour of dealing only with Moslem shops continues as active as ever.

Turko Persian Frontier.

Karachi, Jan. 17.

The *Sind Gazette's* Mahomerah correspondent writes on January 9th, in connection with the Anglo-Russian delimitation of the Perso-Turkish Frontier:—"The survey work in connection with the Frontier appears to be making headway as both the British officers employed on the work are at present away from the station on duty connected with the survey. The Turkish delegates to the Commission have, it is stated, broken their journey at Baghdad in order to make the pilgrimage to Kerbela, and may therefore be expected here when their religious duties permit. One Indian khallasi of the survey party had succumbed to pneumonia, probably contracted on the voyage, otherwise the health of the British camp is very good.

The Week.

Aegean Problem.

London, Jan. 18.

Replying to the Turkish criticisms of the decision of the Powers in the question of the Aegean islands, the *Neuzeitliche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the Great Powers are unanimous in acknowledging the principle already recognized when the Turks re-captured Adrianople, namely, that it is incompatible with the policy of peace to maintain a situation the result obtained by force of arms.

Athens, Jan. 18.

It is officially stated that about two thousand Albanians from Durut made a furious attack on Greek troops at Tepelini. The Greeks counter-attacked all along the line. The Albanians offered a brave resistance, and retreated in disorder, leaving scores of dead. They were pursued a long distance by the Greeks, who had thirty wounded. The prisoners state that the object of the attack was pillage, and also to test the strength of the Greeks.

Naval Crisis.

London, Jan. 20.

The *Daily Telegraph* states on what it describes as the highest authority that the Cabinet is undergoing a grave crisis with regard to the naval policy, the majority agreeing with Mr. Lloyd George in

Persian Parcel Post.

London, Jan. 19.

The *Kosinische Zeitung* regards decision of Russia to discontinue parcel-post from Julfa and Ashkabad to Tabriz and Meshed as a clear breach of the International Parcel-post agreement. The journal says that Germany energetically remonstrated at St. Petersburg and adds that the restriction does not affect the Russian parcel-post into Persia. Russia, it says, is attempting to the interest of her own trade to exclude from the districts in question German and the other non-Russian wares passing through Russia.

Salvation Army.

At a meeting of the U P Legislative Council at Lucknow on 20th January the Excise Amendment Bill, penalising cocaine-smuggling was introduced and passed. The punishment for smuggling is increased to one year. In reply to a resolution regarding the removal of the Salvation Army Settlement from Aligarh, on the ground that it was not conducive to the morality of the Aligarh College boys, it was announced that the Army had already proposed to Government to remove the Settlement to the Dehra Dun district and the Government had accepted the proposal. The Council adjourned till March.

Khost outlaws.

Men guilty of the last kidnapping raid between Kohat and Bannu were Khost and not Kohat outlaws. A Position seem likely to arise on the Derajat Frontier which will compel special measures against murderers and thieves who are enjoying an asylum in the Khost Valley.

Frontier Raids.

Peshawar, Jan. 20.

Mr. Pears, the Political Agent of the Khyber, and his assistant, Sahibzada Abdul Quyum have traced the murderers of the European Guard and engine driver, who were shot when in charge of the Calcutta Mail on the 20th December. The leader is Zar Shah, who is known to be implicated in many cases of robbery. He and the men are Shinwaris of Mingrahar in Afghan territory. Mr. Pears and his assistant, an experienced Frontier soldier, noticed the similarity of the raids of the station Jhangira and Khairabad when the police were held up and all the rifles taken, so suspecting, Zar Shah, as the man who took away Lachmin Chand the Babu station master, rode out to the neighbourhood of his home and sent messengers to find if he was away. The news brought back that the chief of the raiders was away on a looting expedition with party of a dozen men. On New Year's Day, the Khyber Rifles, under Mr. Pears, came in touch with Zar Shah, and in the Khyber Pass itself exchanged shots. A long and patient hunt followed and the raiders were finally traced to their actual hiding place. The Political Officers sent messengers out who met Afghan go-betweens, and finally the assistant station master was liberated and brought over the Border handed to the British officials who got back to Peshawar yesterday. The station master was well treated, and given what he wanted to eat. As the women of the raiders' clan do not observe *parda*, conversation was openly held daily. They told the Babu that Zar Shah was away on decoity *bandobast*. The station master saw much loot lying about the caves and recognised the uniform of the Guard killed. All the raiders held martini rifles and there was plenty of ammunition in their possession and also revolvers. Zar Shah speaks Hindustani a little. The women said he had often been down country by train to Delhi, Lucknow, and Lahore, and Ajmer and is the author of the following notable cases of decoity. He raided Peshawar Cantonment Station cutting off the ears of the Babu station master's wife to obtain some valuable rings she wore. He raided the Peshawar city station a year ago, and seven months after disarmed the police and took away their rifles. He attacked Pabni station twice and the Khairabad station last March, taking away cash and clothes. He held up the Calcutta mail train at Jhangira. I am informed that the result of the diplomatic work between Afghan go-betweens and the Political Agent was that thirteen hundred rupees ransom was paid for the station master's release. Much enthusiasm prevails here at Mr. Pears success.

The Balkans.

London, Jan. 22.

Constantinople: The Ottoman Minister in Sofia has arrived here on leave. Importance is however attached to the visit at the present juncture, especially in view of the pessimism prevailing owing to the decision of the powers regarding the Aegean Islands. It is confirmed that Turkey is the purchaser of the 2000,000 rifles which Bulgaria captured from the Turks.

Our London Letter.

2nd January, 14.

THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's presidential address at Agra, on the occasion of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Moslem League

a telegraphic summary of which appeared in the *Times* of last Wednesday, is very favourably received by the Indian Moslems here. It is generally felt that Sir Ibrahim has exhibited that sound and wise statesmanship, which the occasion undoubtedly demanded. His happy and diplomatic reference to the recent disagreement in the League and his genuine expression of relief and pleasure at the welcome healing of that disagreement have made a good impression in London amongst the Indian Moslems, who, as a body, are at one with Sir Ibrahim, when he said, in the course of his address, that the policy of the League must be laid down in India. I have yet to come across a thinking Moslem from India, who honestly believes that the London League is an absolutely independent organisation in itself in its connections with the Central League in India. It is, no doubt, quite clearly understood that the League here holds an exceptional position from various points of view, unlike, perhaps the various Provincial Leagues in India. It is also plain that, situated as it is, in the very heart of the British Empire, if conducted wisely and conscientiously, it cannot but wield that influence and weight in the Councils of the All-India Moslem League to which it is certainly entitled, and which, as far as one can realise, has never been disputed. But to claim for the London League a position of absolute independence and freedom and to thereby ignore the parental and fundamental character of the Central League at Lucknow is a doctrine, which will never appeal to the bulk of the Indian Moslems in London. The members of the London League rightly consider themselves as units of that great organisation, known as the All-India Moslem League, and it will be doing them very little justice to presume that such members belong only to the London League and thus are not in any way associated with the Central League, of which the London organisation is essentially a Branch. Another happy feature of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's speech is his emphatic denial that there was a shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Indian Moslems. Those who are in close touch with the Moslems of India are well aware that, in spite of the deliberate misrepresentations and gross and wicked attacks on their policy, loyalty to the British Crown is the very key-note of their political propaganda even on the part of the more progressive section of the community, whom the *Times* delights to describe as the "advanced wing."

There is some disappointment felt here that His Highness the Aga Khan has refused to withdraw his resignation of the Presidency of the Central League, in spite of the strong pressure brought upon him by the League at Agra. His Highness has, however, made it abundantly clear in his recent correspondence with Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali that his services, as a member of the Council of the League, will be unhesitatingly placed at the disposal of the Community. As a matter of fact, it is anticipated here that, as the Aga Khan has himself said, he will be in future able, as a private member, to advocate the policy of the League much more strenuously and vigorously than he could do in his official capacity of President. His Highness' declarations that in future the League ought to be conducted on more democratic lines instead of working on the hitherto semi-dictatorial methods are very much appreciated here, particularly by the younger generation of Moslems. The All-India Moslem League enters upon its new career in the present year with all good wishes.

NEW YEARS' HONOURS.

The distinctions conferred by His Majesty on Mr. Syed Ali Imam and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson are universally welcome here. Both these gentlemen have earned their recognition of devoted and unselfish service to India and His Majesty's advisers could not have made a better choice amongst the large body of Indians and Englishmen, who have spent their lives in the service of the King-Emperor in India. Sir Syed Ali Imam's integrity of character and honesty of purpose will no doubt serve as a noble example for the younger Moslems to follow, who wish him a still more successful career in the service of India. The Right Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's genuine sympathy with Indian progress and Indian sentiments is well-known and his exhilarating message to "Young India," on the occasion of the Islamic Society's Banquet in honour of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali in November last at the Hotel Cecil will be ever ringing in the ears of those who heard it. This is the type of Englishmen that cannot fail to impress the millions of India with those noble qualities and sporting instincts, for which the British race is famous. Alas! for the great lack of such genuine Englishmen in India.

PRAYERS FOR THE SULTAN'S RECOVERY.

At the Friday Namaz in Lindsay Hall, Kensington, to-day arranged by the Islamic Society, special prayers were offered for the rapid and complete recovery of H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey. This morning's bulletin happily report an improvement in His Majesty's condition and it is hoped that the improvement will continue.

TETE À TETE



TO-DAY we reproduce the famous—or rather infamous—articles of the *Times* on the subject of its creation, "The Indian Peril." Our readers will judge the views expressed for themselves, but we would

like to lift the veil a little from the face of this latest Prophet of Khorassan who is the author of these articles. Let us ask him if he is not the same person as contributed to the *Times* from India the article which appeared in its issue of the 7th October last, or to be more precise, exactly a fortnight after the arrival of the Moslem Mission in London. It is to this that H. H. the Aga Khan refers in his *Edinburgh Review* article, and it was with a view to "counteract the false charges" of this correspondent of the *Times* that the Aga Khan invited Mr. Ameer Ali to join him as host at a dinner to be given nominally to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali; but in reality to influential men in English politics. Many young Mussalmans who have been in England know the bearer of an extremely commonplace English surname who is the *fidus Achates* of the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali and a very useful person in certain oft-recurring journalistic contingencies. Mr. Mohamed Ali made his acquaintance in the India Office soon after the publication of the *Times*' article of the 7th October, and astonished him with the success of his powers of conjecture by naming the author of that article. Now comes our second question. Is not the author of the article the author of the "Indian Peril" also? Let him deny it if he dare. We congratulate the Hon. Syed Riza Ali on his success in dislodging the Beriah Criminal Colony from its site on the north of the Aligarh College even at the cost of having awakened the Hon. Mr. Sapru's peculiar sense of orderliness in a Council meeting. That indeed was the "Aligarh Peril" and we shall be well rid of it. But let him now turn his attention to the south of the Aligarh College also and dislodge the greater "Indian Peril." Our only fear is that a mere transfer to Rajpur in the Dehra Dun district will not do. The "Indian Peril" must be deported to New Zealand at the very least. We wonder whether the Government of India know the name of the author of these articles, for had they been aware of it, we feel sure they would have recommended the creation of a new title of "C. I. P.", short for "Creator of Indian Peril," for the writer. In the course of his speech on the Press Bill in February, 1919, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale said: "I have already said that several causes have combined to bring about the present state of things. It is of course impossible to go into all of them, but one of them may be mentioned—it is the writings in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. My Lord, I doubt, if many Englishmen realise how large a share these writings have had in turning so many of my countrymen against British rule."

Many of my countrymen imagine that every Anglo-Indian pen that writes in the Press is dipped in Government ink." Let Mr. Gokhale rest assured that there is sometimes no reason to "imagine" only, for occasionally people believe that even the Anglo-Indian pen that writes for the *Times* its most mischievous articles is dipped in Government ink or *Ses-o-i-co*. Now guess the name of the Creator of the "Indian Peril," says the Modern Sphinx, and we shall pay a worn-out half penny for the correct guess.

CONSIDERABLE apprehension has been felt by Mussalmans for the last four months about the action which Government was supposed to be contemplating about the Moslem Press. In this connection it would not be unprofitable if we reproduced a passage from a letter written by one of the Moslem delegates during their stay in England to a high official in England anxious to restore mutual confidence between the Mussalmans and Government. "The more important thing," he wrote, "is the apprehensions which are universal in India, namely, that the Government would do justice to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore, but would pursue a policy of repression recently started in dealing with Moslem Press. I hope

this is absolutely baseless, but the rumour itself is sufficiently productive of mischief, and should be contradicted. I am certain that if these are the views of Government, they are based on a wrong estimate of the situation, for the Moslem public will not be weaned off from the Moslem Press, particularly after the satisfactory result to which the action of the Moslem Press has brought the Cawnpore issue. What an effort of this character will succeed in doing will be that Lord Hardinge's action will be entirely thrown away on the people, and its good results nullified by a policy of vindictiveness pursued against the Press. I have myself no sympathy with sensationalism, and I have no hesitation in saying that there are some Moslem papers which have occasionally been extremely unwise in their conduct; but my fear is that any hurried action taken even against them would result very differently from the consummation devoutly to be wished. . . . This would create a fresh "regrettable incident," and would have to be dealt with all over again. My own opinion is that even the misguided journalists should be left to us to be dealt with, for nothing kills a rabid paper so well as the strengthening of the more reasonable journals, and even the Mussalmans are not so ignorant as to be unable to discriminate between what is good and what is bad, if the good is allowed to exist side by side with the bad. . . . I will also add that if all independent Moslem journals are crushed, even that would give no circulation to the sycophants that may be allowed to survive them. These parasites would only feed upon the Government trunk instead of providing any nourishment for that round which they intertwine themselves." This letter was dated 18th October, 1918, and was written shortly after the Cawnpore settlement. The considerations then suggested have no less force to-day and we earnestly beg Government not to ignore them or minimise their value.

THE Leicester *Pioneer* published last month an interesting letter written by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald from India in which he said:—"India itself, both as a spirit and as a political problem grows upon me. Things

are very far from being well here, and I do not think they are improving. Sometimes when I think over the events and the evidence of the day before turning in at night, I feel that the greatest pessimist may prove to be the truest prophet. The anarchist and political criminal do dramatic things and get into the newspapers and everybody talks of them and their evil works. In India they are really insignificant. They kill and others step into the empty shoes. That is all, and that is not much. For as they themselves truly say:—'A dead man is often more powerful for good than a living one.' It is the great structure of our government here that is so weak. The mind of India is chaos. No people can be governed, or govern themselves except upon the social norms of a culture and a civilisation. These conditions do not exist here, and I do not find that 'the man on the spot' sees that as he should. We are patching without plan, yielding without forethought, changing without insight. India demands qualities which we are not giving to her. I felt that vaguely four years ago; now that the veil has been lifted and I have seen behind it, I know it. When my present work is over and I am free to write again I may add another book to my list, but I am still learning and, therefore, can only hold provisional opinions. As I sit writing this, the position comes into me dramatically. I am staying for the week-end with my friend the Rev. C. F. Andrews, of the Cambridge Mission; over the wall come the chants and the music of Indian worship. I am close to the Fort from the marble palaces of which the Moghls ruled in their brilliant noonday; from the discharge come the sounds of the brass bands and the spaces of the thousand workers clearing foundations for the new Imperial City which we are to build like a Western garden suburb. It is all very pathetic. For such vanities was the Book of Ecclesiastes written."

It is clear from the extract we have given that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has understood at least the character of the patch-work which constitutes the sum total of India's political concessions.

A Patch-work without Plan.

Let us hope he will soon be able to understand the causes also which make the patch-work one without a plan. This is partly due to the English character itself, if we may say so without offence. There is little imagination in an average English politician, and it does not appear to us that any one on the Front Benches in either House of the English Parliament has permitted himself to conceive of India as it should be or may be a hundred years hence. Even Lord Morley was too much engrossed in the details of India's daily life to enjoy the luxury of a dream, though it must be confessed that he is the one British politician of our times who took up the subject of India as a student in search of knowledge. The English love to "muddle through," and they have not done badly from their own point of view. But a little theory would do the great "practical" men responsible for the progress of India no harm, and violence are not without their value. The worst of it is that nobody in England has the

to take up the subject of India and make it his own. The fact of it frightens them and even Mr. Lloyd George has perhaps as much as he can chew. Apart from the general character of the British race, there is the difficulty of an absence of continuity of policy in the Government of India. Every incoming Viceroy starts practically with a new policy, though it may not always be his own. Then, even in the five years of his Viceroyalty the wind of political influence blowing on him may not always blow from one direction. There are some Indians who honestly believe that all political concessions are *maya*, and England does not desire any real progress in India for India's sake, but desires her to remain for ever a milch-cow of England. These pessimists sometimes become active extremists in their Nationalism and degenerate into terrorists. Now, if only they knew the English character better they would be convinced that England could not possibly have formed a general plan of any sort for the Government of India, much less a Machiavellian plan. But that is not all. They do great injustice to a number of great and good Englishmen who have done greater service to India than even some of her best sons. Such men are not confined to politicians in England but include a host of Anglo-Indian administrators who in their time worked strenuously not merely to make India materially prosperous as the majority of Anglo-Indian officials do even to-day, but also to improve her moral fibre and make her more and more self-reliant and independent. We fear the present generation of Englishmen has set too high a value on material comfort, and it is difficult to imagine that any living Englishman would grow to the stature of a Macaulay or Bright. But in India the difficulty is different. Apart from the pseudo-scientific theory of the inferiority of coloured races which is a deplorable concomitant of British Imperialism, and as such common to Englishmen in England and in India, the Anglo-Indian official has come to realise what the best of his predecessors had hoped for in the matter of an India rejuvenated through British influences. Poor, frail human nature cannot always bear the shock of reality even with composure. Anticipation is proved by experience in this case also to have been pleasanter than realization. But there are Anglo-Indian officials, even if their number is not legion, who accept the reality with altruistic satisfaction and rejoice at the success of their work. There are many more who accept it with the dignity of a great race as inevitable and bow before it. There are, however, many others—and this is not in the least unnatural—who do not like to lose the power and the profits to which they have so long been used, and are determined to fight to the last. Sometimes they deceive others, but very often they also deceive themselves with the thought that India is not ripe for a concession for which she may be clamouring. They, too, however, have to bow on occasions before the inevitable and yield. On other occasions they carry the Government with them, and the ripe fruit is allowed to rot instead of being allowed to be eaten by those who hunger for it. There is thus a sort of eternal tug of war going on between partisans of reform and partisans of inactivity and the result depends on the relative strength of the parties. It is this that gives us a patch-work without a plan, for the Anglo-Indian often yields, as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says, "without forethought" and sooner still on a sort of compulsion. Even if this was not the case, the change would still be "without insight" so long as the Anglo-Indian remained an alien in India. Unless that is changed, the only remedy for this state of affairs is a larger admixture of Indians in Executive Government and a greater reliance on the advice of the real representatives of the people instead of an unintelligent and interested police and the pets and proteges of officialdom.

The *Saturday Review's* comments on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's views are significant. It writes:—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's inclusion in the Commission on the Indian Public Services was utterly perverse. Surely he himself

Sober Criticism or Insolent Conceit?

should have some doubts as to his usefulness. Does he not feel baffled and out of place? Is he not overwhelmed into decent silence by the enormity of his incapacity to understand the question with which he has, with authority, been asked to deal? Mr. Ramsay MacDonald feels nothing of this. He jauntily takes his place in the unending rank of half-educated, scribbling trippers to India. He will not even wait till the Report of his Commission is out ere he rushes into the *Leicester Pioneer* with impression and ideas. The complacency of these trotting Labour men is amazing. Mr. MacDonald threatens us with the usual book of half-baked theories and impressions: "When my present work is over, and I am free to write again, I may add another book to my list." It is a comfort to know that Mr. MacDonald, embarked on the foolish pilgrimage which it seems every English Labour leader must take, preserves even a shred of sense and humour. At least he has the grace to admit he is "still learning, and therefore can only hold provisional opinions." This, apparently, is only for a time. A few more weeks in India, and all will be clear! India will then be understood; her problem explained in a pamphlet; and the Indian

Civil servant denounced for not at once introducing heaven upon earth into the Five Provinces. If the Indian problem were less grave—if no mischief could be done by men like Mr. Hardie and Mr. MacDonald in a country like India—we could laugh heartily at the insolent conceit of these Indian tourists." We presume some Anglo-Indian bureaucrats would call this sort of writing "sober criticism." If such indeed is their conception of "grasping the responsibilities of journalism", we may live in hopes that the Press Act would become a dead letter. But if any Indian journalist wrote in this style of the pettiest official's vagaries we have no doubt that he would instantly lose his security. Even "sober criticism" directed against an official becomes "sedition" in this country, but we have to see whether such "insolent conceit" as the *Saturday Review* has indulged in would also be dignified with the name of "sober criticism."

We have received the following interesting and informing communication from Mr. M. D. Thakore, Honorary Secretary of the Edinburgh Indian Association, a body of the efficiency and prosperity of which we can speak from personal knowledge. Mr. Thakore writes:—

"In view of the difficulties which the Students in India have hitherto encountered in obtaining accurate information regarding the courses of instruction given in the University of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Indian Association has for some time past considered it advisable to take the responsibility of affording such information; and is now in a position to do so to anyone that may be willing to apply to it. The object of the Association in doing this is not only to supply the fullest information, regarding the courses of study, the nature of the climate, the conditions of life and the extent of annual expense, but also to advise in each individual case as to the desirability or otherwise of coming to Edinburgh, in preference to other centres of education where the standard of instruction in certain branches of science is the same as, or in some respects better than, in the Edinburgh University. Of late it has become a settled practice among the Indian Students to flock to the Edinburgh University for every conceivable subject, and though in doing so they are only prompted by the well-established practice of the past, yet it is becoming clear every day that the steady and increasing aggregation of Students in Edinburgh is leading to the derivation of less benefit and more harm than was the case hitherto. It is, therefore, eminently necessary that the Student who desires to come to Edinburgh should obtain the fullest information regarding the educational facilities here, and in view of the great congestion here, consider the advisability of going to other centres should these be in no way inferior to Edinburgh. And the Indian Association here is willing to afford all this advice. It must be clearly understood here that, in undertaking this work, the Association is not setting itself as a rival body to the Advisory Committees which have been recently instituted in some parts of India. Indeed, such work was done by individual members in the past, and the collective official action now is only due to the new conditions that are arising, in view of the increasing number of students that are coming to Edinburgh every year. And it is hardly necessary to mention that the Indians resident here are best suited for this task, as they alone can estimate correctly the requirements of the Indian Students and their expectations." All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.

It is a relief to know that there is at least one subject connected with Aligarh on which one is not afraid to write. That is Aligarh cricket. Until very recently one used to recall with pain the earlier glories

Aligarh Cricket.

of Aligarh in the days of the brothers Siddique and Mahmud of Shaikat and Hamid, of Abdul Wahab, Mughni and Abul Hasan and latterly of Ahsan and Ali Hasan. Those seemed to be the days of giants, but the exploits of Shaikat and Salamuddin to a great extent reconciled one to the present. It was recognised that even if the standard of cricket in India had, however, generally risen, the standard of Aligarh cricket had not risen in the same proportion. Fears were, therefore, entertained that the pre-eminence which Aligarh enjoyed in the game might possibly be lost. No Captain had shown anything like the skill of that born organiser and amiable despot, the late Mr. Abdullah who succeeded in pushing the team up to a level which it had never reached before. Happily, however, our fears are vanishing, for Feroz Hanifullah Khan of Bhopal, whose popularity among the students is well deserved, is a keen sportsman and good many things more. His men are attached to him and to each other by the spirit of camaraderie which he has infused into the team. With his assistance the College has engaged Mr. Fairweather of Kent, last season's champion county, to coach the team and we trust Mr. Fairweather will soon lick them into shape. This year the Aligarh XI has played seven matches, winning nine and drawing two. This is exceedingly hopeful, and a unique feature of this success is that in many cases they have won through sheer grit and by the skin of their teeth. The team consists

of such success was the one achieved last Thursday at Delhi. Delhi scored 120 in the 1st innings; to which Aligarh replied with 146. Out of this Mr. Salam-ud-din, who was very successful both with the bat and the ball in the All-India Team that played in England, made 44. But the tail wagged rather gaily when Mr. Masud made 26 and Mr. Mahmud 31, not out, thus giving the advantage of 26 runs to their side in the 1st innings. In the second innings Delhi made 187. Captain Tod played exceedingly fine cricket for his 43, and Mr. Campbell, who had made 27 in the 1st innings when he was run out, made 44 in the second. Other scorers on the Delhi side were Mr. Moore-Gwyn had made 34 in the 1st innings and Col. Theisger who made 33 in the second. Aligarh had now 162 runs to make and shaped so badly that five wickets were down for thirty odd runs. But once more the tail worked wonders. Mr. Masleh-ud-din made 52 and Mr. Masud 27, while Mr. Ashfaq carried his bat with 49 to his credit. These three plucky innings entirely turned the tables, and thanks to them Aligarh pulled the match out of the fire. There was no nervousness to the end and this is the most hopeful sign. We trust the Delhi match would become an annual fixture, and that Aligarh Cricket would be as much a glory of the College in the future as it has been in the past.

The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, President of the last session of the All-India Moslem League, received a great ovation when he concluded his Presidential Address and from several outward

"Wild Dreams."

indications, which we need not describe, we gathered that Sir Ibrahim's opinions gave no umbrage even to the few so-called moderates of the Punjab. If the Hon. Mr. Shafi would like to challenge our statement he would not have to travel very far from his own family circle to discover the gentleman we would then unhesitatingly place in the witness-box. But we must say that, in spite of Mr. Shafi's consistently supporting the ideal of self-government suited to India which he adopted three months after its birth in his own Presidential Address, we were far from easy in our mind about his attitude in the last session of the League, and it soon became evident that his deep sense of loyalty could not permit him to refrain from some expression at least of disagreement. In his own words, "it is impossible for one who presided over the Anniversary" at which the League's political creed was adopted to remain silent. This reminder of his having being President of the League in the previous session was hardly necessary except for self-aggrandisement for, having taken some pains to make his election acceptable to the community, we should think we knew something about the matter. When poor Mr. Balfour was compelled against his better judgment to "toe the line" at the dictation of his masterful colleague, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in the matter of Tariff Reform, Mr. Lloyd George playfully referred to the situation by using an apt metaphor. He said that Mr. Balfour was hatching the cuckoo's egg all the time and calling it his own. Those few who are privileged to read Mr. Shafi's emphatic adherence to the ideal of self-government suited to India in the columns of the *Observer* are not unlikely to enquire about the paternity of the cuckoo hatched by the Hon. Mr. Shafi. But although Mr. Shafi has adopted the bird as his very own nobody is likely to wonder at the horror with which Mr. Shafi views the forecast of India's political future outlined in the Presidential Address of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. Sir Ibrahim seems to have committed the heinous crime of casting the horoscope of India, and although no one in his senses could have been imagined to have mistaken the purpose of Sir Ibrahim, Mr. Shafi has seen fit to denounce his crime. Obviously the President of the Azra session desired to convince even the most ardent spirits among the Moslems that whatever their ideal "it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny." "It will call," said Sir Ibrahim, "for the best in your nature; you will have to be patient and persevering; you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your Motherland. . . . You will have always to bear prominently in mind that an early realization of your ultimate hopes and aspirations depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficent rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensable. You are bound to grow to a full manhood in time and come into your own inheritance, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives the force of moral pressure will be irresistible and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny." In another place also Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla emphasised the need of caution. "Whatever the ideal," said he, "I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to excite a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or

a tendency to excite the passions of the people." After this who could misunderstand the meaning or the purpose of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla when he described to them his own vision of a self-governing India in the following words:—"I am one of those dreamers who firmly believe that, given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives (as it is sure to do), we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves and self-government will be absolutely assured to us . . . No country such as India is can renounce for ever under foreign rule, however beneficent that rule may be, and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficence and righteousness, it cannot last for ever . . . India is our Motherland, our proud heritage, and must in the end be handed over to us by our guardians. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children." The italics are Mr. Shafi's. It seems that Mr. Shafi's loyalty must always be displayed in the shop window to attract and he could not evidently afford to miss the opportunity when a rival in his estimation opened a more business-like concern on the other side of the street, even though it was done without any "booming." He describes Sir Ibrahim's perfectly simple remarks as "the wild dreams of a political visionary", while presumably his own Address was "practical statesmanship" and "wise guidance through the complicated web of modern political conditions." Had anybody responsible for the good government of India felt inclined to rely on his much "boomed" loyalty, we would have reminded such a person of the comment on the Player Queen's emphatic assertions as to her everlasting fidelity in *Hamlet*: "Methinks she protests too much."

ENGLISHMEN are not likely to be caught such chaff as Mr. Shafi can offer. But for Mr. Shafi's special edification we would refer to an article contributed by the famous author and dramatic critic, Mr. William Archer, under the heading of "A Vision of India" in which he gives the speech of "the Last Viceroy" delivered on the occasion of resigning his office into the hands of the Princes and Citizens of India on the 31st of December, 2000 A. D. Its political wisdom and literary grace stand in no need of any comments of our own and we are sure our readers will study it carefully. We would here reproduce only a short passage in which none other than an Englishman has given Mr. Shafi an effective reply by anticipation. "I could name to you" Mr. Archer makes the "Last Viceroy" say, "some of the greatest of British soldiers and administrators who saw and declared that British Rule could not be an end in itself, but only a means to an end, and that it must consciously, deliberately and sincerely address itself to the realization of that end—a self-governing, self-protecting, United India. But not many Englishmen were at that time—I speak of a century ago—able to take so large and clear a view. The prevailing tendency was to assume that the glory and prestige of England demanded the eternity of the British Raj, and to regard as disloyal the most reasonable and law-abiding aspiration towards self-Government. What is to us a truism was to that generation an inalienable paradox—namely, that England's mission was not to perpetuate her rule, but to render it as brief as was consistent with the safety and well-being of India. Few could then realize that the most glorious day in the annals of England would be that which has now arrived—the day on which, her great work accomplished, she could lay down her stewardship and say to a self-controlled, self-reliant India, 'Hail and farewell.' Mr. Archer's Last Viceroy truly gauges the present situation when he says: "So long as the superstition of sempiternity prevailed, it was inevitable that the relations between the governing power and the more intelligent among the governed should be strained to the point of hostility. Even the most necessary measures of external security were resented, for they seemed to mean primarily the security of foreign rule. Administrative efficiency awoke the reverse of gratitude, for it seemed to mean the condemnation of native-born India to perpetual inefficiency." Then he describes the change that came over the whole spirit of the scene when what he calls "the superstition of sempiternity" was abandoned and "gradually, imperceptibly, a new light stole into the official mind and a true ideal replaced the idol of an ever-enduring Raj." "With faith in the sincerity of the governing power there came a new willingness to realize and admit the amount of leeway that had to be made up before India could stand alone among the great powers of civilization. Energies once devoted to embittered political agitation were now concentrated on social reform. Political thought instead running off on purely critical, destructive lines turned to construction, to planning, to forecasting constitutional arrangements and administrative methods. The new orientation gave to Indians in the public service a new motive for developing the best that was in them, since their efficiency no longer went merely to the credit of foreign rule, but helped to curtail the term of tutelage." After this Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla can well afford to ignore the inanities of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

II.

LAST week we described the circumstances in which the Press Act was enacted in February 1910 and stated the reasons that induced the non-official Members of the Council to support the Bill. We then showed how the assurance of the absence of Censorship was belied by the use made of the terrors of the Press Act as an "antecedent" restraint in practice if not in theory. We postpone for the present, the consideration of the second and most important assurance namely, the provision of ample security against hasty and arbitrary action. in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority," and come to the third, namely the absence of universal licensing with power to the Government to withdraw or refuse a license at discretion. Let us see how far this has been realised in actual practice.

Now the deposit of security was objected to by non-official members on the ground that such a demand constituted a slur on a profession as noble as any other. The Hon. Sir Harold Stuart, then Home Secretary, disagreed with this, and after quoting from Professor Sidgwick and Professor Dicey against the alleged injustice and unreasonableness of the demand, he gave a number of precedents such as the Stock Exchange, the Inns of Court and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge where security or "caution money" had to be deposited on entrance. Indian precedents such as that of the Broker's Association in Bombay and of cashiers and treasurers and other Government and private employees were also given. This naturally led the journalist to believe that every one would be required to deposit a security, and thus all would be equally honoured or dishonoured. The universality of the hump would have reconciled the hump-backed old woman in the fable to her own deformity, and the universality of the demand of a deposit might have reconciled journalists to its pressure. Government had opposed Mr. Gokhale's amendment that the Magistrate may demand security only in such cases in which he reasonably thought that the press was likely to be used for unlawful purposes, and the then Law Member, Mr. S. P. Sinha, had met this amendment by anticipation and had argued that the proposed discrimination of Mr. Gokhale, and not the Government's universality of demand, would cast a slur on the journalist. And yet, experience has shown that there has been the most invidious discrimination in demanding security. If a list was prepared of persons exempted and the grounds of exemption, written and unwritten, were mentioned therein, it would be apparent that what Mr. Sinha honestly wished to avoid, but what Mr. Gokhale felt was bound to happen in spite of all the honest intentions of the Government of India, has actually come to pass. In some cases security was not demanded at first, but some perfectly lawful criticism of local or provincial authorities roused the wrath of the District Magistrate, and the order of exemption was cancelled and security demanded in the most offensive manner. What consolation, then, can the stricken journalist find in the horror of Mr. Sinha at the mere possibility of what has been an ordinary experience in these days. "And, mind you," said our esteemed fellow-countrymen from his place in the Government of India, "there is no appeal against it; it is final, absolutely conclusive, if the Magistrate says 'give security, you are a seditious person, you ought not to be allowed to print anything; put down two hundred or five hundred rupees, as the case may be.' I say that is not an improvement on the Bill, and my hon. friends are not quite familiar with the provisions of the Bill."

In order to judge whether Mr. Sinha's assurance has or has not been belied, let us examine the way in which the apparently inelastic provisions for the demand of a security have been stretched and contracted, as if they were meant to establish in effect a system of universal licensing with powers to the Government to grant a license or withdraw it. Our own case is an instance in point. An application was made to the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta in December, 1910, for dispensing with the security that we were required to deposit under Section 8 (1) of the Press Act, and he referred it to the Police. The C. I. D. knew nothing against the publisher, but that was not considered sufficient; what induced the Calcutta C. I. D. in the end to recommend the exemption applied for was the fact that a former Director of Criminal Intelligence had at one time under his consideration the appointment of the publisher as his Assistant Director. That was enough. The security was dispensed with and for twenty months the *Comrade* was published from Calcutta without any difficulty. Once indeed our doors were darkened by the shadow of one of the stupidest of a not over intelligent fraternity of spies; but we took him over to the officer in-charge of

the C. I. D. branch, who disowned the man, but nevertheless warned him not to trouble us in the future.

In September, 1912, we transferred our offices to Delhi, and as there was no printing press here capable of turning out the work of the *Comrade*, we were compelled to undertake the expense, trouble and worry of keeping a large printing press of our own. Coming events are believed to cast their shadows ahead, and our recent experience of the one that had darkened our door, coupled with the demand of security from our ill-fated contemporary, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, led us to suspect that the authorities at Delhi may not let slip such a golden opportunity as a new declaration without demanding security. This apprehension was strengthened by an interview of quite a novel character for us which we had had with the Delhi District Magistrate. We accordingly prepared for the worst and purchased Government Paper for the maximum amount for which security could have been demanded. But we still hoped for the best, and must gratefully acknowledge that we were assured by some of the highest officials concerned that no security would be demanded from us. After several appearances before more than one District Magistrate the question was finally settled, and the exemption applied for was granted. We pass over the conversation which we had on the subject with the District Magistrate as he desires to treat such matters as private. But let us glance at the order publicly passed. It says:—

The application is accepted in view of the fact that applicant has already passed through a trial of respectability extending over nearly two years in Calcutta.

The wording of the order is interesting and provides a certain amount of consolation that "respectability" according to the standard of Calcutta is acceptable even in Delhi. Not being overburdened with funds, we sold the Government Paper which we had purchased in anticipation, and busied ourselves with more pressing affairs than the Press Act and its administration. For nearly a year we came across nothing that reminded us of the Press Act's existence, and this covers the whole period during which the Balkan War with all its horrors and attendant excitement in India lasted. But towards the end of June last we were compelled to criticise the action of the Delhi Municipality, or rather the unreasonable proposals of its acting official Chairman, which had caused a strike among the butchers lasting for a month. The strike was happily settled by the permanent official Chairman on his return from leave on the very lines which we had suggested in vain to his *locum tenens*, and so far as the butchers were concerned the matter ended. But we were less fortunate and were drawn into correspondence with the Hon. the Chief Commissioner on the subject of some remarks of a highly offensive character alleged to have been made by the acting Official Chairman of the Municipal Board against our fellow-countrymen. Hardly had the matter come to an end—a rather abrupt and unexpected end—when the Government of India declared the forfeiture of the Turkish appeal to Englishmen and Christians, known as the "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us" Pamphlet, of which we had received some copies several months previously. We had reproduced this appeal as a supplement in four issues of the *Comrade*, and the *Standard* had published a translation of it in eighteen issues. The Government Notification said nothing about these issues, but the District Magistrate seized them just the same. On applying to him for a reconsideration of the matter, he acknowledged his mistake and returned them to us, although most of them were subsequently seized under a fresh notification. We may state in parenthesis that the powers conferred by the Press Act, which has always been declared to be a preventive rather than a punitive measure, were not exercised for two months after the commencement of the reproduction of matter which the Government considered worthy of being proscribed, while the reproductions and translations were not proscribed for another month. Against a declaration of forfeiture of the original pamphlet by the Government of Bengal, of precisely the same character as that of the Government of India for the Province of Delhi, and the seizure in pursuance of that declaration of a copy which luckily we then had at Calcutta, and offered to the Police Commissioner for confiscation, we presented an application to the Chief Justice of Bengal for the appointment of a Special Bench of three Judges of the High Court to hear our appeal. No sooner had this application been made than we were required by the District Magistrate of Delhi to deposit Rs. 2,000, the maximum amount of security that he could demand from the keeper of a printing press under Section 3 (1) of the Press Act. We reproduce the order passed on the occasion as it would show whether the demand of security by District Magistrates does or does not cast a slur on the person from whom it is demanded. In doing so we may explain the second occasion on which we lost grace, which furnished an excuse for the District Magistrate of Delhi for his demand. After suppressing for six whole weeks all accounts of the excitement prevalent at Lucknow over the contemplated demolition of part of a mosque, because we desired the matter to be amicably settled without recourse to agitation in the

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Press at a time when there was already enough excitement among the afflicted Mussalmans, we reluctantly published on the demolition of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, the full correspondence on the subject which we had patiently and, as it turned out, fruitlessly, carried on with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. This we did with the entire concurrence of His Honour, and of the two articles which we published on the subject and to which the District Magistrate refers in his order, one at least drew from Sir James Meeson himself the meed of praise. The order runs as follows :—

On the 9th October 1912, Mohamed Ali son of Abdul Ali, made a declaration that he was the keeper of a Press called "The Comrade and Hamdard Press" situate in the Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi. He applied to be excused from furnishing security under section 3 (1) Act of 1 of 1910, and on 9th October 1912, I passed an order accepting his application on the ground that he had passed through a trial of two years in Calcutta, during which he had kept out of trouble such as is indicated in the Press Act. This order was a distinct departure from my usual practice and there seemed no harm in reposing confidence in a man who had received a University training and advanced education such as the recipient of this favour has received.

Unfortunately Mohamed Ali has not justified this trust and has published in the two papers, which are printed at his Press, articles which are reprints and reproductions of a pamphlet which the Government of India and various Local Governments have had to proscribe under Section 12 (1) of Act 1 of 1910. The pamphlet in question, entitled "Come over into Macedonia and Help us," contains matter which any one knowing and wishing well of India should have refrained undoubtedly from publishing.

Furthermore the papers which have issued from this Press have contained articles referring to the demolition of a part of the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, which have not been entirely justified by the explanation in Section 4 (1) of the Act. It is assuredly this class of publication which has led to the sad loss of life which occurred in the recent riot.

I have quoted sufficient reasons to show that Mohamed Ali has not grasped the responsibilities of journalism. He is a man whom I am no longer justified in exempting from those provisions of the Press Act which deal with security. Accordingly I cancel my order of 9th October 1912 under Section 3 (1) of Act 1 of 1910, and require that the declared keeper of the "Comrade and Hamdard Press" furnish a security of Rs. 2,000.

The said keeper of the Press is not present as the summons has been returned signed by Manzur Ahmad, an employee of the Press, with the intimation that Mohamed Ali is absent in Calcutta. This order is accordingly pronounced to him and a notice will be sent at once to the Manager of the Press that security for Rs. 2,000 is required and is to be paid before any further use is made of the "Comrade and Hamdard Press."

In view of such practice it is little consolation to us to know that the theory of the Press Bill as framed by the then Law Member was quite different, and that it was against the possibility of such an action that Mr. S. P. Sinha had spoken when he had said : "And, mind you, there is no appeal against it; it is final, absolutely conclusive, if the Magistrate says 'give security; you are a seditious person, you ought not to be allowed to print anything!' Fortunately for us the Cawnpore settlement has left no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person as to the people really answerable for the guilt of the blood. As for the sin of rescuing the truth from the dark dungeons of the Balkans and appealing in the name of that humanity which characterised none more entirely than the great founder of Christianity, it is no small consolation to us that the words of Major Readon were buried deep in the dust of Delhi's official pigeonholes even before the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins made in his judgment the well-known declaration about our character and purpose. Having published in full the indictment of a Magistrate, and who we need offer no apology for reproducing a short passage from the memorable judgment of one who has been the Chief Justice of two High Courts and the right-hand man of Lord Morley as member of his India Council. He concluded his judgment as follows :—

The applicant, Mr. Mohamed Ali, is by no means unknown in India; he is a journalist of position and repute. Though he is not an accused, he tells us that he regards himself as under the stigma which (he declares) most attach to any journalist who has come under the operation of an Act directed, primarily at any rate, against a criminal movement marked by outrages which so shocked the public sentiment as to call for this drastic legislation. But even if he has not succeeded in proving the negative that fate and the law have thrown in his way, at least his application has not been wholly in vain. The Advocate-General, representing the Government, has publicly announced that Mr. Mohamed Ali's forfeited pamphlet is not, in his opinion, a seditious libel, and, indeed, that he attributes no criminal offence to Mr. Mohamed Ali; he was even willing to concede and believe he was acting in the highest interests of humanity and civilisation. In this, I think, the Advocate-General made no admission which it was not proper for him to make. Mr. Mohamed Ali then has lost his book, but he has retained his character; and he is free from the stigma that he apprehended. And this doubtless will be some consolation to him when we dismiss, as we must, his present application.

We have now seen how, in our own case, has been belied the assurance that no slur would be cast on anybody by the demand of security inasmuch as no discrimination would be exercised by the

District Magistrate in his unappealable orders on the ground of the character of the person making a declaration before him. But this is not all. Another assurance was given by Mr. S. P. Sinha as regards the amount of security to be demanded. We were assured that in one particular the otherwise inelastic provisions about security were designedly made elastic. The amount of security to be deposited was to range between Rs. 500 and 2,000. "Unless we are to assume," said Mr. Sinha, "that the Magistrate is by design a malevolent creature, we may take it for certain that in ordinary cases he will not ask for more than Rs. 500, the minimum." To this Mr. Gokhale replied with the assurance characteristic of the practical man who is in touch with reality, and said : "Well, I am prepared to take a good many things from Mr. Sinha, but I am not prepared to take that from him, as that would depend on the Magistrate and not on the Law Member of this Council." And what has been our experience in this matter? We know nothing about the malevolence or benevolence of the Magistrates' designs, but if a detailed statement was furnished by Government it would be apparent to anybody that in the majority of cases in which small presses which published newspapers containing criticism of the United Provinces authorities during the Cawnpore Mosque agitation were required to furnish security, the amount of the security was not the minimum but the maximum. The Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda worded the question which he asked in the Council on the 16th January somewhat unfortunately, for one of the two statements laid on the table by the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock excluded the names of such newspapers as were printed at their own presses for which the proprietor had to give security as the keeper of the press and not as the publisher of the newspaper, while the other gives only the numbers of presses and neither shows what newspapers they printed nor gives the amount of security demanded from them. We trust he will now ask for these details and enable the public to know what a "slaughter of innocents" has taken place by depriving the provision about the amount of security to be demanded in each case of the elasticity which Mr. Sinha emphasised. Can the respective District Magistrates who demanded the maximum security from papers like *Tauhid* and *Ahl-i-Hadis* justify such use of their discretion? But the fact is that their orders are unappealable and by framing the law as he did the then Law Member uncorked the bottle that held its genie in thrall. The District Magistrates are now the despots that the law made of them, and even appeals to their executive superiors have every chance of being thrown into waste-paper baskets on the ground that, forsooth, executive officers cannot interfere with Magisterial discretion. To demand Rs. 2,000 and then Rs. 10,000 from keepers of lithograph presses whose entire stock-in-trade does not exceed a few hundred rupees in value is to establish a form of licensing as subversive of the freedom of the Press as that against which Milton pleaded three and a half centuries ago in his *Areopagitica* in vain. This should be a lesson to those who make laws which lock innocent enough on paper without taking the trouble to consider by what type of men they would be administered."

The Indian Moslems' Tasks.

IV.

European critics of Islam, while surveying its fortunes since the dawn of the 19th century, invariably trace the causes of its secular decline to the position of woman in Moslem society. Their arguments have been strongly reinforced by the vast development of the sociological thought in recent years; and it cannot be denied that the rapid advance of the science bearing on human society has led to the growth of a series of revolutionary doctrines in regard to sex relations. The modern economist and the eugenist between them are replanning a new Utopia, and the whole of Western Europe is living in a state of oppressive dread of the moral thunder that hangs in the air. When the storm bursts—and burst it surely will—and the tornado of elemental human passions sweeps on the complicated web of things that sum up the life of modern European society, an entirely new world will arise from the wreckage. But whether it will mark a further stage in the civilisation of Europe, or mean a repudiation and a new departure, it is not easy to guess. The weight of prophesy is, we may note in passing, towards dread and dire things. Almost every visionary of note, with a complete scheme of his Utopia in his pocket, would be nothing if not a creator of an entirely new world out of the void. He disdains to take into account any material but man, simple, stark and elemental, and would willingly pass a sponge over the past. Those whose visions of the future are of more modest range have reduced their social ideals to schemes of adaptations. The fundamental fact with which we are concerned at present is that

Both the visionary and the constructive reformer agree in thinking that the position of woman in the European society is not what it ought to be, and they trace all existing economic and social evils to the unsatisfactory relations between the sexes. They think it would be more natural and conducive to greater human felicity if woman were to participate freely with man in every sphere of human activity, if marriage were released from the tiresome restraints of custom and made the free expression of a willing partnership, and if the home were to be turned into a sort of agency for training children under the supreme responsibility of the State. Europe has not yet wholly lost its horror of nostrums such as these, and one need not pause to consider how the very thought of them would affect a Mussalman of India. From a *pardah-nashin* Moslem lady to a sufferer of Hyde Park is indeed a far cry, and yet one cannot enter into a discussion of the conditions that govern the lives of Moslem women without having Europe as a background. The world-thought possesses ethereal pulses to-day and radiates with incredible speed through space. Social institutions and sociological ideas and experiments of Europe have a disturbing influence in India, and unless a well-planned effort at social reconstruction proceeds from within, European influences will do their destructive work and sooner or later reduce the whole structure to ruin.

The Moslem society in India has, through causes that can be easily named, grown out of joint. This much is perceived even by those who deplore the present and yet shiver at the least suggestion of doing something to improve it. It may be accepted as an axiom that the reconstruction of Moslem society is not a question of imitating the most successful social experiment elsewhere. What is great for Europe may conceivably become poison for Moslem India. No community can divorce its present from its past or look forward to a future that has no relation with either. The Indian Mussalmans will have to frame their own point of view, their own line of work and their own particular plan for their social reconstruction. Other social systems are to them but facts of general human experience which they can turn profitably into account. The supreme question is to ascertain the need and devise the remedial measure. It is obviously beyond the scope of our present purpose to launch into an argument as to the best possible and complete social doctrine. After all, the tests of social efficiency are shifting and indeterminate, and all social idealism is but a reflex of certain needs which often cease to exist before a new generation has come to tread on the heels of the old. Philosophers tell us that a social system must possess the virtue of stability, and that it should give maximum satisfaction to all the units that compose it. History, however, has stamped these doubtful virtues as a sign of decay and death. The Chinese society had been till yesterday stable for centuries, and it may be presumed that it gave the maximum satisfaction to its members. And yet the threats of every jaded social reformer in the rest of the world have been adorned with the tale of China and its inevitable moral. Stability is frequently an outward symbol of inward death, and the satisfaction of individual members a helpless and unquestioning resignation to conditions of life that have become fixed and adamant. It is enough for our purpose to know that no society can be said to fulfill its functions which is not fully responsible to fresh needs and does not afford the utmost scope for the development of personality. Life is not being, but becoming, and society in its healthy state is a process of eternal readjustments. Apart from its fundamental beliefs about the nature and destiny of man, the first and last things of life, so to speak, it should have no convictions which are not temporary, no beliefs that cannot be parted with without a pang. For no society can save itself from an early dissolution which in the pursuit of ease and uniformity elaborates a series of deadening systems and places every detail of life under the grip of a dogma. Such an effort results in a flat, prescribed and graduated state of being in which every individual drives a dull and fruitless existence. Every child is forced to be born after the image of his parents, and end his life in a weary round of predestined activities. It was such efforts in history which gave birth to the monstrous developments known as the caste-system. The root-evil of these deformities is that they utterly suppress personality and cast it as a burnt offering at the altar of a system or a dogma. The first great truth to be remembered is that the individual does not exist for society, but that society is a contrivance for the free play of individual personality under certain well-defined limits. Personality is, therefore, the most important and most sacred thing. To try to reduce it to a cloud-level of sameness is to defy Nature and thwart the purposes of God. Every child that is born into the world is a new experiment in being, unique and wonderful. Society should be to it a free and intimate atmosphere for the unfolding of its personality. Every moment of its life should be to it not a prescription but a miracle. It should get stimulus for complete self-expression from other beings as unique as itself, and by its strivings and

joyous activities grow up into efficient and purposeful method and become a living influence in social life as a whole.

These considerations should have the utmost weight in dealing with the question of social reconstruction amongst the Mussalmans. The supreme aim is the free development of personality. The conditions of Moslem society should, therefore, be such as would amply fulfill the purpose. Now the chief factor in human development is the home conditions and it is consequently the Moslem home on which the searchlight should be turned. European writers on Islam usually describe a Moslem home as a prison-house where women-slaves dwell and spend their lives in ministering to the wants and whims of their autocratic master. A Mussalman, however, knows that the description is as false as a caricature. Not only are there no slaves in Moslem homes, but the Moslem women are complete mistresses in their own spheres, enjoy their prerogatives as mothers and wives and exercise the influence that is their birth-right. Were it otherwise, the Mussalmans would not have been face to face with the problem of women's education to-day. It is because the authority and influence of woman is complete in the *zenana*, that the need has been felt to train and educate her and enlighten her mind. As the first and most effective teacher of children, as the partner of man in his life-struggles and hopes and triumphs, as the power mainly responsible for domestic efficiency and peace, woman is the key-stone of all social structures. Her training and intellectual and moral fitness is to be achieved before any efforts at reconstruction in Moslem society. As things are, the mental equipment and training of Moslem women is hopelessly inadequate. They are not only ignorant, but also carry a dead weight of prejudices and superstitions which has never formed a part of the mentality of their Moslem sisters in other lands. This, we are sorry to have to say, is a distinct gift of Hindu India. Ignorance is a paralysing handicap not so much because it leads to inefficiency, but because it produces a grey, flat, level ground from which personalities of almost similar character take their rise. A community of savages is efficient enough for the few purposes of its life; but it suffers from the blight of sameness. Every savage is like his brother savage in his mental features and outlook on life, and in the sum of their existence there is no variety, no richness, no stimulus of ambition, no provoking and fugitive suggestions of mystery which tempt a man ever and over on to new and higher stages of being and endeavour. If the women of a community are ignorant, and thus cramped and dwarfed in their mentality, the new generations grow up in the same deadening atmosphere, and the loss of personality in the individual is the inevitable result. It is a terrible price to pay and no community can bear the burden without self-stultification.

It would seem, therefore, that the most anxious and immediate concern of the Mussalmans ought to be to organise a thoroughly communal system of education for Moslem girls. The need is being felt but not with such keenness as would lead to the birth of the preacher and the fanatic of reform. Mild resolutions in favour of women's education in annual conferences yet mark the stage at which Moslem enthusiasm has reached. An attempt was made many years ago to focus the stray desires of a few intelligent Mussalmans into an organised movement with its centre at Alipur. What this movement has achieved is still a mystery. The gentleman who officially controls the movement is evidently so shy that he insists on keeping the results of his activities in strict *pardah*. Meetings of the Female Section of Moslem Educational Conferences are held every year, but the Secretary has not submitted his report for several years past. The force goes on and a proportionately huge expenditure is being incurred for the maintenance of an elementary school, without method, without ideal, without even the initial energy required for an experiment. Amongst educated Mussalmans the desire to educate their daughters is springing up, but no efficient schools exist to which they could send the girls with confidence. Schools are seldom available, still more seldom of a satisfactory type. The public schools or Christian missionary institutions, even where they are found, are not fit places for the training of Moslem girls. The difficulties are great and every year that they are left unsolved would add to the seriousness of the situation. Efforts should be made by every means by means of an independent organisation, if need be to draw up a complete programme and start a vigorous campaign for bringing light and emancipation to Moslem women. The task is the noblest and yet the hardest that the Mussalmans have yet to face. Will not some valiant spirit sound the call and rally other brave hearts for the fight? The hope is, not extravagant and Moslem courage and chivalry are not yet wholly defunct.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Criminal Settlement at Aligarh.

Sir,—In the *Comrade* of the 20th December 1913, I saw a letter written by Commissioner Booth-Tucker, Head of the Salvation Army in India, giving his version of the recent trouble in the Beriah settlement located in the Fort at Aligarh.

Before I write further, I would like to mention that personally I have the greatest respect and admiration for the Salvation Army and the grand work its officers are doing for their faith. When the late General Booth first started the Army with its Red Coats, military titles and brass bands, people in England laughed and ridiculed the idea by calling it a "tamasha", but that great and good Christian persevered; and with the help of devoted self-sacrificing workers lived down all the ridicule and difficulties which every great movement has to face in the beginning. I have not the pleasure of knowing Col. Booth-Tucker personally, but I have heard from friends a great deal about him. For the sake of his faith he threw up a brilliant career in India and resigning the Indian Civil Service joined the late General Booth. It was he who organised and started the Army Branch in India.

I mention all these facts to show that neither myself nor any other worker at Aligarh is prejudiced against the Salvation Army nor is any of us blinded by religious prejudices. We have no objection to the work of reclamation of criminal tribes; only we object and very strongly that it should be carried on as dangerously close to our nobler and greater work of Moslem regeneration in India. We have difficulties enough of our own to surmount and naturally would feel sore if any thing was done to add to them.

It was for this reason that Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan had opposed the planting of this colony of the worst type of criminals so close to the College. In those days, because he had stood up for his College in the Archbold affair, he had incurred the displeasure of Sir John Hewitt, who refused to give his reasonable views that consideration which the importance and urgency of the subject deserved.

As regards the facts of the recent case, though I was not an actual eye-witness of the first scene, I was in Aligarh that day, and reached the spot barely an hour after the incident and learnt the facts from different sources. I was certainly nearer the spot than Commissioner Booth-Tucker who must have been in Simla.

As for the forbearance of the Beriahs and the language they used, every one should accept the words of a man of the position of Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan, who was present and was besides the only person cool in all that crowd and thus saved the situation. Further, I know the Beriahs much better than most people, having seen them in their homes while camping as an officer in the three districts of Etawah, Mainpuri and Etah, where they mostly come from. Any Police officer who has served in the Agra Division would bear me out that the Beriahs were one of the most cruel and hard-hearted criminals. In India as in other countries, people felt a sneaking regard and admiration for the old-fashioned dacoit and outlaw, like the famous Tantia Dhol, who took freely from the rich and gave it back equally freely to the poor but Eida Beriah and Darab Shah formed the first gang that, besides robbing people, ravished women also, and I remember very well the satisfaction of the people when Eida was burnt down by his pursuers while hiding in a room full of straw. You yourself happened to be at Kannauj when this occurred and can testify to this.

I would like here to mention that our objection to this Beriah Settlement close to the College is not so much on account of the dacoits and other criminals as on account of the Beriah women. They belong to the "Tawail" class, i.e., prostitutes by caste. While wives and daughters-in-law amongst them are as honest and chaste as women in any country, their daughters and sisters are brought up by these very women for immoral purposes and openly

ply their trade. Any Beriah man will offer his unmarried sister or daughter for prostitution without feeling any shame, but if his own wife or daughter-in-law was unfaithful (which was very very seldom) he would inflict the most severe punishment.

Even if Commissioner Booth-Tucker's version of the incident be accepted, it does not alter the real case. Our contention from the very beginning has been that here in Aligarh we have been carrying on with the support and the co-operation of some high-minded Englishmen one of the biggest and noblest works of which any Government and people may be proud, i.e., the regeneration of Mussalmans. We have surmounted many difficulties and have already achieved a great deal, but a great deal more remains. We have built a name and reputation for Aligarh, and the great founder had chosen this spot in preference to Delhi, his own home and birth-place, for the simple reason that he wanted a quiet place, where there would be no other attractions to distract the mind of the future students and where we could expand to our hearts' content. It was for this reason that the old deserted Cantonment of Aligarh, situated on a big bare *unwar* plain, and away from the Koil city, was chosen as the site of our College.

We, in spite of our poverty, have spent nearly 70 lakhs, on it and nearly 20 lakhs in buildings alone. To thousands of Old Boys and to lakhs of Mussalmans, Aligarh has become a sacred and loving spot. I am not exaggerating when I say, in fact I know what I am talking of, that Aligarh is the one place for which every Mussalman in India has an affection, and I have not the least doubt, that if we wanted more money to-day and put our case before our people plainly and squarely, it will pour in. Right in the middle of this little garden of Mussalmans, you go and locate a Segregation Camp for the benefit of the worst plague-stricken people. You may or may not save the afflicted, but you are sure to contaminate the healthy and strong in the neighbourhood, and thus, instead of checking, spread this dire disease in the length and breadth of the country. We have about 1,800 youths, healthy and strong, from amongst the best families in the country and outside it. We have located them at a safe distance from the city and its temptations. We feel naturally sore that next door to us and our charges, the worst kind of "Yoshiwara" is located. With the best of motives and intentions, it is true, but yet a "Yoshiwara".

I have not one word to say against the Salvation Army and its officers, but I can well understand that it is not the silk-weaving alone, however interesting it may be, that would attract the youths to their camp.

We know the Beriah men and women well and we know the youths well too. They are the same all the world over. No artificial bounds, no Salvation Army officers, no *chowkidar*, no amount of Proctors and Proctor's Bull-dogs could keep the two away from each other if they could possibly meet; then why put temptation within easy reach?

The only remedy is that the Criminal Settlement must be removed from the beautiful and picturesque mud Fort and the poor students should be given full room for their walks and recreation.

I have not been to the Fort lately but when I went there last, Ensign Mabe and Ensign Liari, his wife, were extremely good to me and took me round explaining everything. They were kind enough to give me some literature and plenty of very useful information about the internal organization of the Army, which I wanted for our Khoddan-i-Ka'ba Society. For the benefit of such of your readers as have visited the Fort before, especially the Old Boys of Aligarh, I give fuller information about this Settlement, as the name may suggest an array of imposing new buildings, etc. There is no such thing as a settlement. Everything appears to be temporary. Over the mound of earth on the picturesque gate was stretched a piece of white cloth with "Hewettpur Settlement" written on it. Inside, that ramshackle old Bungalow near the gate, has been repaired a little and made habitable. The Army officers Mr. and Mrs. Mabe lived in it. The other old building nearer the centre has also been repaired and in it have been put weaving and reeling machines. The only new additions that were then ready had made the place very ugly. They are temporary Kaccha dirty-looking mud huts for these criminals to live in. I doubt if the whole lot cost more than two or three thousand rupees. I think (I am not sure) the Government paid for these temporary sheds. The inmates, men and women, were either allowed to work in the day time, elsewhere, with the permission of the officer-in-charge, or earned their wages working for the Salvation Army.

This is all the settlement.

I am surprised and pained to see that for this, Commissioner Booth-Tucker suggests that the "future great Mohamedan University" may be removed from Aligarh to Delhi. Leave aside the palatial buildings erected at a great cost, he expects us to forget all the happy associations, all the memories which that one word "Aligarh" brings before us wheresoever we may be. Our children are there, imbibing strong and powerful traditions that have grown up. We are asked to give up all these for a well-intentioned but doubtful experiment.

Will the authorities at Oxford and Cambridge tolerate for one second the location in their midst of a settlement for the reclamation

of the worst type of cut-throats and criminals from the Seven Dials and the street-walkers from Soho Square and Piccadilly. They would reject the assistance of this "moral stimulant", this "great philanthropic effort" towards the regeneration of their people.

I hope I have made clear that we in Aligarh have no objection to this settlement. We only desire that it should be located at a distance from the College towards the south, leaving the north to us to expand, and that we have nothing but admiration for the work of the Salvation Army at Aligarh and elsewhere, howsoever, we may differ in our faiths.

I hope not only Government but Commissioner Booth-Tucker would also help us in the interest both of his own and our work and remove this settlement to a more suitable locality.

ALMAH, 19th April 1914.

SHAUKAT ALI.

[We have just learnt that, thanks to the efforts of the Hon. Syed Riza Ali, Sir James Meston's Government has promised to remove the Settlement to Dehra Dun District. We expected this from His Honour and are sincerely grateful to him for not belying our expectations. We shall refer to the U. P. Council debate later.—Ed. Comrade.]

The Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund.

SIR,—I have read in the papers the different suggestions made for the utilization of the Cawnpore fund, now that it is no longer required for the legal defence of the prisoners. To my mind money, coming out of the pockets of people who can ill-spare it, and who must have denied themselves many little comforts, nay even necessities, in order to help their brethren in need should be invested in some profitable concern which would bring them the largest possible returns. Now I cannot imagine a better investment for the money of Moslems than its utilization in helping Khwaja Kamaluddin Sahab.

His noble efforts if properly supported will lift the veil of prejudice cast over the eyes of Europe by centuries of misrepresentation and reveal the true simplicity and beauty of our religion.

I hear that Yahya Parkinson has written 5 books on Islam which are in manuscript and which for want of money have not yet seen the light. Would it not again be a splendid investment for part of the Cawnpore fund to furnish this gentleman with the wherewithal to publish his books?

Mr. Parkinson, from what I see of his writings in the *Islamic Review*, appears to be a man of high culture and wide attainments. I feel sure that his books if published would be a great acquisition to Islamic literature.

If you will be good enough to give publicity to this letter, I feel sure that the majority of the subscribers to the Fund will agree with me as to the best use to which it could be put.

Hyderabad

MRS. KHURDIJUNG.



Return of the Moslem Mission.

II

Delhi.

MR. WAZIR HASAN'S SPEECH.

In the course of his reply to the address of the Mussalmans of Delhi, Mr. Wazir Hasan invited those Anglo-Indian editors who in the darkness of their sanctums recklessly went on writing that the speaker and Mr. Mohamed Ali were not representatives of the Mussalmans to come and ask that large gathering and the still larger gathering outside the Hall whether they did or did not represent the political attitude and temper of the Moslem community. He then discussed the duties of the Mussalmans as British subjects, as Indian citizens and as Mussalmans. With reference to the Cawnpore settlement, while thanking Lord Hardinge, he said that an administrator of Sir James Meston's ability and intelligence would also have arrived at the same conclusion were it not for the obstacle of Prestige, which intervened like the Himalayas between Mussalmans and justice. Prestige not based on justice could never strengthen British Rule, while justice was bound to strengthen it. Although Nowsherwan was not then alive, his reputation for justice still survived him. The speaker said that their religion had provided for them an excellent code of conduct for all occasions, and in steadfastly following its dictates they would not only remain good Mussalmans but also become good subjects and good neighbours. But the Mussalman who was not loyal to Islam could never be trusted to be loyal to King or country.

The speaker then reminded the audience that the responsibility of a Mussalman for the progress of India was no less than that of a Hindu. So long, however, as Mussalmans had been sunk in ignorance, their participation in politics would have harmed them and their country alike. But a new generation had now come to the forefront and it could be trusted to take its proper share in Indian politics without detriment to itself, to the Government and to the country.

As regards their attitude towards the Congress, if it had changed during the last twenty five years, had not the attitude of the Government undergone a more pronounced change in the same period? Compare and contrast the attitude of Lord Dufferin and Lord Curzon, said Mr. Wazir Hasan, with the attitude of Lord Hardinge, and with still more recent attitude of Sir James Meston himself, and then judge whether it was after all so strange for the Mussalmans to change their attitude towards that body. The Mussalmans may not find it always possible to adjust their attitude to the changing attitude of individual Vicereroys and Lieutenant-Governors, and for that reason the speaker suggested that they should provide themselves with a rule of conduct. He would suggest that, without prejudice to their own interests as a community, they should unite with the Hindus in furthering the cause of Indian prosperity and good government in India through every legitimate constitutional means.

As regards their Mission to England, he said that the British public was engrossed in its own affairs, and it was necessary to send out such missions to England to enlighten it with regard to Indian affairs. He concluded his speech by saying that they should have full confidence in British justice and in their own righteousness and strength of purpose, and they should co-operate with their fellow-countrymen sincerely and cordially.

MR. MOHAMED ALI'S SPEECH.

After him Mr. Mohamed Ali rose to offer thanks for the ovation which the people of Delhi had given to them on their return. He recounted how he had come to Delhi a year ago as a mere stranger, and how in that short space of time Delhi had given him a home and a vast number of friends. This was nothing new, but, an ancient tradition of Delhi, for it had even provided a throne and a dominion over the whole of India for homeless wanderers like Babar whom their own country had sent away as exiles.

Mr. Mohamed Ali referred to the various events which had happened in quick succession in the few years before he and Mr. Wazir Hasan had set out on their Mission to England, and in connection with the Balkan War called upon the Chairman, the Shahi Imam of the Jame Masjid, to bear witness to the many occasions on which he had asked the people of Delhi to voice their gratitude to Lord Hardinge and his Government for their real sympathy and assistance. He had sought the assistance of the Viceroy in order to make it clear to the Mussalmans that whatever British Ministers might do or say the Viceroy and the Indian Government felt for them and were ready to assist them to the best of their powers.

With reference to Cawnpore, he pointed out that, in spite of much pressure brought to bear upon him by numerous visitors from Cawnpore, he had kept the affair of the Mosque out of his papers till a part of it had been demolished. He had reposed full confidence in the sagacity and wisdom of Sir James Meston, but it was impossible for any honest journalist to be satisfied with the demolition of the Mosque, and in view of the heavy responsibility that he had taken upon himself in advising the Cawnpore Mussalmans against newspaper agitation while he was corresponding privately with the Lieutenant-Governor, he was bound to agitate against the sacrilege. Whatever others may say, he had in his possession a letter of Sir James Meston praising at least one of his articles on the subject as "excellent." When, however, Sir James Meston plainly told the deputation at Lucknow that he would do nothing in the matter—a decision which they honestly presumed to have been arrived at in consultation with the Government of India—they recognised that the agitation in India was not only useless but likely to become mischievous. But they did not despair of ultimate justice, and instead of lighting a fiery cross in India as people hostile to British Rule would have done, they proceeded to England to appeal to His Majesty's Ministers, and in the last resort, to the British public. Although they left India very quietly, it was not to be assumed that they felt themselves to be criminals escaping justice. In Bombay, in Aden and in London criminals could be arrested and brought to justice; and after all no crime could be wiped off in three and half months, so that if they were criminals when they left India so quietly, they were criminals still on their return with such evident éclat. What had induced him to leave Delhi so quietly was that with the noose round his neck which every journalist carried in those days, and a judiciary still unseparated from the executive, they felt that it was possible for people to throw obstacles in his way if they announced their intention to go on that Mission and had this come about at the very least much valuable time would have been lost. That was the reason why they had not formally obtained their credentials as the delegates of the people before leaving India. But as they had expected, the people amply provided them with credentials immediately on their departure. He had no desire to publish these reasons for they were less creditable to others than to themselves. But the partisans of those others in the Anglo-Indian Press had tried to make much capital out of their silence on the subject, and he now made a present of those exciting reasons to the Anglo-Indian Press during that festive season, and without injury of them.

The speaker then referred to the many ways that were open to them of advocating the cause of the people, and explained the reasons why they preferred to deal directly with the Ministers in the first instance, and how they spent a good deal of time in that effort. He then gave the fullest details of the dinner episode and conclusively showed that the dinner to be given to them was the independent suggestion of His Highness the Aga Khan himself, who had telephoned to the speaker at midnight immediately after his arrival in London from the Continent for Prince Arthur's wedding, that it was necessary in the interests of justice and of the Moslem Community to "counteract the false charges" published by the *Times* in its issue of 7th October. He also explained that the words "the Cawnpore victory" were the words uttered by the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali and not by either of the delegates. After giving further details of the dinner episode Mr. Mohamed Ali said that this occupied their time from the 17th October to the 18th November, when through the assistance of His Highness the Aga Khan's letter they broke down their boycott in the Tory Press, and the *Morning Post* very willingly published the true version of the matter and a very frank leading article in which it called upon Mr. Ameer Ali to offer any explanation that he could give of his own unexplained action.

The speaker said that among other things that they had explained in England to as many as they could reach was that what was called sedition in India was in most cases the natural demand of the grown-up son for a larger allowance than he received as a small child; that many officials demanded from them obedience such as could only be offered to the King-Emperor and to his commands enacted in the form of laws of the land; that the complaint against Young India was a confession of failure on the part of those who had made Young India what it was through the education that they had given it; that public criticism of official action was in reality a praise of praise for the freedom given to India by the British, a freedom that was unknown to the subjects of the Tsar and in the majority of cases to the subjects of Indian Princes; and that what the Indian objected to was not what the law demanded but what executive officers sometimes demanded in excess of the demands of the law.

Mr. Mohamed Ali then gave a summary of other views which they had expressed on behalf of their people and asked them to say whether those were not their views. He said that the great mistake which the British made was to believe that Indians had only been familiar with autocratic methods of Government and could not understand any other, as if those who had been taught in Indian Colleges had read nothing of Locke and Mill, Rousseau and Spencer, Burke and Bright. He said this was extremely folly, but even if it were true, was it possible for the British to satisfy all the demands of autocratic rule? It was true that in Native States the holding of public meetings of protest was not easy; but it was also true that every class of his subject had access to an Indian Prince like own Chief, the Nawab of Rampur who commanded sources of information in his own family and household which British officials did not possess. The latter lived a life apart from the people, and in the absence of personal knowledge as an Indian autocrat possessed they could learn the truth only from the police, from the Press and from public platforms. It was easier for Indians to adjust themselves to the demands of the system of Western democracy, but it was hopeless for the British officials to adjust themselves to the system of Oriental Despotism. They could rule India as the Moghals had done before them, or as they were used to governing in their own country. But their rule in India was as un-Moghal as it was un-British, and no wonder that sitting between two stools they occasionally touched the ground.

The speaker compared the success of their Mission to the dropping of a pebble in the ocean. They could not expect thereby to create a storm, but they were satisfied that ripples had disturbed the evenness of the sea's surface where the calm of ignorance, if not indifference, had reigned before. What was necessary was to arrange for relays of public men for the presentation of their views in England, and this should be done because there was no reason to despair of justice from their Sovereign and from the sovereign people of Great Britain.

Lucknow.

The delegates were not permitted even to enjoy a night's rest at Delhi after their long journey, for the people of Lucknow and Cawnpore were impatiently waiting for their arrival at the headquarters of the All-India Moslem League and in the city the sufferings of which had been the chief immediate cause of their Mission to England. They, therefore, left for Lucknow after a hurried dinner the same night. But owing to the congestion of traffic at Christmas their train reached Lucknow several hours late. In spite of this the entire platform was crowded by thousands who had assembled to greet them, and it was some time before the delegates could push themselves through the crowd to the carriages awaiting them outside. Here considerable delay

took place as the people insisted on dragging the carriage and the delegates begged to be excused. In the end the crowd succeeded in taking off the horses and in spite of the protests of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, and although requested many times to put the horses back, it dragged the carriage the entire distance of two or three miles to the grounds of the Rifah-i-Am Club. Fearing that the hall itself would not be able to hold all the people attending the meeting, the organisers had arranged to put up a large number of *shamianas* in the grounds. But in spite of the delay for several hours in the arrival of the delegates' train which compelled a large number of people to return home, the attendance at the Rifah-i-Am Club was so large that hundreds of people had to stand in the sun. The proceedings were opened by several speeches by prominent Mussalmans of Oudh who thanked the Mission for the service it had rendered in the cause of Islam and the Moslem Community of India.

MR. WAZIR HASAN'S SPEECH.

After the delegates had been garlanded Mr. Wazir Hasan thanked the people of Oudh and explained the objects which he and Mr. Mohamed Ali had in view when they left for England. He exposed the baselessness of the opposition which their Mission had been subjected to and with impressive eloquence gave expression to the warning that if, God forbid, British strength in India ever declined, the guilt of bringing about that calamity would properly attach to those people who regarded the representation of Indian grievances as a crime. Unless relations between Government and people become closer and more cordial there was not only the possibility of danger in India, but the greater danger of the loss of that prestige which Great Britain rightly enjoys to-day among the nations of the world.

MR. MOHAMED ALI'S SPEECH.

Mr. Mohamed Ali in the course of his speech referred to the colossal ignorance that prevailed in England about this country. As a typical instance he mentioned the case of the Cawnpore Mosque. Soon after reaching England he had collected together through a Press-Cuttings Agency all that had appeared in the English Press on the subject of Cawnpore Mosque. With the single exception of the *Outlook*, which published several forcible articles condemning the blunder of the authorities and arguing at length and with knowledge about the situation, there was not a single paper which published anything except the lying version concocted after a few days' deliberation by a Cawnpore correspondent of some Anglo-Indian papers. Indian news, continued the speaker, seldom appeared even in the London Daily Press, and when it did appear it was confined to a few lines of alarming news about some outrage in Bengal. The English Press had published nothing about the demolition of the Mosque and the consequent agitation during the entire month which intervened between the sacrilege and the so-called riot, and the British public was therefore shocked by the news of the riot which created the impression that some blood-thirsty ruffians had broken the law and the heads of police without rhyme or reason. One paper had thought it necessary to enlighten its numerous readers on the subject of the place where that "serious riot" had occurred. One would have thought, said the speaker, that the thriving industries of that Manchester of Northern India would appeal to the writer charged with the duty of enlightening the ignorant readers, but nothing so commonplace and vulgarly modern, in fact appealed to him. He went back to the year 1857 and the treachery of Nana Sahib as if that cold-blooded rebel was the type of the average Cawnpore tradesman in the thriving and busy Baisi Bazar to-day. The writer had described the horrors of 1857 and had referred to the Memorial Well as if the deplorable occurrences of the 8th of August were part and parcel of a new mutiny. The speaker asked whether after that they could expect much sympathy for the sufferings of Cawnpore from the readers of that journal. He emphasised the need of enlightening the ignorant, gullible and deluded British public, and urged the necessity of applying two great remedies to such a grave evil. In the first place, he recommended the establishment of a National Fund which could be used, among other things, for the purpose of sending out accredited agents to England from time to time to enlighten the British public about Indian affairs, and he suggested that, if the subscriber consented, the balance of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund after providing for the sufferers might be utilised as a nucleus of the proposed National Fund. The second remedy was the establishment of a Standing Committee of "Friends of the Mussalmans" which could keep in touch through its various sub-committees with the Mussalmans of the world and remove all misunderstandings between the Mussalmans and the British public by collecting accurate information on all important affairs and correcting the misrepresentations of an ill-informed and misinformed Press in England. Mr. Mohamed Ali announced that in spite of the Parliamentary recess of six months the delegates had succeeded in inducing some friends of the Mussalman of different political parties to form such

Standing Committee, and he hoped that it would be established within the next few months. He was prepared, he said, to return to England next summer when the Parliament was sitting in order to set this Committee on its feet. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance that he had received from men of various political parties in England, and although the Liberals were more prejudiced against the Mussalmans as a community, and the Tories were less inclined to believe Anglo-Indian officials to be capable of making mistakes in administration, the speaker freely admitted that there were a large number of people of both parties who took interest in the welfare of the Mussalmans and were prepared to listen to their genuine grievances. All that the Mussalmans wanted was interest in their welfare and a desire to do them justice. They could not expect, nor should they expect, to find prejudiced partisans who would espouse their cause whether they were in the right or wrong.

Cawnpore.

THE TELEGRAM TO H. E. THE VICEROY.

Before leaving Cawnpore, Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy :—

"Having seen the depressed and distressing condition of Cawnpore Mussalmans last August, and on our return seeing their joy and hopefulness to-day, we feel we owe it to Your Excellency to bear witness to the magical powers of your loving message addressed to them last October and to thank you most cordially for bringing peace to an afflicted people. Surely the universal affection for Your Excellency of thousands of Mussalmans who received us to-day at Cawnpore must be the most acceptable present that could be offered to Your Excellency on this day. May this Christmas usher in an uninterrupted era of peace and goodwill inaugurated by Your Excellency in our Motherland, and may your name be handed down to coming generations as a great peace-bringer."

H. E. THE VICEROY'S TELEGRAMME TO THE DELEGATES.

The Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy sent the following reply by wire to the foregoing Christmas greetings :—

"The Viceroy sends many thanks for your appreciative Message and is glad to hear that peace prevails at Cawnpore."

Once more the train which carried Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali from Lucknow on Christmas morning was some two hours' late. But when they reached Cawnpore they found if anything a larger and still more enthusiastic crowd gathered to greet them at the Railway Station, procession of carriages was formed and proceeded along the selected route which was several miles long. A large portion of which was gay with bunting. Several arches had also been erected along the route, and large crowds lined the roads on either side and threw flowers into the delegates' carriage. The procession first stopped at the Machhi Bazar Mosque which the delegates visited, and then proceeded to the McWright Theatre Hall which was gallily decorated. Here the crowd was enormous and could not have been less than twenty thousand, in spite of the fact that a good many people had gone back home for breakfast on account of the delay in the delegates' arrival.

MR. WAZIR HASAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Wazir Hasan spoke at considerable length generally on the lines of his previous speeches. He began by expressing thanks of the community to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for his declaration at Cawnpore that the Mohamedans were loyal. That, said the speaker, used to be an axiom, but when the Mussalmans began to voice their legitimate grievance about the Cawnpore Mosque, some Anglo-Indians forgot all that and began to denounce them as seditious. The Viceroy then felt it to be due to the community to declare it publicly and at Cawnpore itself that the charge was unfounded and that the Mussalmans were as loyal as before. The speaker then went on to refer to their Mission in England, and said that the demonstrations of welcome at Bombay, Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore had proved better than any thing else their claim to represent their community to have been well-founded. The failure to recognise the national voice was the greatest mistake that their rulers could commit, and those who misled Government and the British public were the worst enemies of British Rule in India. They all wanted the continuance of British Rule in India. What they objected to, and would continue to object to, were the evils of bureaucratic methods of government. They wanted British Rule in India to be based on the principles of justice and a participation in the Government by the subjects, and he described the latest act of Lord Hardinge in coming to Cawnpore as another link in the golden chain that bound India and England together. Referring to the Cawnpore settlement, the speaker, while explaining that it was arrived at three weeks after their reaching England, and that during that interval they had several interviews with responsible and influential people in the India Office

and elsewhere in which they fully discussed the situation and the terms of compromise, said they disclaimed all share in the glory of the final settlement for which undoubtedly the credit was due to His Excellency Lord Hardinge and to his counsellors, official and non-official, and last but not least to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore themselves and their legal and other advisers whose good sense and moderation made the compromise feasible. Referring to the Press Act and the judgement of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of Bengal, in the *Comrade* case, Mr. Wazir Hasan described His Lordship as one of the pillars of British Rule in India. In eloquent terms he explained how he felt more attached to England than before after having had the great privilege and pleasure of knowing Sir Lawrence Jenkins and he felt sure that if there were many more Englishmen like Sir Lawrence in India one would hear very little of disaffection and disloyalty. In conclusion, the speaker alluded to the obstacles thrown in their way in England and put in a forcible plea for united action on the part of different communities in India.

MR. MOHAMED ALI'S SPEECH.

Mr. Mohamed Ali went in to some details relating to the communications that had passed between him and the Mussalmans of Cawnpore on the subject of the Mosque and called upon a number of the most prominent Mussalmans of the place who were present there to deny if they could the statement that they had visited him at Delhi more than one to request that he should agitate in his paper against the then apprehended demolition of part of the Machhi Bazar Mosque, and that their emissary was constantly travelling between Cawnpore and Delhi, and Cawnpore and Calcutta to urge him to befriend them and advocate their cause. That surely, said the speaker, did not very much look like "outside agitation." He asked them to deny if they could their own statement made to him that but for his advice they would not have sent the second memorial to Sir James Meeson in June last through the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, and that they would rather have commenced newspaper agitation immediately after the failure of the first sent in April. Could they deny their own statement that but for his advice to have full confidence in Sir James Meeson, and failing him in constitutional agitation, there was great likelihood on the 1st of July when part of the Machhi Bazar Mosque was forcibly demolished. Could they state that the agitation which they had recourse to was due to the taunts of anybody outside Cawnpore and could they deny that the speaker for one had clearly pointed out to them the dangers of official displeasure. They knew better than any official in India how much he had deplored the incident of the 3rd of August, and if he had so long patiently borne personal vilification from a type of Anglo-Indian officials, and newspapers, he could now put them all in the witness-box without any impropriety to prove how earnestly and anxiously he had worked for the amicable settlement of the Mosque case. When, however, the reply of Sir James Meeson to the deputation that waited upon him at Lucknow on the 16th of August had disappointed all hopes of a settlement such as he has expected and it appeared to the laymind as if there was no further hope in India, he felt it to be his duty to proceed to England and to voice their appeal in an atmosphere of dispassionate justice and equally clear of prestige as of passion. He had fully counted and weighed the risks he was running, but this was the least that he could do for them after the manner in which they had implicitly followed his advice and failed in their attempt to obtain justice. But nothing pleased him more than the sagacious and bold step which His Excellency the Viceroy took some five weeks after their departure in coming to Cawnpore and bringing them peace, and he felt certain that in the bright faces and hopeful views of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore which was so different from the aspect last August everyone who could see and was not wilfully blind could find a justification alike for the time-honoured rule that the Head of the Indian Government should not be an Anglo-Indian official, and the new and wise departure that there should at least be one Indian member in the Government of India. To make sure that Hindu and Mohamedan grievances alike would receive the fullest consideration by Government at all times and that first-hand knowledge would be brought to bear on the problems of the two communities, the speaker trusted there would before long be two Indian Members in the Viceroy's Executive Council belonging to the two great sister communities of India.

After giving details of their work in England and of the dinner episode on the lines of their previous speeches, Mr. Mohamed Ali asked the people of Cawnpore who, after the dinner, were the people most concerned, whether it would not be in the best interest of the Community, if, after providing for the relief of the Cawnpore of suffering, any balance of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund was used as a nucleus of the National Fund of the Mohamedans of India.

The delegates then received magnificent gold embroidered garlands and after the recitation of several poems as at Bombay and Delhi they were entertained at lunch and departed in the afternoon after enthusiastic ovation.

A VISION OF INDIA.

The Last Viceroy.

(From "The Daily News & Leader" of January 1, 2001.)

The following is a verbatim report, received by arial telephone, of the speech delivered yesterday by the last British Viceroy of India, in resigning his office into the hands of the Princes and Citizens assembled in the Durbar Hall at Delhi. His Excellency said:

Your Highnesses and Citizen Representatives—We are gathered here, on the last day of the twentieth century, to conclude an Act of State which will certainly be recognised by future ages as one of the most momentous and most glorious in the history of the world. For two hundred years, Great Britain has held in trust directly or indirectly, the welfare of all the many peoples included within this ancient and splendid Empire. To-day in the name of my Sovereign, the King-Emperor Edward IX, I lay down that stewardship, and remit the welfare and the destinies of India into her own keeping. Very wisely, if I may say so, your council of Princes and Citizens has determined that the head of your Government should be hereditary rather than elective, and, obviating all possible jealousies, has conferred that hereditary leadership upon the second son of the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness is to-day leaving Windsor Castle on his air-yacht the "Arjuna" and to-morrow, with the new century, the new Kaiser-i-Hind will make his entry into this, his capital. In the meantime, you may not, perhaps, think it impertinent if I briefly review the events and influences which have led up to this consummation of the age-old longing of your country, and the heart-felt wish of mine.

From the dawn of history India has suffered from what may be called an arrested predestination. She was clearly pre-destined to unity, yet she could never permanently attain it. Geographically, she was marked off from the rest of the world more trenchantly than almost any other region, not absolutely an island. Her outward frontiers were extremely definite, her inward divisions were vague, arbitrary, and fluctuating. In the imagination of the outer world, she has always figured as a unit, and the achievement of her unity has been the dream of every great political power that has ever arisen within her bounds. Again and again it has been partially achieved, again and again the half-completed structure has crumbled to pieces. Why? Simply because of its vastness. With the methods of communication which prevailed down to the middle of the nineteenth century, no central power could possibly keep in working order a political organism of such gigantic ramifications. Local ambitions, interests, and rancours always took the upper hand, and no Empire ever succeeded for long in securing the one aim and justification of Empire—namely peace. Yet the idea of unity was so haunting and dominant that India could never settle down into permanent and contented multiplicity. She has been throughout her history like a troubled sea, wherein one great wave after another

has towered aloft, only to fall in shattering ruin and make way for the next.

How did the Romans succeed in holding together for centuries an Empire as large as India and much more scattered? The answer is easy: they made roads and bridges. Had the Guptas or the Scythians, the Pathan, or the Moguls, been like the Romans, a great engineering Power, the fate of India might have been very different.

The British had inherited something of the Roman instinct for keeping their communications clear and easy; and fortune so willed it that, just as their power had spread over the whole country, the invention of railroads may be said almost without metaphor, to have reduced India to about one-tenth of its former size. The electric telegraph, too spread, like a sensitive nervous system, from Tuticorin to Peshawar, from Karachi to Chittagong. The second half of the nineteenth century developed those mechanical pre-requisites for real unity, which had theretofore been lacking.

About this time, too, the sentiment of national oneness began effectively to possess the soul of the people. Previously a united India had been an administrative rather than a popular ideal; but now it began to take hold of general mind. Religion had even from pre-historic ages paved the way. To the devout Hindu, the whole country, from the remotest Himalayan peak to the *kala pani* of the southern strait, had always been one in sanctity. Secular patriotism, on the other hand, had been smothered in caste feeling. But now, with the spread of education on more or less Western lines, and with the consequent relaxation of the rigidity of caste, patriotism of a more or less Western type became a real and potent motive in many minds, and began to filter down from the educated few to the uneducated many. British rule had unified India, and had for a century kept the peace between jarring religions and racial factions—was it not inevitable that a sentiment of unity, a national self-consciousness, should rapidly develop and assert itself?

This was a period of no little danger. Natural and inevitable as it was, the growing national self-consciousness of India did not always manifest itself wisely; nor was it always met with wisdom on the side of the British administration. Now that the dangers are long outlived, and the generation which bred and battled with them has passed away, I hope, I may say without offence that Indian patriotism had in its youth the faults of youth—namely rashness and impatience. It forgot the lessons of history; or, rather, it remembered only those which ministered to a somewhat inflated self-esteem. It forgot that the unity in which it gloried had been imposed by an impartial power from without, and had not yet had time to beget an instinct of solidarity in the mass of the people, separated by manifold diversities of race, language, creed, and caste. It forgot that in so far as patriotism itself was of one mind,

that unanimity was negative, a unanimity of opposition to foreign rule, and would certainly fall apart the moment that common object of distastefulness was withdrawn and the problems of national organisation had to be faced. It was very sincere, no doubt, in feeling that even the misrule and anarchy of the past were preferable to this external and mechanical "good government" which (as it was mistakenly led to believe) was "sapping the manhood" of the people. But it forgot that it was not free to choose between order and anarchy. The relapse to anarchy would, indeed, have been only too easy, on the premature withdrawal or expulsion of the British power; but it was absolutely certain that this would have been the signal for some lother power European or Asiatic, to step in, and to restore order with a far heavier hand than that of Britain. In brief, Indian patriotism forgot that a certain standard of political competence is indispensable to any nation which is to hold its own among the civilised peoples of the modern world, and that political competence, however highly developed in individuals, was not to be acquired in one or two generations by a race which had, for untold ages, renounced the political, in favour of the religious, life. There was no reasonable prospect even of the rise of a competent and all-comprehensive native despotism.

• Far be it from me, however, to pretend that all the unwisdom was on the Indian side. On the contrary, all historians now admit there was, on the side of the British administration, a much less excusable blindness to the plain facts of the case. At the end of the nineteenth century a wise Englishman, long familiar with India wrote these words: "The Indian Empire is a miracle, not in the rhetorician's sense, but in the theologian's sense. . . . It is a miracle, as a floating island of granite would be a miracle, or a bird of brass which flew and sang and lived on in mid-air." That was profoundly true; but the Englishman in India, a crank in a wonderful, well-oiled machine, was apt to lose all sense of its wonderfulness, and imagine it the most natural thing in the world that it should run on for ever. Not all Englishmen—I could name to you some of the greatest of British soldiers and administrators who saw and declared that British rule could not be an end in itself, but only a means to an end, and that it must consciously, deliberately and sincerely address itself to the realization of that end—self-governing self-protecting, united India. But not many Englishmen were at that time—I speak of a century ago—able to take so large and clear a view. The prevailing tendency was to assume that the glory and prestige of England demanded the eternity of the British raj and to regard as disloyal the most reasonable and law-abiding aspiration towards self-government. What is to us a truism was to that generation an inadmissible paradox—namely, that England's mission was not to perpetuate her rule, but to render it as brief as was consistent with the safety and well-being of India. Few could then realize that the most glorious day in the annals of England would be that which has now arrived—the day on which her great work accomplished, she could lay down her stewardship, and say to a self-controlled, self-reliant India, "Hail and farewell!"

So long as the superstition of sempiternity prevailed, it was inevitable that the relations between the governing power and the more intelligent among the governed should be strained to the point of hostility. Even the most necessary measures of external security were resented, for they seemed to mean primarily the security of foreign rule. Administrative efficiency awoke the reverse of gratitude, for it seemed to mean the condemnation of native born India to perpetual inefficiency. But, in the words of the Victorian poet "the thoughts of man are widened with the process of the suns." Gradually, imperceptibly, a new light stole into the official mind and a true ideal replaced the idol of an ever-enduring raj. It is just eighty years since, in 1890, one of the greatest of my predecessors

in this high office formally defined the aim of the King Emperor's government "as co-operation with the Indian genius in building up a united India, capable of taking a free and equal place among the nations of the world." Even before that certain urgent reforms, such as the separation of the executive from the judiciary, had given earnest of good intentions. But when once the great step had been taken, the great admission made, a change came over the whole spirit of the scene. There were still, of course, many differences of opinion on details of policy; there were still the party of impatience and the slow-but-sure party; but with faith in the sincerity of the governing power, there came a new willingness to realise and admit the amount of leeway that had to be made up before India could stand alone among the great powers of civilisation. Energies once devoted to embittered political agitation were now concentrated on social reform. Political thought, instead of running on purely critical, destructive lines, turned to construction, to planning, to forecasting constitutional arrangements and administrative methods. The new orientation gave to Indians in the public service a new motive for developing the best that was in them, since their efficiency no longer went merely to the credit of the foreign rule, but helped to curtail the term of tutelage.

Meanwhile vernacular education was awakening the peasant to a new sense of the possibilities of life. His passive contentment with a precarious minimum of food and shelter began to give place to active thrift, with a view to the attainment of a reasonable level of comfort and security. A widespread network of agricultural banks rescued him from the clutches of the money-lender. Manufactures were developed under a co-operative system which put an end to the more exploitation of defenceless, unorganised labour. The better side of caste was brought into play in a system of guilds which has restored the waning glories of Indian craftsmanship. At a hundred points, age-old tradition, habit and instinct were modified in the light of awakened intelligence; and the result is that we now see around us a prosperous and progressive India, with many problems still awaiting solution but unquestionably capable of confronting them with vigour and judgment, and controlling her own destinies in accordance with her own genius.

It is not for me either to praise or to criticise the constitution you have adopted. I may, however, express great confidence in the already tried statesmanship of your Council of Princes, and a strong belief in the wisdom of utilising the system of caste, purged of its arrogance and inhumanity, as the basis of representation in your wider National Council. One of the difficulties with which the Government of India had to contend, even within the memory of some of us, is now a thing of the past. The dreams of conquest and expansion which made the international politics of a century ago a huge game of bluff, are now seen to have been survivals from a bygone stage of world-development. It is admitted on all hands that races and nations must work out their salvation within their own boundaries, since from any other line of conduct only chaos and madness can ensue. India then, no longer needs a powerful defensive army, but only a force for internal and frontier police-duty, involving an out-lay of less where our predecessors spent crores of rupees. It is a saner world than that even of a generation ago—to say nothing of a century—into which you are to-day launching your Imperial Ship of State. My duty is only as it were, to touch the button that releases the Leviathan; but no more honourable duty was ever assigned to mortal man, and I perform it in a spirit of solemn thankfulness, which is, I am sure, shared by the King-Emperor and by every English-speaking man and woman. India has been called, of old and prematurely, "the brightest jewel in the British Crown." Only to-day is that saying fully justified. May its lustre never grow dim.

[This remarkable effort of statesmanship is commended to us by Mr. William Archer.]

The Indian Peril.

We reproduce to-day the articles contributed by a writer to the "Times" about the authorship of

under the above heading by an anonymous writer of [which we have written elsewhere.

Gathering Forces.

I—The Accomplishments of British Rule.

In all her long history India has never been so prosperous as now. Her wealth and her industries are steadily increasing; land has largely appreciated in value; wages are rising; and the supply of labour is not sufficient for the demand. Recent great irrigation schemes are only beginning to spread their beneficent results, and others are in progress, or in near prospect. The railway system is being developed and improved to render it able to fulfil the requirements of a magnificent trade compared to which that of pre-British days was a bagatelle. Judged by all material test, the state of India is such that most countries of the world might well envy and marvel at her progress.

Politically, from the Indian point of view, the advance in recent years has been immense. The reforms of 1909 went far beyond Indian expectations. There never was time when so many Indians had a voice in so many branches of the administration, could so effectively present their views, or were able to count upon such sympathetic consideration. Government was never so gentle, so quick to learn, and to redress grievances, so tender towards Indian susceptibilities, or so zealous in labouring for the public good. Never were the public servants of India so hard worked, so anxious to initiate measures for the benefit of the people and so diligent in striving to make them successful. Local self-government has mainly passed into Indian hands to make or to mar. The control of education in some important aspects has been committed to Indian bodies. If in the High Courts the European element is in a majority, the administration of law in the lower stages is predominantly Indian. The Sircar, once abrupt and peremptory, now shows an anxiety to please and a readiness to consult Indian opinion which were formerly unknown. While, in Western countries, bureaucratic methods have been more and more relaxed. Where they exist, they do not exceed the necessities of the orderly conduct of business, and they are often due to the large Indian office establishments. The capable Brahman clerk is a born bureaucrat.

THE NATIVE STATES.

In the huge territory—more than one-third of all India and considerably more than three times the area of France—comprised in the native states. Home Rule prevails with greater or less success in proportion to the enlightenment and the vigour of the Indian ruler. Of late years, the policy of non-interference has been developed to an extent which would formerly have been viewed with apprehension. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 announced that "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of the native princes as our own," and this royal promise has been faithfully kept. When, however, misgovernment or grave scandals threatened to tarnish the honour of a native state or to restrict the liberties of its people, interference, in direct or indirect form, has been deemed necessary. And, further, in cases where the condition of a native state appeared favourable, Political officers were encouraged or permitted to press reforms upon the administrators. This has been changed by the important pronouncement of Lord Minto at Udaipur in 1909, in which the policy of the Government of India was laid down for the future "as with rare exceptions one of non-interference in internal affairs." His Excellency, "preferred that reforms should emanate from the Durbar themselves," thus plainly indicating that suggestions, formerly regarded as part of the duty of Political officers, should be discontinued. During minorities the Government necessarily assumes direct responsibilities both in regard to the upbringing of the young chiefs and to the temporary administration. While in all such cases, the state revenues are carefully nursed, and any gross abuses which may be brought to light are removed, no changes are introduced which would be repugnant to the characteristics of the state or would commit the future chief to lines of action which would be likely to disapprove. Self-governing India, since it came under British suzerainty, was never therefore, left so free to develop in accordance with its own methods and ideals as it is to-day and hence was the tutelage of the paramount Power so lightly felt by the Princes and Chiefs, while financial assistance is none the less readily placed at their disposal in times of need.

THE COMBAT WITH FAMINE AND DISEASE.

After the Mutiny, which followed perhaps inevitably, upon a protracted period of war involving the successive annexation of Sind, the Punjab, Lower Burma, and Oudh, government in India comple-

tely changed its character and entered upon a new political phase under the direct control of the Crown and Parliament. The last vestige of dynastic rivalry had been swept away, and the Administration henceforth could devote its energies to domestic questions. The results, operating gradually and at first slowly, have led to the situation which has been described. Government in India now undertakes activities of all kind which in Western countries are left to private enterprise—activities which closely touch the lives of the people—and the Administration is thus becoming, more and more and in the best sense, parental. Inquiries of many kinds have been carried out with far-reaching results and others are in progress. Famine, arising from defective rainfall, has been in all ages the greatest ill from which India suffers. In pre-British days the mortality thus caused was appalling, and the early travellers have left records of horrors which baffle the modern imagination. Now the administration of famine relief has been reduced to highly organized system which is being constantly improved, and the fine railway system which we have created enables food to be transported to stricken areas to an extent that was formerly impossible. Famines will still inevitably afflict the people of India; but loss and suffering have been infinitely mitigated, and what remains is mainly due to inherited habits and customs which, for a time at least, will continue to militate against the promptitude and the completeness of relief measures. It is a fact that in no country in the world can famine be dealt with so effectively as in India, and nowhere else are there so many trained and devoted public servants ready to cope with this scourge. Devastating epidemics occur and recur in the history of India, where like famines were submissively accepted as signs of the wrath of the gods. In face of these terrible visitations, Government and people were powerless. They wrought wholesale destruction unchecked, and they exhausted themselves in accordance with laws which science is beginning to reveal.

All this has been changed in recent years by the action of the Government. Plague still claims too many victims; but the Administration provides a prophylactic to which the people are happily beginning to resort, and in other ways this disease is being successfully combated by the progressive development of the sanitary services. Any outbreak of cholera instantly taken in hand by medical officers and thousands of lives have been saved by prompt action. Malaria and its prevention are being earnestly studied with practical results which will increase as knowledge extends—and is allowed to prevail. Smallpox, once a widespread scourge, has been brought under control. Much more remains to be done and will be done; but anyone who knows the extreme difficulties of sanitation in an Eastern country with a vast population will find in the progress attained in recent years, convincing proof of the anxious care which Government have devoted to raise the standard of public health.

TAXATION.

While in all directions the Administration has shown increasing activity, the incidence of taxation per head has in 10 years risen from Rs. 10½ d. to Rs. 11½ d. only, or, including land revenue, which according to the ancient custom of India is rent paid to the State, from Rs. 5½ d. to Rs. 7½ d. The salt tax, once regarded as oppressive, has been reduced to a minimum, and the Punjab cultivator can now purchase this necessity of life at the rate of 3d. a pound. In no country in the world is taxation so light, and the slightest comparison with Japan serves to show the relative immunity of the agricultural land of India from State burdens.

INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL.

The establishment of law and order after the Mutiny led to economic advances of all kinds apart from that due to the agency of the Government. British capital found its way into industries, and Indians followed the lead given by European enterprise. A great mill industry has thus been built up in Indian hands and has attracted Indian capital. In other directions industrial progress is being steadily made, and the investing habit is tending to take the place of the unfruitful hoarding which has long retarded the economic development of India. In ten years bank deposits have increased from Rs. 27 crores to more than Rs. 63½ crores, and bank capital from Rs. 4½ crores to nearly Rs. 6½ crores; while Indian Post Office Savings Bank depositors have grown from 834,366 to 1,868,939, and the membership of co-operative societies now exceeds 400,000, though the movement is still in its infancy and is foreign to India. Figure could be multiplied indefinitely, which all indicate steady advance of a kind while genuine Indian patriotism must specially desire.

MISSIONARY EFFORT.

Another important development since 1858 is the extension of the Christian mission now grouped under 16 heads with innumerable sub-branches. From Europe and America large sums are poured into India every year and devoted mainly to the education and up-raising of the depressed class. The native Christians now number more than 8½ millions and about 198,000 children largely orphans are under instruction in private schools. Missionary effort, apart from its religious aspect, has become a philanthropic agency of growing importance, while the example of personal service devotedly rendered is an educating power of inestimable value. In the purely social sphere, recent years have seen the establishment of numerous associations in England and in India which afford striking evidence of British endeavours to promote kindly race relations and to help the growth of Indian nationhood.

To those who care to study facts nothing in modern evolution will appear so amazing as the accelerating advance of India since the day of the Mutiny, and while government in all form attempted by mankind is necessarily imperfect, British rule in India can justly claim a measure of success elsewhere unparalleled. Twenty years ago Sir Alfred Lyall, with intimate knowledge of Indian condition and a rare understanding of Indian character, came to the conclusion that "English dominion, once firmly planted in Asia, is not likely to be shaken unless it is supplanted by a strong European rival." He did not reckon with forces, then weak or latent which have gathered strength with a rapidity that none could foresee.—*The Times*.

II.—Causes and Consequences of Unrest.

THE advancing prosperity of India and the great changes in the methods of government might fairly have been expected to produce greater contentment and more active support of an Administration which is visibly promoting Indian progress and zealously cherishing Indian interests. Diametrically opposite results have followed. A standard of prosperity, never previously approached, coincides with a situation never comparably so menacing.

The signs are plain for all to read. Agitation in all forms is spreading throughout the land and is producing the inevitable effects. A large section of the Indian Press devotes itself to a relentless campaign designed to undermine the authority of Government and to promote acute racial antagonisms. The operation of the Press Law, where it is enforced, may check the more crude manifestations of sedition; but it is powerless to cope with the incessant stream of misrepresentation and the spread of false reports which sow broadcast the seeds of hatred and contempt. Indian writers, educated in our schools and universities, have reduced to a science the methods of saying what their readers will perfectly understand while keeping within the four corners of laws which—in India—are mildly administered. And any lack of open violence is supplied by leaflets and placards emanating from secret presses which may secure wide circulation before their existence is known to the authorities.

SEDITION AND MURDER.

The propaganda assumes many forms, direct and indirect, obvious and shrouded, but the effect upon the masses of India is the same and is becoming increasingly apparent. Secret societies grow in membership and range from little groups of decadent youths to large organized bodies of which the full ramification is unknown. To these associations the periodic assassinations of officials and of loyal Indian public servants are due. Within a few years attempts have been made on the lives of two successive Viceroys, and in neither case did the offer of a large reward produce evidence from the many persons who were cognizant of the plots or spectators of their execution. Many more murders have been planned but have failed to reach the stage of attempt. British feeling has been stirred both at home and in India by these startling manifestations of hostility; but even when a double murder was perpetrated in the heart of London no violent resentment was provoked. It may have been imagined, as some Indian politicians have proclaimed, that such crimes were plainly the work of isolated and irresponsible madmen. If so, no greater mistake could have been made.

The general effects are more significant and more dangerous. In Bengal dacoity, whether for private gain or for replenishing the coffers of the agitators, has become a diversion of educated youths; and victims and law-abiding people are unwilling or afraid to assist the ends of justice. In the Panjab, where 12 millions acres are now under irrigation, where new towns are springing up and the wealth of the cultivators has marvellously advanced, the increase of serious crime has reached alarming proportions. "Three districts have 6,000 per cent. as many murders as in the United Kingdom" and "thefts, burglaries, grievous hurt, and dacoities are also on the increase—not a steady increase, but one that goes up by leaps and bounds." Here also help to the arm of the law is not forthcoming. Similar tendencies show themselves elsewhere, and the recent exhibition of mob violence at Cawnpore is symptomatic of a situation which is no

realized outside India. There are districts where British law does not now run and where security of life and property can no longer be guaranteed. Stones may be thrown at Europeans in villages where 20 years ago the people would have shown the kindly courtesy which was characteristic of the country. Indian parents complain bitterly of the growing intractability of their boys, and the general decay of manners is a matter of common observation. These and other indications plainly visible to residents in India, and distressing to all who cherish an affectionate regard for her people, are the necessary result of a propaganda which ranges from dislike and distrust to hatred and contempt.

THE BURDEN OF GOVERNMENT.

In an Eastern country, where public opinion as a steadying factor does not exist, Government is the one and only authority understood by the masses. It is to Government they look for help in trouble, for personal security, for justice, and for protection against their own oppressive customs. In India it is Government alone which can prevent the clash of the racial and religious differences which deeply permeate the whole body politic. Only under a Government which stands above and aloof from these jarring elements can there be the faintest hope of the creation of a united India in some happier future. The failure of politicians at home to realize the special and peculiar relations of the British Government to the vast masses in India explains much that is deplorable. You cannot safely think of India in terms of Western conditions.

If, as is certain, the undermining of all authority in India is rapidly proceeding, what must necessarily follow? The day will arrive when the teeming millions of uneducated Indians will have been taught to hate the handful of British officials and residents, will have come to disregard all authority, and will offer a problem in Government which is insoluble.

INDIA'S MILLIONS.

The total population of India at the Census of 1911 was almost 313½ millions. Of this number 18½ millions were returned as literate, and only 1,670,000 as literate in English, including 1,029,000 classed as "Hindu Brahmanic." The increase of the total population in 10 years was about 20 millions, of literates 2,858,000, and of literates in English 545,000. There are nearly 2,400 main castes and large numbers of sub-castes still increasing. The Census enumerates 119 groups of languages belonging to 15 families, exclusive of European tongues. "Agriculturists" number more than 65 per cent. More than 294½ millions of people are illiterate, and at least 230 millions live the simple village life of old India. Of Hindus about 40 millions belong to the depressed classes and are banded in degrees varying from actual oppression to social ostracism. The operation of British law and the ministrations of the missionary bodies are gradually ameliorating the condition of these poor people.

Anyone who attempts to understand the greater problems of India must, as an essential preliminary, master these and other figures, and must be able to grasp their political significance. The vast mass of the population is totally unfit to take part in self-government and has never done so; but its attitude towards any Government is supremely important, and if disaffected it could make all government impossible. Between the simple, kindly masses of India and the British officials there is no trace of natural antagonism. Warm attachment on both sides is common. The Briton knows nothing of the physical repugnance which the superior castes feel towards the lower orders, and he is able to acquire influence and to win real affection where the ablest Brahman would absolutely fail to secure either. The records of the Indian frontier attest on every page the strong regard which has existed, and exists to-day, between the tribesmen and the British officer.

If left face to face with the masses of India the British Government, so long as it chooses its servants well, would have few difficulties. But those masses are naturally excitable, credulous to the last degree, fanatical in matters of religion, and prone to the kind of panic which, as the French Revolution showed, may easily lead to violence. The Mutiny was primarily a military revolt, due to military conditions, and brought to the explosion point by the issue of cartridges in the making of which the religious sentiment of both Hindus and Mahomedans was said to be outraged. The civil population over large areas espoused the rebel cause for fear of consequences, although individual Indians gave the most touching proofs of fidelity. If to-day conditions differ widely from those of 1857, the lesson and the warning remain.

THE DISAFFECTED MINORITY.

The great change which has come over India in recent years and has developed latterly with ominous rapidity is due to the interaction between Government and the masses of a small but steadily growing disaffected minority. Education inevitably breeds discontent in one form or another, and its influence for good depends upon the qualities of character which it is able to evoke. In India Western education started with false aims, and has not yet arrived at the true paths of progress. Our grand-fathers decided that the main object was the creation of a class of "Anglicized Indians,"

intended to act as intermediaries between Government and the millions for whose welfare it is responsible. We have succeeded in obtaining many valuable Indian officials; but the system has inevitably led to the production of a far larger and yearly increasing class which devotes its slender educational equipment to misrepresenting the aims and the results of British rule and to spreading broadcast the seeds of disaffection among the impulsive millions of India.

In a London Police Court the assassin of Sir W. Curzon Wylie and Dr. Lalkaka justified his crime by the assertion that the English people were responsible for the murder of 80 millions of Indians in 50 years, and for annually taking 100 millions sterling out of the country. How had Dhangra come by these monstrous beliefs? The answer to the question goes to the root of the danger in India. Here was no obsession of an isolated madman, but simply one of many public revelations of the effect of the propaganda. If baseless calumnies of this description are scattered far and wide among the millions who have not the smallest means of ascertaining facts, how can unrest in India be staved? And the creed of Dhangra, which has led to many other murders, is only part of what is being daily inculcated.

AN INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA.

The propaganda is not confined to India, but has become international. Not only are there active centres of disaffection in Europe and America, but in places where no knowledge exists and prompt exposure need not be feared, addresses are delivered by Indians in which atrocities committed by the British Government are luridly described. Mr. Roosevelt's striking tribute to our work in India may have been suggested by stories of this kind which had reached his ears. When a member of Parliament, after visiting India publicly proclaims as a fact that Government exact "75 per cent. of the yield of the land" from the unhappy *rayat*, it is impossible not to fear that busy people may forget to ascertain the truth, and may derive a general impression that the land of India is oppressively burdened by taxation. In the Central Provinces which were referred to, the assessment averages about 9d. per acre!

A large volume might be written to register and refute the gross inaccuracies, or worse which find expression in England and are remitted back to India as accepted facts; but the labour would be in vain. The correction would never overtake the misstatement, and meanwhile the effect of the encouragement which is being given to the propagandists in India by careless writers and speakers at home cannot be estimated.—*The Times*.

III.—Nationalism and its Purposes.

PERVERSE PROPAGANDA.

In his admirable study of "Indian Unrest" Sir Valentine Chirol carefully examined the influence of Brahmanism, which he regards as one of the "only two forces that aspire to substitute themselves for British rule, or at least to make the continuance of that rule subservient to their own ascendancy." The other force he defines as that "generated by Western education, which operates to some extent over the whole of India, but only upon an infinitesimal fraction of the population recruited among a few privileged castes." Neither of these forces had, in his opinion, "in itself sufficient substance to be dangerous"; but he clearly saw that "the most rebellious elements in both have effected a temporary and unnatural alliance on the basis of an illusory 'Nationalism' which appeals to nothing in Indian history but is calculated, and meant to appeal with dangerous force to Western sentiment and ignorance."

This diagnosis of the situation a few years ago was profoundly true, but recent developments indicate the need of some qualification. The "temporary and unnatural alliance" has been strengthened for evil, and other than "the most rebellious elements" are, consciously or unconsciously, playing a part in the alienation of the masses. Between the Western thought imperfectly assimilated in the schools and colleges of India and Brahmanism there may appear to be an impassable intellectual gulf, but the imported "Nationalist" theories have been absorbed by Brahmins whose ambitions blind them to the hopeless incongruity of ideals and who are quick to see the political uses of religions in which they may have ceased to believe. And so-called Hindu "Moderates," or Mohammedans, when they engage in a movement for the establishment of what is described as "self-government" in India, cannot be expected to exercise a nice discrimination as to methods. In India we have to recognize the fact that apparently antagonistic elements can unite in swelling the propaganda directed against British rule, and whether perpetual misrepresentations or inducements to active hostility suit the predilections of individuals; the effect upon the vast unthinking masses is to instil dislike differing only in degree. Such "temporary and unnatural" alliances may achieve effective until irreparable injury has been inflicted upon India, and their existence can be represented as a proof of the catholicity and the solidarity of the "national" spirit.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES.

It is perhaps inevitable that the growth of this spirit should be welcomed and encouraged by well-meaning persons at home who fail

to understand its relation to the helpless millions absolutely dependent upon British rule to save them from anarchy. The Nationalist idea is a by-product of a shallow education in which the merits of democratic institutions, resulting from centuries of political evolution were casually imbibed without the counterpoise of knowledge. The up-rising and the naval and military triumphs of Japan suggested nebulous possibilities of pan-Asiatic dominion. The paper Constitutions nominally adopted in Persia and China stimulated vague notions of self-government. It was discovered—not in the pages of history—that India had a golden past in which all other nations learned at her feet and her peoples were immune from all the ills of modern existence. This and more could be regained if the "demon" of British rule were driven out.

The political uses which this theory can be made to serve are manifold. It may well appeal to the nobler instincts of the Indian peoples. It ought so to appeal—if it bore the least resemblance to truth. In the painful story of "Siri Ram, Revolutionist"—the saddest and the truest picture of some aspects of the Nationalist propaganda that has yet been painted—the Swami skilfully plays upon the imagination of the young Indian student:—

A dragon is sucking the life-blood of our Bharat Mata. She is weeping. Shall we sit at our meals amid laughter and merry-making without care? Or shall we not rather give up our pleasures and smear our bodies with ashes every day until we have rescued her and trampled the demon under our foot? . . . Our country was the crown of all countries and was called the Golden Land. Her hour has come again. Drums are beating. Heroes and martyrs are proceeding. See to Sivaji, Napoleon Buonaparte, and other heroes of Germany and France. See to Japan. Take only a life for a life.

This is no invented harangue. It is simply a paraphrase of the teaching which is being daily distilled into the impressionable youth of India, and the Nationalist sympathizers at home are assisting the process.

THE MOVEMENT ANALYSED.

Who are the teachers and where lies the strength of the movement which threatens the peace of India? Among the 1,670,000 persons classed as "literate in English" there are men of whom any country might be proud—real Indian philanthropists and patriots, students of affairs, captains of commerce and industry, some scholars, true reformers, loyal friends willing to help the Government with disinterested advice and perfectly cognizant of the fact that on the stability of British rule every hope for the future of India absolutely depends. Such men fear and deplore the tendencies which they plainly see, but their numbers do not increase, and they are sensitive to the attacks to which they are subjected. Their influence is diminishing in India and is not felt in England, where determined efforts are made to capture public opinion for Nationalist purposes. The large number of students in colleges and secondary schools who may be classed as *litterati* for Census objects have too often been used for political purposes, but they can hardly be regarded as politicians fit to lead or to represent opinion. There are more than 305,000 Christian literates in English. Probably not more than 500,000 adults remain, and these would include many thousands of persons who have failed in their examinations, who are not educated in any real sense, and who cherish grievances against the Government, which they regard as the cause of their want of success. Lastly, there are large numbers of Indian Government servants who are true to their salt. All such estimates must be conjectural; but the adult classes who constitute the plastic "material" upon which, as Sir Valentine Chirol has pointed out, "the leaders of unrest have most successfully worked" cannot greatly exceed 300,000 and may be less in number out of a population of 318½ millions.

ARISTOCRATIC INDIA.

As will be seen from the figures already given, the literates in English tend to increase in a higher ratio than the general literates many of whom are barely able to read and write a vernacular language. The *litterati* have picked up the shibboleths of democracy, and some of them can glibly use its formulas, but of the existence of any real democratic spirit it is difficult to find a trace among them. A body less representative of India cannot be imagined. India remains and will remain for many generations an essentially aristocratic country in a sense of which the British people at home and in the Dominions have long lost the knowledge. Some of our mistakes in India have been due to our lack of this knowledge, and for want of it we may and do at times unconsciously offend the deep rooted feelings of an ancient people. Were we to abdicate in favour of the "Nationalists" there would be no materials from which to form and no democrats to administer a democracy. The success of the present political movement would entail an attempt to govern by the narrowest of oligarchies, which external aggression apart, would instantly crumble to pieces. Such a Government, were it conceivable, would violate every principle cherished by the politicians at home who are giving support to the growing disaffection, and would violently conflict with the inherited traditions of old India. When the Indian Nationalist speaks attractively of "representative" institutions it is necessary to remember that he is thinking in terms of a handful of persons whose interests

often conflict with those of the millions of India, and who show no real sympathy with their needs. He contemplates the attainments of power for himself and his class, and any addition of Indians in the higher posts of the Administration which the Public Services Commission may recommend cannot have the smallest tranquillizing effect. It would provide only for a pitiful fraction of the literate malcontents, leaving all the rest unbenefited. Like the generous and important reforms of 1909, it would utterly fail to satisfy the aspirations fomented and proclaimed.

THE MOHAMEDANS AND TURKEY.

Unfortunately for India, circumstances which the Government could not control have powerfully assisted the Nationalist movement. The Tripoli and Balkan wars naturally produce excitement among the Moslems of India. There were sober and loyal Mohamedans who strove to restrain it; but the Nationalists duly exploited the alleged impotence and ill-will of the British Government in the interests of their astute Hindu allies, have risen to power in the councils of the community. The consequences appeared at Cawnpore where a question which had excited no local interest was, suddenly and by outside influences, made the occasion of an outbreak of fanaticism. The usual deplorable results followed, and the incendiaries on whom the whole responsibility rests escaped scot free. The settlement would be Gilbertian but for the preceding tragedy, since the sanctity of the *dalan*, which had formed the sole justification of the riot, was readily abandoned.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The grievances of the Indians in South Africa, which most naturally and rightly appeal to all classes and religions, are an even greater source of danger. The matter is infinitely complicated and entangled with Union politics and with the relations which must exist between the Home Government and the Dominions. The facts that the British people in South Africa support the reasonable demands of the Indians, that the Indian Governments are in fullest sympathy with those demands, and the Englishmen freely subscribe to the funds which are being raised to help sufferers, that the obnoxious £3 licence tax is doomed, even if it is not proved illegal, as an English lawyer maintains, and that methods of administration—easily changed—are as much responsible for the hardships complained of as legislation, cannot be made clear to the sensitive masses of India. It is distressing to note that inflammatory reports were at once spread over India, and strong language was instantly forth-coming without waiting for ascertained facts. Whatever might be the result of an inquiry, harm which cannot be remedied has already been done, and the general result must be to strengthen the forces of disaffection.

Incidents of party-strife at home, the preparations in Ulster, strikes which lead to violence, even the outrages of the suffragists, can be turned to account for political purposes and can be used to supply points for the propaganda. Thus in India we can plainly see the creation of an atmosphere in which the best efforts of Government and the wonderful progress already achieved are viewed as in a distorting medium where all sense of proportion is lost and truth is effectually obscured.—The Times.

IV.—Duty and Policy of the Government.

Since the Nationalist Party began to aim not at building up Indian nationhood but at supplanting British rule, the injury inflicted upon India has spread and deepened. The diversion of energy and funds from the cause of the real people of India has visibly checked the progress of social reforms which would have helped to uplift the masses and to instil the spirit of brotherhood. Signs of a real and healthy awakening, due to Western influences, can be discerned. Some of the best and most patriotic of Indians are earnestly endeavouring to work on truly national lines, and several movements have been started in recent years to develop practical philanthropy, to stimulate self-help, and to undertake the many tasks to which Government agency is not suited. Such efforts are overshadowed and stunted by the perversion of ideals preached by the small body of lawyers, doctors, journalists, and schoolmasters who claim the leadership of the classes which have acquired a superficial Western education and who are seeking, through these classes to overthrow all authority in India. A train of misfortunes has naturally followed. Murder, crime and general lawlessness increase in many places, and the loss of innocent lives in riots artificially fomented may well give rise to anxiety for the future. How many other rising storms have been quieted by the tact and the soothing influence of British officials is not guessed in England.

THE BANK FAILURES.

Even the recent bank failures, which have brought suffering to many poor people, are directly due to the propaganda. The *swadeshi* boycott movement, started in Bengal and endorsed by the Indian National Congress, naturally led to the establishment of fraudulent institutions, which made appeals to a spurious patriotism. As an

Indian banker has recently pointed out, "company promoting became the hobby of all true patriotic Indians." Now, my good countrymen lost sight of the point that plans matured in such an atmosphere and such a temper were bound to be attended by grave dangers." There have been great bankers in India. The Beths of Clive's times must have possessed remarkable capacity. India to-day can boast of men who show sterling business aptitudes combined with untarnished integrity; but too many of the promoters of the *swadeshi* institutions which have lately collapsed with ruinous results can lay no claims to either. It is to be hoped that public investigations and such legislation as is possible for the protection of the people will follow; but the Nationalist movement in this aspect has already had the effect of setting back the investing habit, and we cannot be sure that some ignorant victims will not be induced to throw the blame on the Government.

Many other examples of the effects of political agitation in India might be adduced. Enough has been said to give some idea of a situation which is becoming more and more distressing to all who love India and her warm-hearted peoples, who realize the sacred nature of our obligations towards them and who are striving to promote the good will that is essential to the building-up of Indian nationhood. A small section of the population is working, strenuously and successfully, to bring about the alienation of the vast unwieldy masses. That is "the Indian Peril," and if it is not understood in time there will be a rude awakening.

QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION.

Let the conscientious democrat at home reflect upon the tumultuous forces latent in 295 millions of people wholly uneducated and inheriting, in part at least, strong fighting instincts, split not only vertically into discordant elements deeply permeated by traditional enmity but horizontally into thousands of castes, and quickly roused to violent fanaticism. Let him ask himself what power is to preserve this stupendous mob from blood-stained anarchy if British rule is weakened or removed. Let him consider who is to hold back the armed warrior tribes of the North-West Frontier with Afghan hordes behind them, the Nepalese on the north, the Chinese on the north-east, from the rich plains and cities of India. Let him admit that the peace and order in India which he may have seen or read of are the direct results of British rule with the forces behind it, and if these forces fail the reaction will be catastrophic. Let him realize that, if that day comes, the *literati* whose familiarity with the phrases of democracy attracts his sympathy will be instantly submerged, and the elemental instincts of the untutored millions will ruthlessly assert themselves until some other Western Power restores order by the sword. Then perhaps he may come to doubt whether the so-called Nationalist agitation merits his encouragement.

TASKS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

Out of the grave perplexities and complexities of the situation in India some few general principles plainly stand forth as guides to policy. The welfare of the 295 millions of helpless and inarticulate people, not the momentary gratification of a handful of literates, must be the first object, as its furtherance is the first duty, of Government. If they are allowed to be alienated, India will become ungovernable, and nothing is so certain as that any visible weakening of the British Raj will bring about alienation on a large scale. In the East the masses instinctively follow what they believe to be the rising star and quickly abandon what may seem to be a losing cause. Something of this nature seems to be occurring in Bengal, where the number of British officials is utterly inadequate. We must gradually educate these millions, remembering that the vast majority of them will always remain cultivators, and seeking to fit them for the tasks of their lives. We should also endeavour to build up the village community, where this is possible, and thus to inculcate citizenship.

Our Government must concern itself less with politics and more with economics. There is ample scope for work which will benefit and uplift the toiling millions, but will never be pressed and may be strongly opposed by the lawyer politicians who pose as friends of the people. We must show inflexible justice in dealing with conflicting interests, never forgetting that the Government is the only force under which nationhood can grow up out of the jarring elements of India. It is necessary to reverse the old Latin adage and, *ubique* to govern. In proportion to our success in uniting the Government with the governed and in securing co-operation between all classes will be the progress of India towards self-government in the distant future. We must unflinchingly enforce law and order, realizing that misplaced leniency may be cruel in the long run, by encouraging outbreaks in the suppression of which the lives of harmless persons will inevitably be sacrificed. There are parts of India in which the primary duty of guarding life and property is not now adequately discharged, and some Native States can show a higher standard of security than certain British districts.

Improvement of our educational system in the higher branches should be fearlessly undertaken in the truest interests of the people. Technical education needs to be built up, and the propaedeutic study of English literature, which the experienced author of *First Steps* has effectively exposed, requires to be eliminated. Other efforts are

patent, and their inevitable results have been frequently pointed out. No country stands in greater need of soundly educated men and women than India; but, for various reasons, the products of the universities are deplorably inadequate to the growing requirements. The judicial system urgently needs to be overhauled. Established with the best of intentions, it operates in certain respects with real hardship upon a naturally litigious people easily exploited by the superfluity of pleaders, and it too often fails to secure justice. "Inexplicable acquittals," wrote our most acute foreign critic, "encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race."

LOYAL ELEMENTS.

If, as is now the case, a small band of political malcontents has come to wield an influence which threatens to alienate the toiling millions from our rule, there are elements sincerely loyal by conviction by personal affinities, or by knowledge. Reverence and affection for the Sovereign are deeply engrained in the mind of the peoples of India. This strong sentiment, the inheritance of many centuries, is a power for good which the agitators are seeking to undermine. The Princes and Chiefs, who have already been threatened by the propagandist, realize the dangers of a "Vakil Raj," and they would not for a moment tolerate in their States an agitation directed against themselves. The fine old gentry of India wonder whether the flowing tide is with the Government, and what will be their position if it is not. The native officers are beginning to ask whether the Sircar is afraid, and it is most undesirable that an Asiatic army should think it acents fear in its rulers. Indians trained in practical business perfectly understand the basis of British credit upon which the whole increasing structure of Indian commerce and industry rests. The Government in normal times cannot depend upon all these elements for active support, but it can show regard for its friends, seek their counsels, and avoid arousing their distrust by making concessions to agitation—concessions which can never lead to the least political advantage and will invariably be taken as the starting-point for fresh demands.

THE NECESSARY ADMINISTRATION.

Strange as it may seem to some mind at home, it is strength in Government which alone attracts support in the East. And Government can be more educative by frankly explaining its objects and issuing authoritative statements of facts which could not be entirely ignored. Party organs have at least the advantage that both sides of a question or of a policy may be presented; but in India there is no effective antidote to the streams of misrepresentation and detraction which now find their way even to the simple villagers, who can be as easily reached by the administrative machinery. Firm administration of the Press laws is essential in the truest interests of the masses, who are the real sufferers from incendiary publications, as experience has sadly proved. These laws cannot absolutely prevent incendiary writing artfully veiled; but they can mitigate the danger and help to raise the standard of journalism. It is the bounden duty of every Briton in India to give out sympathy unstinted when it is deserved; but he must never flinch from frankly condemning what is unworthy and reactionary. That is the true way to show real friendship to India and to build up the best qualities of her peoples.

If, however, the Government and its officials adopted every measure best calculated to avert the coming danger, influences emanating from England might go far to thwart their aims. Can it be too much to ask that politicians and publicists at home shall take reasonable care to ascertain the truth, and shall assume that Britons in India have as keen a sense of justice and of duty and as much sympathy as are given to Britons elsewhere? And may they not seriously consider whether the aspirations which they encourage really represent a burning zeal to make the bounds of freedom wider yet, or a growing desire for power to be wielded by a small section of malcontents who have imperfectly assimilated some Western ideas? The great question to be resolved is—Can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire? Upon the answer, which must be forthcoming within a few years, the ruin or the sustained and quickened progress of India depends.



Moslem India & British Foreign Policy.

THE following letter was addressed by Mr. Mohamed Ali to Mr. Frederick Harrison, the great Positivist writer who wrote on the above subject in the December number of the *Positivist Review* :—

Sir,—It may seem a paradox that although I was most anxious to make your acquaintance, it is only now when I am leaving for India that I write to you. But this apparent paradox would perhaps explain best how busy I have been during the two months that I have been in England working in conjunction with my friend, Mr. Wazir Hasan, in order to explain, in the first instance to His Majesty's Ministers, the Indian Moslems' point of view about events at home and abroad and certain measures and policies of Government. It will take me too long to relate all that we did during these 8 or 9 weeks, all that we achieved and all that we failed to achieve, and

perhaps this account may be available, if the "*Manchester Guardian*" publishes in full the interview that a representative of the paper had with me yesterday. I only write now in connection with an article that you have contributed to the December number of the *Positivist Review* which seems to me to do scanty justice to the intelligence of Indian Mussalmans. It may sound something like an impertinence for me even to express the reverence in which I and many of my fellow-countrymen and co-religionists hold the name of Frederic Harrison, but I assure you that it is chiefly on account of that reverence that I am venturing on this somewhat lengthy explanation of the Indian Moslems' point of view to you.

The perusal of the article appearing over your signature has pained me a great deal, because I find that what has appeared in the English Press in the garb of views of the Indian Mussalmans regarding British foreign policy has not failed to influence even so unprejudiced a judgment as yours.

You refer to systematic and violent appeals from Indian Mussalmans calling on the British Government and people to intervene in the attacks made by foreign nations on Moslem States, and you say that this appeal is avowedly made in the cause of Islam as a religion, on the ground of the British Empire containing a large Mussalman body. You also suggest that the Mussalmans desire to thrust aside all question of political sense and preach a sort of new crusade on behalf of Islam which you characterise as gross folly and criminal fanaticism. You go still further and express your belief that Englishmen are called upon to rush to the defence of a Mohamedan State simply because it holds by the Koran, and that whether the conduct of the State itself has been wise, honest and civilised, or corrupt, savage and barbarous. You state that the avowed motive of intervention is plainly to help a given religious creed, and that a creed and a social system with which Englishmen have neither sympathy nor interest. You go on to say that the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent have no kind of contact with the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morocco, or the Turks of the Sultanate, by race, history, intercourse, or interest, that the only point of union is the Koran which they seek to thrust into the political issue to induce a Christian State to protect the religion of Mohamed in Europe simply because that State has a section of Mussalman subjects in Asia, that the few Europeanised Indian Mussalmans who know anything about either Turks or the Balkan peoples look at it solely as a matter of religious ascendancy—the Koran, right or wrong,—and that the absurdity of a similar demand on the part of the Buddhists of Ceylon, for instance, would be too palpable to be admitted, and that perhaps the men of no other race or creed could be led to make so preposterous a demand. Then you go on to state that the political vice of Islam is to confuse in one idea political and religious objects, to make the creed itself the public law of the State, and the interest of the creed the ke-ynote of patriotism. You go further and express, evidently as your deliberate opinion, that the source of corruption, confusion, disorder, and tyranny of Moslem State of our age, is just that the law of Mohamed is still held to remain the law of modern civilisation, and that they exhibit all the vices of the Papacy in the worst times when society was regarded as being ruled by men of God, according to the word of God. Passing from these reflections on Islam and Mussalman States, you refer to the Indian Moslems' views as really a form of that covert and subterranean revolution which you are assured is undermining the peace of the Dependency; and you think that perhaps the sinister patience with which the Indian officialdom has allowed criticism of our neutrality to pass unnoticed is due to their wish to treat in silence a cry which is too absurd to be used in good faith. You believe that a British crusade on behalf of Mohamed would be even more unthinkable than a crusade on behalf of Christ, and that for many reasons it would be even more pernicious, and you suggest that when fanatical Indians ask you to maintain the supremacy of Mohamed over a Christian population, the Positivists must tell them that, bearing in memory all the evil done in the name of Mohamed, Christ, Buddha or Confucius or any other prophet, ancient or modern, they will not listen to any suggestions that in the 20th century the national policy shall be coloured by any kind of religious sympathy or religious antipathy—or by anything but secular, practical, human and social wisdom.

In the above re-statement of your views, I have, as you will admit, kept rigidly close to the text of your article in order to make sure that in expressing my own opinion I shall do you no injustice. Now may I crave that, in judging me and my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, you will extend the same justice to us. This is my first request, and I hope not an unreasonable one. But if you will do so, I think, very little would be left in which we shall differ, for I beg to assure you that no responsible Mohamedan or body of Mussalmans in India has the fantastic, absurd and preposterous notions that you have attributed to Indian Mussalmans, and if you do not accept this as fact, you would, I hope, do us the justice of quoting our own words even though it may be after having so wholeheartedly condemned us.

I admit that perhaps once or twice some Moslem meetings held in India did call on the British Government and people to intervene in the attacks made by foreign nations on Mussalman States, but the bulk of Moslem opinion has expressed itself, not once or twice, but a hundred times, in favour of an absolute British neutrality. Whatever appeals have been made to the British Government and people for the exercise of diplomatic pressure, or on rare occasions for forcible intervention, have been made either on humanitarian grounds or for the preservation of international morality. If in modern society civil contracts are held binding, it is not only because Christ or Confucius or Mohaméd declared them to be sacred, and their observance pleasing to God, but because the sacredness of these contracts was essential for the continuance and progress of society, and because their observance was dictated by secular practical, human and social wisdom. If treaties between "high contracting parties" are sought to be made binding, it is exactly on these grounds. And it is not only Indian Mohamedans that have been inclined to think that international obligations are being treated very lightly in these days, for I can quote numerous protests on the part of Englishmen and Christians who have denounced the manner in which the most solemn treaties have recently been set at naught by one Power after another the moment it felt itself strong enough to break those treaties. Forcible intervention of any Power anxious to preserve the sanctity of contracts of great importance between one State and another on the observance of which depends the happiness, not of individuals in one State only, but the happiness of many States and countries, as a whole would perhaps be acceptable even to those who are strong supporters of a peace crusade. After all it is no more than the duty of a policeman among the Powers. But when appeals were made for diplomatic pressure, and, if necessary, forcible intervention of Great Britain, because some of the foulest deeds of barbarism were being perpetrated in the oasis of Tripoli, and because half a million Mussalmans who had never fought against the Balkan Allies were being butchered in the most revolting fashion, one would have thought that the leader of a movement, which places humanity above all other ideals and purposes in life would be the first to join such appeals. It is true that you are prepared to go entirely with anyone who utters what he feels, whether on political or on humanitarian grounds; but you have never attempted to point out when and where Indian Mussalmans uttered what they felt on other grounds, and used those other grounds as the basis of an appeal to Great Britain for intervention or even diplomatic pressure. I entirely agree with you that it would be the height of folly for the Mohamedans to appeal to Great Britain in the cause of Islam as a religion on the ground of the British Empire containing a large Mussalman body. But it seems to me that instead of the Mussalmans being guilty of such folly, it is your own Liberal Prime Minister who comes quite close to it when in his last Guildhall speech he guarantees to the Mussalmans the preservation of Moslem sovereignty over the holy places of Islam. Much as the Mussalmans would like the preservation of Moslem sovereignty over their holy places, they feel that this is a matter in which it would be the height of folly to expect Christian nations and Christian people to assist them. For once the matter being religious it is only those who follow that religion that can be reasonably expected to assist. A Society has already been founded in India for the purpose of assisting the independent Moslem Sovereign State that protects the holy places in this religious object, and all that Indian Mussalmans ask for is that they should be allowed to continue their efforts, and should not be persecuted on the suspicion of being concerned in some covert and subterranean revolution, such as you are assured is undermining the peace of the Dependency. Instead of the Indian Mohamedans importing religion into politics, it is the British authorities that may perhaps import politics into religion. It will be time enough to condemn the gross folly and criminal fanaticism of the Indian Mussalmans and the absurdity and manifest wickedness of their appeals, when the motive of intervention or diplomatic pressure is shown to be to help a given religious creed, whether that motive is avowed or not. I have myself taken as large a share as most Indian Mussalmans in the activities of Indian Mussalmans to help Turkey and Persia and Morocco during the 3 last years; but I shall be greatly surprised to find that at any time during these three years in which I have filled hundreds of columns of my papers in support of Moslem States, I have written a single word suggesting that Great Britain should become the defender of the Moslem faith and protect Moslem States, right or wrong, simply because a section of the Oriental Empire is Mussalman. Whether an "insolence" or not, it is "incredible" to me, and whether such a suggestion is based on ignorance or any other basis, it is all the same "childish" and "preposterous." But do you not think that when you have used such strong language for what you have been led to think are the Indian Mohamedans' views, it is your obvious duty to substantiate the allegation that these are the Indian Mohamedans' views. It is unlikely that you have read Indian Mohamedan newspapers published in Urdu, and your source of information could obviously either be the newspapers published by Mohamedans in English or

the opinions attributed to Indian Mussalmans by the Anglo-Indian Press and Anglo-Indian correspondents of some English papers. I should esteem it a great favour if you would enlighten me as to which of these sources of information has supplied you with the data for your denunciation. If it is newspapers published by Mohamedans in English, I would prefer the specification of their demands which you characterise as preposterous. If, however, your source of information is Anglo-Indian newspapers, or Anglo-Indian correspondents of British newspapers, then let me assure you that they have done us the grossest injustice, and it is indeed very depressing to find that even men of your character and judgment can be so easily influenced by the most partisan Press in the world.

It is an open secret that Anglo-Indians very seldom know any vernacular of India to a degree that would entitle them to the claim that they can understand Urdu newspapers as thousands of Indians understand English newspapers. Anglo-Indian journalists are no better than the rest of the Anglo-Indian community, and I do not know that any Anglo-Indian newspapers employs a competent staff of translators for placing the views of Indian journalists who write in the vernaculars before its editorial staff. And yet this wholly uninformed body of people presumes to interpret the views of Indians to the British public! However, it is not only un-informed but prejudiced also. A publicist of your vast experience need not be told that it is unsafe to trust too far an Opposition paper to do justice to Government measures and policy and the Ministry in power, or vice versa. And yet the Anglo-Indian Press is not only a party organisation, but is also influenced, as English party organisations are not influenced, by prejudices of race and colour. It is because this organisation had done everything in its power to mislead His Majesty's Government and the British public at large that Mr. Wazir Hasan and I were persuaded to undertake, at considerable expense, inconvenience and sacrifice of time, a long journey to England, in order to lay the true Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient features of the situation, in the first instance, before the Ministers and other men of influence, and, in the last resort, before the British public. The Ministers have, for reasons which have not appealed to us and which will not convince our fellow-countrymen and co-religionists any more than ourselves, refused to give us a hearing. But so anxious were we to avoid the appearance of the least desire to embarrass them that we reluctantly refused some opportunities that were very courteously and kindly offered to us for the ventilation of our views; and the final reply of the Secretary of States for India and some of his colleagues came so late during our sojourn that we could not effectively and in detail explain the position, views, and political attitude of those whom we had come to represent. However, we had one or two opportunities of repudiating certain opinions attributed to us by the lying Anglo-Indian correspondents of newspapers, like the *Times*, even though the *Times* itself consistently refused to publish a line from us in spite of repeated vilification of us in its columns. The first occasion on which Mr. Wazir Hasan and I referred to the attitude of Indian Mussalmans towards Turkey and Great Britain, and Great Britain's attitude towards Turkey and Indian Mussalmans, during Turkey's troubles, was, as the President of the Positivist Society points out, when we took part in the Positivist Conference on the 26th October at Essex Hall. A fortnight later I referred to the subject at greater length in responding to the toast of my health at the dinner which the Islamic Society very kindly gave to us. On both these occasions I repudiated as emphatically as I could any desire on our part to dictate the foreign policy of the British Empire. But I have equally emphatically declared that the foreign policy of the Empire must be "imperial" and not only "national" as even you evidently wish it to be. It must be remembered that if the Christians subjects of His Majesty are no fewer than his Mohamedan subjects, that is no reason why the foreign policy of the Empire should be the "national" policy of the Christians of the United Kingdom or the "colonial" policy of His Majesty's Christian subjects in the overseas dominions.

I find that Mr. Swinny would like it to be made clear that Indian Mussalmans do not desire British foreign policy to be swayed by any question of creed or colour, and should like it to be neutral between contending sects. This is exactly what Indian Mussalmans wish to make clear. But it is more than the speeches of your Prime Minister have made clear, for I should like a Positivist to convince me that in referring to the Greek occupation of Salonica in his Guildhall speech last year, Mr. Asquith did not speak with the accents of the jubilant crusader who exulted over the seventy millions of His Majesty's Moslem subjects, as well as over other Moslems, that Salonica, the gate through which Christianity entered Europe, was once more in Christian hands. Nobody could accuse Mr. Asquith of enthusiasm of a character that would make his utterances otherwise than deliberate, and yet it was such a speaker that made the famous Guildhall speech of 1912!

One word more about British neutrality. I have never seen any explanation of the inconsistency involved in the fact that Great Britain was a party to the declaration of the Powers when the

Balkan war broke out, that the territorial *status quo ante* in the Balkans would be preserved irrespective of the results of that conflict, and Mr. Asquith's emphatic pronouncement, only a month later, that the fruits of victory must be assured to the victors. You will remember, Sir, that after the Græco-Turkish War, the doctrine of the fruits of victory going to the victors was considerably modified by the Powers, including Great Britain. Indian Mussalmans *did* doubt the neutrality of Great Britain when these contradictory pronouncements were made by the responsible Ministers of Great Britain, and their doubts were not removed but, on the contrary, strengthened by the Birmingham speech this year of that very deliberate speaker, Mr. Asquith, when he sought to turn back the Turks from Adrianople—the Adrianople from which Europe wanted the Turk to be turned out even before it was taken—by threats which I do not remember the Minister of any other Power having held out at the time. It is not for me to say whether this contradictory attitude of British Ministers, which naturally created doubts in our minds about British neutrality, was dictated by religious partisanship or not. But the fact remains, and it will take a good deal of explanation before it can be entirely explained away. I do not know who are the professional critics of your Foreign Office, or the amateur diplomats who see some criminal purpose in every despatch that issues from Downing Street, nor have I come across any of the plenty of tourists from India or Africa whose business, according to you, is to denounce Sir Edward Grey, any possible successor, and all his predecessors alike. But whosoever they may be, their task was certainly made extraordinarily easy by the speeches of the Liberal Ministers during the troubles of Turkey, and surely it is not necessary to steal Downing Street despatches in order to denounce Sir Edward Grey.

What has pained me considerably is your statement that the religious creed and social system of the Mussalmans are things with which Englishmen have neither sympathy nor interest; for if this is so, I can well understand why England has so often blundered in dealing with the Mussalmans in India and abroad. As one who desires the continuance of the British connection with India, my hopes of the continuance of this connection are not unlikely to receive a rude shock if I was to be convinced that Englishmen are lacking not only in sympathy with Islam, but also in interest therein. If Englishmen are to wrap themselves up in cotton wool lest their Christianity, or for the matter of that their Positivism, catch cold if it came into contact with the Islamic atmosphere, whatever one may think of their prudence, one cannot admire the power of their conviction in their own creeds.

I presume it is this absence of sympathy and interest with Islam which has led even such a great thinker as yourself to make the statement that the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent have no kind of contact with the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morocco or the Turks of the Sultanate, by race, history, intercourse or interest. So far as race or intercourse is concerned, I need not say anything here. But surely if the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent took no interest in the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morocco or the Turks of the Sultanate, they would not have felt for them all that they have felt in recent years. And we refuse to be bound by an ignominious, or, at any rate, a Western European convention that unless men are of the same country or race they have no business to take an interest in each other. It is true that the point of union between the Mussalmans of the world is the Koran. But what more rational or peculiarly human point of union could there be for mankind? Race is nothing more than breed, and in that respect the sympathy of men of the same race for each other is not unlike the sympathy of other animals of the same breed with each other. As for the country supplying a point of union, we should like to be told why territorial patriotism, which generally means "my country, right or wrong", is a nobler feeling than the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalman, even if it is based on your assumption: "the Koran, right or wrong." So long as Indian Mussalmans are law-abiding, and contribute loyally their proper share to the strength of the Empire, why should they abate one jot of their extra-territorial and religious fervour? It may be the very foundation of Positivist sociology to keep political action clear from any religious sectarianism, to keep an impartial course in the clash of religious bigotry. If it is so, the Positivist sociologist should have thundered forth against the religious bigotry of the Balkan Allies, who did everything in their power to give a religious colour to the war, and they should have denounced the speeches of Mr. Asquith, which did not seem to keep British political action clear from Christian religious opinions. I have no doubt that Mr. Swinny and other Positivists did so; but when we find the revered name of Frederic Harrison associated with no such powerful denunciation, but with invective directed against the Mussalmans of India without reference to anything that the Mussalmans had said or done, we have reason to deplore the ignorance of the true facts of the situation, from which we find not even the best in this land are free. You say that of the Mussalmans of India not one in a hundred thousand could have any clear knowledge of the Turks in Europe or of the race questions in the Balkans, and that the few Europeanised Indian Mussalmans who know anything about either Turks or the Balkan peoples, look at it solely as a matter of religious ascendancy. Could you honestly say that of the Christians in Europe, and particularly in England, even one in a hundred thousand has any clear knowledge of the Mussalmans

in India or elsewhere, or that even one in a hundred thousand of the Britons who exulted over the victories of the Balkan Allies had any clear knowledge of the Turks in Europe? As for the question of looking at the war as a matter of religious ascendancy, did not the Balkan Allies deliberately assist the world in forming such a notion of the war? Nay, has not religious ascendancy a great deal to do with the conflict between the followers of the Greek Patriarch and, of the Bulgarian Exarch? Are these questions looked at merely from a political or social point of view by the Christians in the Balkans? It is true that, with the progress of materialism in Europe, the force of religion, whether it be the religion of humanity or the religion of divinity, has greatly abated. But unfortunately we see everywhere signs that even though much of religion may have evaporated, there is still a great deal too much in Christendom of the residuum of ancient religious prejudices. Nobody who has been for some time among the Mohamedans, whether in Turkey or elsewhere, thinks so badly of them as the stay-at-home Englishman who has imbibed from his infancy prejudices against Islam and Turkey which are as old as the passions of Peter the Hermit, and of the Pontiffs of Rome that organised three Crusades against Islam.

It seems to me that when you trace the course of corruption, confusion, disorder and tyranny of Mussalman States of our age to the fact that the law of Mohamed is still held to remain the law of modern civilisation, you are asking us to accept your own religious creed and your own religious prejudices even though they be not the creed of Christ or the prejudices of Christians. Will this explain the corruption, confusion, disorder and tyranny of some Christian States of our age, for you cannot find integrity, order and freedom everywhere even in Europe and Christendom. I would rather be ruled by men of God according to the word of God than by some men who deny the Deity and wish to rule according to their own prejudices and idiosyncracies which are coloured by greed and selfishness. Believe me, the enemies of modern civilisation would be found lurking within its own fold more than anywhere else. No doubt you bear in memory all the evil done in the name of Mohamed, Christ, Buddha and Confucius, but do you not forget the still greater evil done to humanity in the name of nationality and patriotism which, while lacking religious sanctions, have seldom provided themselves with the sanctions of reason. Look at the wars of the last and this century alone, and count the number of those who have died on the battlefields leaving behind them uncared-for orphans and unprotected widows, and tell us if these are fewer in number than those who lost their lives in Crusade or Jihad. If British imperial policy—I will not say national, for to me the "British nation" signifies very little—should not be coloured by any kind of religious sympathy or religious antipathy, should it be secular in the sense in which the wars dictated by capitalists are secular? Do you not realise to what extent the nations of to-day are puppets in the hands of these wire-pullers? Just think to what extent European manhood and the substance of Europe are being sacrificed to the creed of nationalism and the greed of the capitalist, instead of contributing to the growth of civilisation. No doubt Europe is to-day in many respects more civilised than any other continent, but there are a thousand things in which a Mohamedan can reasonably despise the civilisation of Europe, and it is for clear thinkers like a Frederic Harrison to point out to Europe that civilisation is not after all the same thing as comfort.

I have taken a great deal of your time, Sir, but you will understand the strength of the motives that impel me to do this, when I tell you that I have written this letter at a time that I could hardly spare a minute for anything in the hurry and worry of packing for India on my very last day, in England. By all means condemn Indian Mussalmans if they ask for anything more than their legitimate share, and denounce Turkey if its existence is a source of danger or even disadvantageous to humanity. But, in the first place, do not condemn us for views that are not our own, and, in the second place, keep an open mind for the thoughts that are ours, even though they may not be your own thoughts. There is room enough in the world for all of us to live peacefully, but when greed for gold or earth-hunger masquerade as civilisation and rationalism, it is not as absurd as you are led to think if we try to snatch away the veil and expose the reality of European passions and prejudices. Indian Mohamedans have a great deal to gain by the continuance of British rule just as British rule has a great deal to gain by the continued loyalty of Indian Mohamedans. Nothing should be done on either side which would prejudice either; and it is just because we wish to remove these prejudices that we came here, and that I have taken the liberty of addressing you in this frank manner. My reverence for you is unabated, and I trust you will not misunderstand my desire to remove the misconceptions which I think have led you to write as you have done. We can ill afford to lose the sympathy of a Frederic Harrison by heated arguments but we can afford still less to lose the sympathy of Great Britain, which is certain, if the case goes against us by default.

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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ate and peaceful policy. News from Albania is regarded as disquieting, but not dangerous. The question of sending warships by the powers to Albania was raised, but it is hoped that such a step will be unnecessary. The question of an Albanian loan is still unsettled.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Jan. 28.

The anti-Greek atmosphere has suddenly been superseded by more conciliatory dispositions an evidence of which was given yesterday by the assurances given to the Patriarch and by the moderate attitude being observed with regard to the Aegean. The change is ascribed to the difficulties of Djavid Bey, who left on the 12th instant for Paris to renew loan negotiations, in obtaining aid there.

A competent personality has authorised a letter to declare that Turkey's policy is not a bellicose one, and that her military activity is confined to remedying deficiencies caused by the late war.

The Minister of the Interior, in an interview, stated that Turkey had no intention of purchasing further warships. The *Rio de Janeiro* was only purchased to prevent its falling into the hands of Greece. The whole of the loan would be devoted to economic purposes.

A telegram from Valona states that Ismail Kemal has started for Italy, where he will spend a few days, after which he will proceed to Berlin to meet the Prince of Wied.

Aegean Isles and Albania.

London, Jan. 27.

Reuter understands that the British Government has drafted a communication for presentation at Constantinople and Athens on behalf of the Powers in a form making it clear that the unanimous decision of the Powers must be respected. The date originally fixed for the evacuation of Albanian Epirus having passed, no fresh date has been proposed but the draft suggests that the withdrawal be as quick as possible. Reuter learns that the question of the Powers guaranteeing an Albanian loan is still unsettled. Britain and some other Powers have signified their willingness, provided all participate, and under certain conditions connected with the expenditure of the money.

Reuter learns that the Powers are likely to acquiesce speedily with Sir Edward Grey's proposed drafts informing the Athens and the Constantinople Governments of the decisions of the Powers.

It is probable that the Triple Alliance will recommend the fixing of the date for the Greek evacuation of Albania.

Aligarh College.

Aligarh, Jan. 26.

As decided by the Aligarh College Trustees in their meeting of 1st instant, their representative deputation of trustees from the different provinces, and including the Honorary Secretary the Raja of Jehangirabad and Mr. Syed Wazir Hossain, waited upon H. H. the Nawab of Rampur, yesterday, requesting him to withdraw his resignation from the visitorship of the College. News has now reached here that His Highness has kindly withdrawn it.

South Africa

Pretoria, Jan. 22.

It is announced that the Indian promise to await the report of the Investigation Commission be ore renewing passive resistance. The authorities agree to release the imprisoned passive resistors, and await

The Week.

Italy and Turkey.

London, Jan. 22.

A telegram from Home says that is an article replying to the claim made by the Turkish paper *Tanin*, that the time has arrived to restore Dodacanese to Turkey, and denying the Porte's obligation to indemnify Italy for expenditure during occupation, the *Tribuna* absolutely insists on indemnification by a concession in Asia Minor, enabling Italy to share European economic activity in the Eastern Mediterranean. The *Tribuna* says that such demands are moderate, and will be supported by the Triple Alliance.

Italy and Asia Minor.

Paris, Jan. 25.

Signor Nogara, Italian Member of the Commission of Ottoman Debt, has gone to London. It is reported that he will negotiate on matters connected with concessions in the Aidin and Adalia regions which Italy expects in return for the expenditure during her occupation of the Aegean Islands.

Albania.

London, Jan. 24.

M. Venizelos has left for Paris.

While he is en route, as to the results of his visit, Reuter learns that the importance in diplomatic quarters is that the actual date of Greek evacuation has lost its importance, owing to the general belief that the Greek Government has no intention of following anything but a moder-

the recommendations of the Commission before they introduce legislation.

The correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the authorities has been published. The net result is that the Indians will await the report of the Commission before reviving passive resistance. Although Mr. Gandhi will not appear before the Commission, he agrees to Sir Benjamin Robertson appearing on his behalf. The authorities agree to liberate *bona fide* passive resisters, and await the recommendations of the Commission, adopting legislation accordingly. The Indians undertake not to press the charges of ill-treatment and brutality towards the strikers, the Government agreeing not to produce negative evidence with regard to the matter, but reserving the right to investigate occurrences resulting in loss of life at Esperanza and Mount Edgcombe. The Government repudiates strongly and emphatically, as heretofore, the charges of harsh and improper action against Indian passive resisters. The Government also says that it is anxious that any recommendations which the Commission may make on the larger issue of Indian grievances should be received at a sufficiently early date to enable proposals to be submitted to Parliament during the forthcoming session. It is hoped that those proposals, if accepted by Parliament, will ensure a satisfactory and permanent settlement. The Government consider that such a settlement of a long-standing dispute is too important to justify any risk, endangering its achievement by delaying the proceedings of the Commission, already delayed through unforeseen circumstances, or by an enquiry, which would now be necessary one sided, in a point of a minor and secondary importance, relatively to the wider issues at stake, therefore, the Indians decline to submit to the Commission any specific charges in connection with the treatment of passive resister during the recent troubles, the Government will not think it necessary to take any further action in refutation of the allegations against it and its officers. The reply states that the Government decided to release the passive resisters before Mr. Gandhi's letter was received.

Durban, Jan. 26.

At a mass meeting of Indians addressed by Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders, it was decided to endorse the provisional agreement reached between Mr. Gandhi and the Government. The Indian Grievances Committee has opened its sittings here. The Union Government alone is represented by Counsel. There was a fair attendance of Indians, but none of the leaders was there. No Indian witnesses were forthcoming. Judge Solomon said that the position was most unsatisfactory. The Indian's allegations of ill-treatment fell to the ground, unless they supported them with evidence. The Commission asked to be notified of specific allegations but none had been received. Mr. Charles de Villiers, representing the Government, informed Sir William Solomon that the Government was not prepared to adduce evidence regarding the allegations but was prepared to meet the allegations of ill-treatment made in evidence. The Government had not communicated with the Indians except through Mr. Gandhi. Sir William Solomon remarked that they did not know how far Mr. Gandhi represented the Indians. Mr. de Villiers, continuing, stated that the Government would give evidence regarding the allegations of the use of unnecessary force in repressing the disturbances. Sir William Solomon: There again the evidence of Indians is important as they make charges against Government officials. If they do not bring evidence, it will be most difficult to investigate as the Commission has no power to summon witnesses. Mr. de Villiers, replying to Sir William Solomon, stated that the Government's attitude concerning the general grievances was contained in the blue book of correspondence which it was proposed to put in at a later stage. Evidence was adduced regarding the Mount Edgcombe affray. The evidence was similar to that given at the magisterial enquiry, and there were no fresh points. Sir Benjamin Robertson was present throughout the proceedings listening to the statements on behalf of the Indian Government. After the Mount Edgcombe evidence had been heard, the sitting was adjourned.

Durban, Jan. 27.

The Indian Grievances Commission resumed its sittings to day. In the absence of Indian evidence, the proceedings promise to be of little interest. Mr. Polkinghorne, Protector of Indian immigrants detailed the system of recruiting indentured Indians in India. He said that the marriages of Indian immigrants were made valid in Natal by registration without regard to whether they were possibly polygamous. Whereas before the strike, 90 per cent. re-indentured on the termination of their indentures, since the strike indentured Indians had refused to re-indenture or pay the Three Pound Tax or return to India. The payment of the three pound licence had been little enforced. The latest figures showed that £9,000 had been paid out of the £48,000 due.

The Natal Indian Congress will meet tomorrow to discuss the advisability of giving evidence before the Commission.

Message to Mr. Gokhale.

Delhi, Jan. 27.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Gandhi, dated Durban the 26th:—"Indian mass meetings at Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and other centres have unanimously endorsed agreement."

Sir Benjamin Robertson gave important evidence on behalf of the Indian Government before the Indian Commission to day.

He said that it was most unfortunate that they were unable to enter into the charges made, because it was the decision of the Indians not to give evidence. The Indian Government was most anxious for some settlement of these grievances. While he was expressing his personal views, they agreed with those of the Government of India. The latter's view of the £3 Tax was that the object for which it was imposed, namely that of inducing the Indians to return to India, was no longer being fulfilled as was admitted by the deputation from Natal, which visited India in 1908. Negotiations were then entered upon for compulsory repatriation of indentured Indians at the termination of their indentures, but they fell through. In view of the prohibition of the immigration tax not having had the effect intended, and the invidious nature of its collection and also the feeling in India, the Government of India desired its repeal.

The coolies were most ignorant of the conditions in Natal. Many left India as the result of a family or caste quarrel, and they would not take the trouble to understand and appreciate the conditions under which they would have to serve. Sir Benjamin Robertson suggested if it was thought desirable to replace the £3 Tax by a licence until ex-indentured Indians got domiciled, the licence should be taken out once and for all. The Government of India was most anxious that means should be found to validate monogamous marriages in South Africa. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be registration with a declaration from the man that he would take only one wife. Monogamy in India was practically the rule. The Government of India agreed that in case of plural marriages, only one wife should be admitted in South Africa. It also desired that all the existing rights of South African-born Indians should be maintained.

The Rev. Mr. Pearson advocated the abolition of the tax as coolies did not understand its significance when they left India. As the tax failed to cause the coolies to return, he suggested that some inducement should be offered to them so that they would return voluntarily, such as a gift of twenty or thirty pounds. If the whites really wanted the Indians to leave, one clear way of inducing them to go was to boycott them. Mr. Pearson also objected to the tax on the ground that it induced the Indians to re-indenture. He considered the indenture system to be thoroughly bad. He agreed that the material conditions under which indentured Indians lived were very good, but objected to its being made a criminal offence to refuse to work. This increased the criminal population. He had come to the conclusion that the indenture system placed coolies in a disadvantageous position in regard to the administration of the law.



Our London Letter.

London, 26th January, 1914.

CAPT. RAOUF BEY.

CAPT. RAOUF BEY of the Imperial Ottoman Navy, the brave skipper of the "Hamidieh", who distinguished himself at sea during the recent Balkan War, as you have been no doubt informed by Reuter, paid a flying visit to London lately and has already departed. The Press, as was expected under the circumstances, associates his visit with the recent purchase of the Brazilian Dreadnought by the Turkish Government and, no doubt, this subject must have occupied his attention, amongst one or two other matters, with which he has certainly dealt, while in London. The Captain, very wisely refrained from granting any interviews to the representatives of the Press, who had attacked him by hundreds, and so the outside world knows very little of his doings in London. I have, however, very substantial reasons for believing that his visit to this country was primarily connected with the Turkish Naval Organisation Scheme, which is being matured most favourably. Considering that Turkey will have six first-class Dreadnoughts at her disposal at no distant date, it is obvious that the Ottoman authorities should seriously consider the proper establishment of this vital arm of the Ottoman Empire if the Turkish Empire is to have a prosperous, progressive and a viable future—an outlook for which condition of affairs has never looked more hopeful. Turkey has every opportunity in the Eastern naval advisers at Constantinople and given a reasonable chance of peace and freedom from outside interference, the future naval efficiency of the Turks, under the guidance and instructions of the British Officers employed, is assured.

THE GERMAN MILITARY MISSION.

While dwelling upon the question of the Turkish Naval Organisation, mention must also be made of the German Military Mission to the Sultan. The German Military Mission, which has been in existence for every, has already started its work at Constantinople, and the question has arisen no little controversy as to Turkey's military future. It cannot be doubted that the German authorities are taking the right step at the right moment. It is believed that the Turkish

TETE À TETE



The annual meeting of the Trustees of the Aligarh College came off on the 31st January, and we are glad to note that the proceedings were throughout business-like and marked with good temper. One of the important matters dealt with by the meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Aligarh Trustees.

was connected with a series of resolutions submitted by the Hon. Secretary for the regularisation of the finances of the College and the proper administration of the various Funds held in deposit for different purposes. The Hon. Secretary had prepared a detailed note with considerable lucidity and care, pointing out the existing tangle in accounts and setting it forth in tabular form. These tables show that there ought to have been Rs. 587,603-4-11 in deposits of various kinds, up to 31st March, 1913, but that the actual amount in hand was only Rs. 211,805-7-8. The deficit of Rs. 325,797-18-8 was due to expenditure incurred in meeting the general needs of the College out of the moneys set apart for other objects. Of this about a lakh and a half cannot be made good except by collecting fresh subscriptions from the public. You may stand off emergencies for a while by robbing Peter to pay Paul, but as a system of keeping accounts it is thoroughly unsound, and though it may have led to no actual waste, it has certainly produced a muddle in the finances of the College from which it would take much patient care and labour to extricate them. We are glad the Trustees have realised this and, while marking their disapproval of the slackness of the syndic in charge of Finance, they have made it a rule that the Registrar should not pay any bill in future without satisfying himself that (1) it carries the proper sanction according to Rules, that (2) it is provided for in the Budget and that (3) there is enough money under that head. Another necessary resolution adopted at the meeting was that the Budget meetings should in future be held in March when the budget for the current year should be passed on the basis of the actual figures from 1st April to 31st December and approximate figures from 1st January to 31st March. According to existing practice budget discussions are mere academic exercises in accomplished facts. The reform in method though tardy is welcome, and we trust it will lead to greater financial efficiency and expedite work. Till now the budget meetings have been held sometimes 10 months and frequently 5 or 6 months after the commencement of the financial year. This laxity was little short of scandalous and not long ago several Trustees had brought it to the notice of the Board. We are glad Haji Mohamed Swaleh Khan Sahib brought the matter up this time with success. We are also glad that another important proposal of his was accepted, viz., that the Long Vacation should begin in the College just after the annual University examinations. This change, which will come into force in 1915, is absolutely necessary, for the period of two and a half months from August to the middle of October now devoted to vacations and coming so soon after the long period of inactivity when the students are waiting for University examination results reduces the length or number of College terms and leads to a great waste of students' time. Among the five Trustees elected this year we are glad to note the distinguished names of the Hon. Nawab Syed Shamsul Huda, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and Mr. Jinnah. We regret that Mr. Mohamed Faiq missed a seat by just a few votes, and hope that either the Old Boys would elect him or the Trustees themselves would do so next year. Messrs. Sultan Ahmad, Mustafa Husain Rizvi, Dr. Naziruddin Hasan and Mr. Tasaddug Ahmad Khan Sherwani should be certainities for next year. We must also acknowledge that the Honorary Secretary of his own accord withdrew some proposals of his about the Syndicate which were not in order, and this augurs well for the future. We trust these proposals will not be pressed again and that the Honorary Secretary and the Syndicate will co-operate for the well-being and progress of their joint charge.

are entitled to improve their army—and this problem is for the Turks themselves to decide—it cannot be denied by any thinking man that it was Germany and Germany only, who could help the Ottomans in this respect. There is no other country in Europe to-day which can rightly boast of such a thorough and perfectly organised Army as Germany possesses, and this is the sole reason as to why Turkey has engaged German officers as her military instructors, although numerous political reasons are given in certain quarters for this step on the part of Turkey. Perhaps some people are of opinion that Swedish officers or Belgian instructors would have been employed with greater advantage! It is, however, admitted that the employment of German officers as instructors in Turkey is not without precedent, but what is really distasteful to Turkey's neighbours is the fact, which is not without its significance, that the present German Military Mission is enjoying much greater freedom from Ottoman officialdom, and that it is thus wielding a much larger power and influence as compared to its predecessor. This laxity allowed to the German instructors, from the purely Military point of view, however, was indispensable and will certainly enable them to discharge their duties much more efficiently and usefully than they would, were their scope of work and area of activity narrowed down to the smallest limit. The bitterness caused by the appointment of the German Military Mission in certain quarters is very greatly enhanced by the recent entry of Enver Pasha in the Turkish Cabinet as Minister of War. Those who are in close touch with this great hero and know him intimately are fully aware of the very moderate and sound statesmanship with which he is gifted, in addition to his numerous other qualities as a fine soldier, a true patriot and a wonderful organiser. Even in the British Press there is some mild yet plainly visible uneasiness felt at his appointment to the War Office, and the *Daily Mail* has gone to the extreme of heralding the event with the prominent headlines of "Firebrand as War Minister." They have lost no time in attributing Enver Pasha's new appointment to a deliberate Germanophil policy of the young Turks, coinciding, as it does, with the presence of the German officers at Constantinople. The *Daily Telegraph*, however, has published an interview, given to its Constantinople Correspondent by Enver Pasha, in which the new Turkish War Minister has clearly and plainly outlined the future Military policy of the Ottoman Government. The new War Minister is determined to place the Ottoman Army on a thoroughly organised and efficient footing, which, he says, is rendered absolutely essential for the safety of the Empire. If this defensive policy is deliberately interpreted in various quarters as the new forward policy of the "firebrand," no more malignant misrepresentation of facts could be imagined. Enver Pasha has undoubtedly taken upon himself a task of no little magnitude and responsibility, but those who have been following his brilliant career, so far, in the service of his Sovereign and country, have no doubts as to his ultimate success in his new role. May he be spared long to serve his country usefully and honourably!

THE KIKUYU CONFERENCE CONTROVERSY.

During the past week or so, the newspapers have been full of letters and articles on the keen controversy caused by the Kikuyu Conference, which was held lately in order to unite the numerous Sections of the Protestant Church for missionary purposes, if Christianity is to successfully overcome Islam as its rival in Africa and other places abroad. The energetic Christian Missionaries, it seems, have only now realised that in Islam they have a very formidable rival to deal with and are sparing no efforts to join the various branches of Protestantism together so as to be able to strike unitedly against the religion of the Moslems. This point is being vigorously pressed in the newspapers which are giving every prominence to the subject. The controversy has revealed matters of extreme interest. As an outsider, I am in no way entitled to enter the controversy, but I may just draw the earnest attention of the zealous Missionaries to the fact, which cannot be disputed, that they have before them a greater field for religious work in this country itself than in the remote corners of the world, over which they are expending unnecessary sums of money and energy. The simple faith of the Moslems carries conviction with itself and certainly appeals more to the pagans in Africa than the complicated and mysterious form in which Christianity is presented to them by different missionaries representing different Sections of the Christian faith. Moreover, the so-called Christianity which exists here to-day is itself in great danger of rapidly becoming extinct and needs more spiritual attention on the part of the priesthood for its revival than the spread of Christianity abroad by means of the most unchristian system of conversions. If these God-fearing missionaries would only attend to their own duties at home and leave the rest of the world to itself, no greater service could be rendered to the cause of universal peace in this world!

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY.

At to-day's Juma-Namaz, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, Mr. Kedwai, an ex-Secretary of the Society, was amongst the worshippers. His genial presence was most welcome to the present members, who are fully aware of the past services of Mr. Kedwai to the Islamic Society.

When the Mussalmans of India became aware some months ago of the intention of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey to present a carpet for the Delhi Mosque, they were peculiarly gratified at this gracious mark of His Imperial Majesty's good-will towards them. It was not only gratifying to their sentiment of devotion to the Caliph, but was regarded as a visible proof of his appreciation of the help which the Indian Mussalmans had rendered in some measure to mitigate the sufferings of their Turkish brethren in the hour of their sorest need. And naturally enough, they were looking forward to the arrival of the Caliph's gift in India with much eagerness, for their highest pleasure was to receive the gift in a manner worthy of the occasion. Delhi had, in particular, been on the tiptoe of expectancy and had made elaborate preparations to mark its enthusiasm and gratitude for the honour of which it had obvious reasons to be proud. Those who witnessed the striking demonstration of the Delhi Mussalmans on the occasion of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's return from Constantinople would recall the circumstances to which in some measure it was due. A strong rumour had preceded Mr. Zafar Ali Khan that he was bringing the carpet with him to Delhi, and the effect of the rumour was electrical. Huge throngs turned out to greet what they supposed to be the bearer of the Caliph's present, and the crowd that accompanied the procession through the hot and stuffy streets of Delhi was unparalleled in the annals of the city. It, however, transpired that the carpet had not yet arrived, that, in fact it would be brought to India by the new Ottoman Consul-General, His Excellency Khalil Khalid Bey, who would hand it over to the Delhi Moslems in person. And now began the long period of eager waiting and preparation to give His Excellency a befitting welcome. Arrangements for a magnificent public reception had been made and perfected months before. Scores of young men had enrolled themselves under the indefatigable Mr. Chishti to form a mounted escort for His Excellency the Consul-General, and they had provided themselves with expensive uniforms. The exact date of the arrival of the Consul-General in Delhi became the one topic of discussion. It became the general talk in every Moslem household. Rumour after rumour spread and died away and yet it served to keep the people's hope alive. Much impatience naturally became manifest as days wore on and numerous enquiries began to be addressed to us every day. But there was no doubt in the minds of the Delhi Mussalmans that the Consul-General would some day come and the ceremony of handing over the sacred present of the Caliph to the Indo-Moslems at Delhi would be performed in a way befitting such an event. Well, the Consul-General has come and—for all that the people of Delhi know, perhaps gone, and the carpet must have somehow been smuggled into the mosque, for the people found it spread full length before them as they came for Friday prayers. We need not say what their feelings have been. There was a conspiracy of silence around them and their fondest hopes and desires lay shattered at their feet. They had prepared to receive the Consul-General in their tens of thousands, yet the Consul-General's coming on Thursday was as secret an affair as it was sudden. Only a faint rumour was heard in the afternoon that he was coming from Bombay, which was afterwards confirmed by the Deputy Commissioner, but at such short notice that practically nothing could be done. Those who had heard the rumour went to the station, but none was sure of the exact time of his arrival and many went back disappointed to their homes. When the last train arrived at midnight a Turkish gentleman was seen alighting from a first class compartment and a couple of hundred of people who still lingered there rushed towards the carriage. They learnt that he was the Consul-General, and they saw him handing over a receipt for boxes containing the carpets to the Deputy Commissioner's chaprassi who had evidently been sent to take charge of them. The Consul-General quietly went to his hotel. The carpets were given over to the Mosque Committee that lost no time in spreading them properly before the people became aware of what had happened. The Consul-General attended the Juma prayers, and as the people saw him they grieved in their hearts that some cruel and malign fate had deprived them of the long looked-for opportunity to pour out to him their feelings of devotion and gratitude towards the Sultan and their brotherly love for his people. We need not care to enquire who is responsible for this organised method of cheating people of their hopes and suppressing their desires, but whoever he may be, we can not admire his tact, wisdom or statesmanship. He has simply exasperated the feelings of the people and this is not a very gratifying achievement. The only question that we need ask is, what is the net gain of all this secrecy and this "personally conducted" tour of the Ottoman Consul-General in which the Deputy Commissioner and his chaprassi and some members of the Mosque Committee have been so prominent? Has all this chaperoning eased a grave and critical international situation seriously affecting Entente or Alliance, or has it even killed the creation of the Times, the bogey of the "Indian Peril"? As Puck says, alas, what fools these mortals be!

The Turkish Exhibition about which some announcements had been made in these columns from time to time was formally opened in Delhi by Nawab Viceroy-ul-Mulk Bahadur on Friday after the Juma prayers. There was a large attendance of

Mussalmans and the ceremony was performed amid great enthusiasm. In the address presented to the Nawab Sahib full mention was, of course, made of the objects for which the Exhibition had been organised. As has often been stated, the primary object of the exhibition is to interest people in Turkish manufactures and industries and thus bring about closer relations between India and the Ottoman Empire. The immense economic potentialities of Turkey in Asia are well-known. The European company promoter is more than usually alive just now to the vast opportunities for exploitation that this region offers, and rival diplomacy is busy promoting a race for concessions. It would be to the mutual advantage of both Turkey and India if trade becomes more active between the two countries and the Indian capital or labour assists in the economic development of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Government would welcome such assistance, while Indian labour and capital would enjoy facilities that they can not obtain elsewhere. A strong and regenerated Turkey is held to be the one object of British foreign policy and this end can not be better achieved than by offering every encouragement to the growth of closer economic ties between Turkey and India. The proceeds of the Exhibition will be exclusively devoted to the promotion of the scheme of colonisation of the Moslem refugees in Anatolia. Dr. Ansari in the course of his stay in Turkey took an active part in the formulation of this scheme and promised to help in the establishment of a colony by raising subscriptions from amongst the Indian Mussalmans. The details of the work done in this connection have already been published in these pages. The exhibits cover a wide range and we shall give a detailed description of them later on. Among the attractions of the Exhibition are Dr. Ansari's lantern lectures dealing with various phases of Turkish life and Dr. Asmat Ullah's physical feats. We congratulate the organisers on the great success they have achieved in bringing their long-cherished idea into practical shape. The perseverance and devotion of Dr. Ansari, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. Chishti and the band of workers under them deserve special praise. The exhibition will last for some weeks and we trust it will meet with generous patronage from the public. We shall publish next week a fuller account of the opening ceremony as well as of the exhibits to be seen.

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a long letter disputing some of the conclusions we have reached in our consideration of "The Indian Moslem's Tasks." He makes a wry face, in particular, at the suggestion that "the Mussalmans should evolve a system of communal education based on their distinctive needs." We regret we are unable for want of space to publish the letter in full, but we give some extracts which sum up its general line of criticism and the substance of its argument. Our correspondent thinks that "what makes it (our suggestion) particularly obnoxious is the fact that it is a perfect translation of the feelings and the wishes of the man in the street." "We seem to forget," he argues, "that God in making the Mussalman did not namake the man." He is generous enough to allow the Mussalmans the luxury of a "distinctive" creed, but, according to him, "the creed being meant to purify and improve us as men, why should the average man parade it? The professional Mollab may wrangle with the professional Pandit. Perhaps the Pandit will help to form a trinity of triangular nations, but why in the name of all that is sensible should an average befezzed Indian have distinctive needs in the matter of education surpasses the comprehension of some of his well-wishers. There are hundreds of young Mussalmans who are sick unto death of this cant of formalism in religion, and who deplore the consequences of the recent revivalism and the rigid enforcement of ritual in some of our seats of learning. He does not tell us what sort of education the Mussalmans should have—perhaps the sultana mimicry that is going on in the madrasas and colleges fills his mental horizon. He has a vision of "the man in the street," and imagines that all attempts to give Moslem education on communal lines would be a mere pandering to his "feelings and wishes." And he evidently forgets that the progress of each community that numberless of millenial periods has laid a basis of its own particular social structure and its peculiar social genius. Even the mind of a child is not so much moulded by a tabula rasa, much less the collective genius of a century and a half of people."

Our correspondent seems to have no patience for that much-maligned individual—the man in the street. We do not claim to know what his conception of that being is; but we confess to a fugitive suspicion that he holds somewhere at the back

"The Man in the Street."

of his brain a picture of a thoroughly vulgar and ignorant creature who figures in crowds and sways noisily to every gust of passion. Evidently a person of this type is a fit subject for cultured sneer. Our experience of the man in the street, however, is a little different. He may be ignorant and vulgar, but he is sure of his instincts and very often his instincts go to the roots of life. Culture sitting disdainfully high and aloof from the common life of stress and toil would soon become a new madness, were it not that the breath of real life from the street and the market-place occasionally blows into its cosy apartments and cleanses them of their scent-loaded stuffiness. The man in the street is the person who is the central fact about all communal life. He can be neither ignored nor suppressed. He creates real problems and himself supplies the energy needed for their solution. He sets the pace to all social endeavour. His needs are in real significance the communal needs. When he can not be thought out of existence, the only practical course open to communal patriots is to try to raise the level of his character and intelligence. It is for this purpose and nothing else that the organisation of Moslem education is necessary on communal lines. The man in the street amongst the Mussalmans has certain fundamental views about life, which have sunk into his consciousness and become a part of his nature. In all educational efforts these views will have to be taken into account. It is needless to insist that his prejudices and superstitions should not be nursed with tender care. Education would be a futile thing if it were not directed to cure "the average man" of his limitations. But it is absurd to imagine that the Mussalmans can grow up into a strong, efficient and prosperous community by roaming at will through the educational wilderness that the State Universities have produced in India. They, as a community with certain ideals of life, have their distinctive needs, and as long as these ideals endure, the needs can only be met by evolving a distinct type of education for Moslem boys and girls.

As regards the views of our correspondent on the Mussalman's creed, the root defect of this type of criticism is that it does not rise above the vulgar conceptions of religion and its place and function in human life. Formalism and

The Mussalman and his Creed.

ritual are taken to be the spirit and the inward reality; and in the name of "Truth, not Plato" much ignorant and senseless chaff is indulged in at the expense of the "the average man," as if he had no business to think about his creed. God in making the Mussalman did not unmake the man. No, he only made a Mussalman of him. And it is surely this that makes all the difference. Seventy millions of human beings have some definite title to call themselves a community. We do not know what the title can be, unless it is a community of ideals about life which have moulded their will and purpose and inspired their past history. Religion is the only bond of union among these millions of India, for it offers them a set of ideals which they have accepted as their guides. As long, therefore, as this bond exists, and hopes are shared in common and the wills of individuals unite freely to strive through circumstances towards the far-off Divine event, distinctive needs will continue to be felt by them for moral and intellectual equipment. There is always a class of men in all communities who look on religion as something merely decorative and picturesque, as the *chogha* of the prospective Khan Bahadur, that is reverentially taken out on the important occasion of a visit to the *Burra Sahab* and is as reverentially put back. If there are persons in the Moslem community whose attitude towards Islam is a mere sense of patriotism and loyalty to an old creed that has long ceased to satisfy their minds, they have certainly no distinctive needs and may browse at will in search of new fashions and pastures new. But the bulk of the Mussalmans still believe in Islam and are not ashamed of the faith that is in them. This faith is to them not a drawback but a responsibility, not a disabling defect, but a distinction. To have a distant goal in mind and some measure of the path ahead is surely not more perilous than to stumble about wrapped in mental fog and without the power to see farther than a few paces from the nose. The Moslem needs are distinct, if we are pardoned for the platitude, because they have a distinctive creed, distinctive history and distinctive environment. What is supposed as Western education is itself the product of distinctive needs. The Canadian fur coat is no more suited to the hot climate of India than the mental vesture of the average European is for the average man among the Indian Mussalmans. And the average man has a clearer perception of this than some of

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

III.

We shall deal to-day with the most important assurance that was conveyed by the Government, through the Home Member who was in charge of the Press Bill, while enacting it in 1910, namely, the assurance that "it is not, like the Press Act of 1878, a purely executive measure." "The initiative," said Sir Herbert Risley, "indeed, rests with the Executive Government, but ample security against hasty or arbitrary action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority." Let us examine in this connection the nature of the measure, and the nature of the judicial safeguard provided therein as understood at the time, if not by Government, at least by the people of India, including those who voted for the passage of the Bill, and thereafter let us see what value is attached to the judicial safeguard by the same "highly competent judicial authority" that was to decide the appeal from the "initiative" of the Executive Government.

But before we do so, let us not forget that the Press Bill was passed when Lord Morley was still the Secretary of State for India, and it will not be inappropriate if we explained here the general attitude of that great statesman towards judicial checks on the initiative of the executive in its dealings with the Press, just as we quoted last week his opinion on the freedom of the Press generally and the evil effects of gagging the Press in India. Speaking in July, 1908, at the Indian Civil Service Dinner, Viscount Morley referred to the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 which had become the law only a few days previously. He said, "I have no apology to make for introducing executive action into what would normally be a judicial process. Neither, on the other hand, have I any apology to make for tempering executive action with judicial elements; and I am very glad to say that an evening newspaper last night, which is 'not of the politics to which I belong, entirely approves of that. It says: 'You must show that you are not afraid of referring your semi-executive, semi-judicial action to the High Court.'"

We trust we are not assuming too much when we say that if it was necessary to show that Government was not afraid of referring to the High Court the order of the seizure of a Press for printing "a newspaper article inciting to murder and violence, or resort to explosives for the purposes of murder or violence"—an order, be it remembered, issued by "a Magistrate of a certain status" at the application of a Local Government—it was still more necessary to show that Government was not afraid of referring to the same judicial authority an order of forfeiture of the security, or the security and the entire Printing Press, issued by the Local Government itself, because it was used for printing anything containing "words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to produce in the reader a number of feelings of varying degrees of impropriety. At any rate, the necessity of showing that Government was not afraid of a reference to the judiciary could be no less in the latter case than in the former.

It may be that at any time the political circumstances in a country may assume such a grave character that it may appear to those responsible for the safety of the State the lesser evil to withhold from the judiciary the power to pronounce on the legality of executive action. Inaction or the permission of an appeal to the judiciary against executive action may at such times appear to involve greater risks to the State than action based on considerations forbidden to law Courts, or in which impressions and personal experiences to which no expression can be given in a Court have been potent incentives to such action. It is not so difficult to imagine certain contingencies when the State may be led to adopt such a policy for its safety if it is recognised that in another set of circumstances the State may rightly feel itself compelled to declare Martial Law. In these easily imaginable contingencies those responsible for the safety of the State have a perfectly straightforward course open to them, and that is to ask for and obtain the necessary authority for such executive action as they deem proper from the Legislature. In 1878, Lord Lytton's Government, for reasons that do not seem to be apparent to us to-day, asked for and obtained such an authority, and whatever our opinion may be as to the necessity for such extraordinary powers, it cannot be denied that the course followed by Government on that occasion was perfectly straightforward and unobjectionable. This was the opinion that the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah also expressed in the course of the Press Act debate on the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee's resolution on the 9th instant. He said:

It stands to reason that when Government ask the Legislative Council to sanction legislative measures empowering large and comprehensive powers to be given to them, they ought to follow one of two courses. They ought to say, "gentlemen, we want these powers to be conceded to

us and we want you to extend to us your trust and confidence in regard to the manner in which we will apply them." That would be a perfectly straight course, and if they do that and the Council accepts that view, there is nothing further to be said. But if they come to the Council and say that "though we want certain powers in regard to matters which are under consideration, and that in order that these powers may not be arbitrarily exercised, we suggest embodying in the Act certain safeguards to protect people who may be adversely affected by executive action under these provisions," we are entitled to ask that those safeguards should be effective and of such a character as to give relief which Government themselves propose they should have.

As we have already shown, Government did not desire to follow the course it had adopted in 1878, and preferred in the words of Lord Morley, "tempering executive action with judicial elements," or in the words of Sir Herbert Risley, the provision of "a very complete check on hasty or improper action by a Local Government." We are therefore entitled to ask whether the safeguards Government intended to provide, and as everybody believed did provide, were effective or not. If we can prove that they are not effective, we are equally entitled to ask at the very least that, as Sir Porshim Rahimtoolikh said in the Council, "those safeguards should be effective and of such a character as to give relief which Government themselves propose they should have." Now the provision in the Press Act of 1910, for a judicial reference is contained in Sections 17, 18 and 19 which run as follows:—

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under Section 4, 6, 9, 11, or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (1).
18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges, or where the High Court consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.
19. (1) If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.
(2) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.
(3) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

We see from this that, unlike the universal presumption of English law, the benefit of the doubt was intended in the Press Act itself to be given to the State and not to the individual adversely affected. That in itself was no small loss to the individual adversely affected as against the State, but the Legislature was further induced to enact Section 22, which bars all jurisdiction except that of the High Court, and narrows down the jurisdiction of the High Court itself to a remarkable extent. That Section runs as follows:—

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on such application as aforesaid, and no civil or criminal proceeding, except as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

We had occasion to take legal opinion on the nature and extent of this bar of jurisdiction when the District Magistrate of Delhi issued a warrant for the seizure of all copies of the *Comrade* and of the *Hamdard* in which any portion of the Macedonia Pamphlet proscribed by the Government of India had been reproduced or translated, because we were anxious to obtain from the law Courts an injunction against such seizure. And what was the opinion given? It was this, that although the publication proscribed was the pamphlet itself, and not any copy of a newspaper in which a portion thereof had been reproduced or translated, the warrant of the District Magistrate was, in the words of Section 22, a "proceeding purporting to be taken" under the Press Act, and could not be called in question by any Court except the High Court for the Province of Delhi. As the High Court of Delhi is the Chief Court situated in Lahore, it was impossible to move it in time to prevent the seizure of copies of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* by the Delhi police, and they were surrendered under protest. It is true that when on the suggestion of the Hon. the Chief Commissioner we applied to the District Magistrate himself for a re-consideration of his orders, he upheld our contention that he had acted *ultra vires*. But it is equally true that if he had not upheld our contention and had persisted in his own decision, the Press Act had provided nothing like the boasted "very complete check on hasty or improper action" even by a District Magistrate, excepting, of course, an appeal to the High Court. In fact, we were told that if Government declared the forfeiture of our Printing Press, and an over-zealous subordinate official also removed the trouser-press of the proprietor no law Court in the wide world had jurisdiction except the High Court of the Province. This is not a joke but the law of British India as enacted in the form of the Press Act of 1910, and he who doubts it may bring a test case as we ourselves did last August.

It comes to this, then, that when security is demanded as a mere matter of course, as intended by Mr. S.P. Sinha, the framer of the Press Bill, or as a reflection on a journalist, as is generally done, not only by Local Government under section 3 (2) or 8 (2) but also by District Magistrates (e.g. in our own case), no Court in the world has any jurisdiction, and that when any declaration of forfeiture is made, no Court in the world has any jurisdiction except the High Court.

We have explained this point at perhaps needless length, but what has impelled us to do so is the desire to make it clear that the person adversely affected by any proceeding purporting to have been taken under the Press Act has to stake everything on one cast of the die, and that the State is to receive all the benefit of the doubt. But what if the die be loaded? The decision in our own case has shown that under the present law the die is loaded, and the Hon. the Home Member, speaking on behalf of Government in the debate raised by the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee, has now frankly told us that Government has always intended that the die to be used should be a loaded one.

We shall discuss in a subsequent issue the question raised in the Pamphlet case about the grounds of Government's opinion which are to be stated in a declaration of forfeiture under Section 12 of the Press Act and the Hon. the Home Member's pronouncement on the subject. But we may explain that when the Government of Bengal had also declared the forfeiture of the Macedonia Pamphlet, and in pursuance of that declaration the Police Commissioner of Calcutta seized a copy which we had in Calcutta at the time and had submitted to him through our solicitors, we applied under Section 17 to the Chief Justice of Bengal to appoint a Special Bench of the High Court to hear and determine our appeal against the order of the Bengal Government. The Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins appointed a Special Bench composed of himself and the two seniormost Puisne Judges of the Calcutta High Court, Sir Harry Stephen and Mr. Justice Woodroffe, and the appeal was heard for two days towards the end of August. Our application was based on two grounds. It was contended on our behalf that, in the first place, Government had failed to state the grounds of its opinion in the declaration of forfeiture, which, not having satisfied the requirements of law, was null and void. In the second place, the proscribed Pamphlet did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1). The judgments of Sir Lawrence Jenkins (with which Mr. Justice Woodroffe agreed) and of Sir Harry Stephen were delivered on the 1st of September, 1913, and in the course of these judgments the whole Act was turned inside out. On the first point the Chief Justice held as follows:—

"The repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds, and yet that is all that the notification furnishes in the shape of grounds. This is obviously insufficient and not a compliance with the terms of the Act. Moreover, I think that this direction in the section is 'mandatory and that the Legislature intended to impose and has imposed on the Local Government an imperative obligation to state the grounds of its opinion.'

"The notification, therefore, appears to me to be defective in a material particular, and, but for Section 22 of the Act, it would (in my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture.

The result is that though I hold the Notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare."

This astonishing result has been due not only to the fact that Section 22 bars all jurisdiction except that of the High Court, but also because even the jurisdiction of the High Court is confined to the narrow limits of merely determining whether the publication in respect of which the order of forfeiture was made did or did not, in the words of section 17, "contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1)." In other words, if a trouser-press was seized by the police when a Local Government ordered the seizure of a printing press, no Court in the world had jurisdiction to call in question the legality of this "proceeding purporting to be taken under the Act." Even the High Court had no jurisdiction in such a case, for in the words of the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, "the only issue that it was intended should be submitted to judicial decision, and that only to a Special Bench of the High Court, was the question whether the words, illustrations etc., which formed the subject of forfeiture fell within the aim of Section 4 of the Act or not. . . . There never was any intention to give to any Special Bench of the High Court any other power except to decide Aye or No, whether the word etc. complained of did or did not come within the description contained in the clauses and sub-clauses of Section 4."

This, then, is the joint opinion of the Judiciary and the Executive, that unless a man feels confident of proving without a shadow of doubt and to the satisfaction of all or a majority of the Judges constituting a Special Bench that the publication complained of contained only such

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words, signs or visible representations as are neither likely nor can ever possibly have a tendency, whether directly or indirectly, whether by inference suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or even otherwise to produce any of a number of results of varying degrees of gravity and danger described in six sub-clauses of Section 4 (I), he can seek relief nowhere against the most hasty, arbitrary and improper executive "proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act."

And even if he can muster enough confidence to approach the High Court with an appeal based on this one point in which, in the words of Lord Morley, executive action is tempered with judicial elements in a matter that "would normally be a judicial process," what result must he expect? Let us consult the judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our own case on this subject. Says the learned Chief Justice of Bengal:

The provisions of Section 4 are very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed, it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this Section might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. It would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net: the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded a standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

In another place the judgment goes on to say:

If the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all, for we find that the Legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase "or otherwise."

Referring to the High Court's powers and functions under the Act, Sir Lawrence says:

The High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce on the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred; the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld; and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act. I describe it as an almost hopeless task because the terms of Section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely conceivable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" apply.

"What then," asks the Chief Justice "is the conclusion of the whole matter?" This all-important question he answers conclusively in the following manner:—

Of the two alleged checks on executive action supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the Courts, is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been disregarded, without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act.

Well may Mr. Justice Woodroffe in that case ask the Advocate-General, as he did in our case, "Has a reference to this Court any reality at all?" And well may the Chief Justice say in the course of his closely argued and masterly judgment that "It may be a question 'whether even the semblance which this Act provides should not have been withheld as it was by Act IX of 1878.' Mind, this is not the opinion of that abject being, an Indian journalist, but the considered judgment of 'the highly competent judicial authority' a reference to which was with such self-conscious generosity provided by Government in 1910 as 'a very complete check upon hasty or improper action by a Local Government.' And yet such is human ingenuity that out of this unpromising material the Hon. the Home Member has been able to extract public recognition of the moderation and reasonableness of Government. He proudly mentioned in the debate on the 9th instant that only five cases were taken up to the High Courts and not one was successful, and concluded his remarks by the noteworthy observation that 'the fact that it has been difficult to prove that offending documents were innocent seems to me the very surest testimony that the Executive authorities have exercised their powers in no arbitrary or far-fetched manner.'

And what is to be the consolation that the Indian Press is to derive from Government's recent re-consideration of the question? Sir Reginald said: "I have a very lively faith in the independence of our High Court Judges, and I feel no doubt, if at any time the Executive Government should use their powers under this Act rashly or oppressively, that the Judges will find no difficulty in surmounting these obstacles and invalidating their illegal action." We make a present of this generous commendation of the Judiciary by the Executive to the Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court that heard our own appeal, and particularly to Sir Harry Stephen who received at the hands of the Hon. the Home Member the signal honour of the citation of a carefully selected

passage. For was it not Sir Harry who made the following significant observations in the course of his judgment about the very passage which was cited? "In attempting to form an opinion on it 'I find myself in a position which, as far as I am aware, no Judge in the British Empire has been placed since the remote days of 'early English jurisprudence. I have to decide a question of fact 'on such evidence as is supplied by one document. The side on 'whom the onus of proving his case is cast is not in a position to 'give any evidence. As the other side has not called any witnesses, 'no cross-examination has taken place. . . . Such information as I have is unverified and general to a high degree; it has 'never been my duty to acquire information in the matter; and 'absolutely none has been supplied to me on this occasion. Under 'these circumstances I have no doubt that any opinion I may express 'will be received by others with the respect that is due to the office I 'have the honor to hold, but it will be impossible for me to share in 'this feeling. . . . Acting on such information as I 'have, I entertain no doubt as to what my answer should be. But 'the absence of doubt is probably due to the absence of evidence 'and cannot be taken as going far towards showing that the opinion 'is correct.'"

We have now seen that the appeal to the Judiciary has proved wholly illusory and the appeal to the Executive has resulted in the praise of their own moderation. But there is yet one more appeal to make, an appeal to the conscience and the reason of humanity, whether English or Indian, both official and non-official, in India as well as in England, and we confidently appeal to that tribunal to decide between us and Sir Reginald Craddock.

The Indian Moslems' Tasks.

V.

We have dealt at some length in our previous articles with the questions relating to the intellectual and moral advancement of the Mussalmans and the organised and sustained efforts they will have to make in order to preserve their communal individuality. It will have, we trust, been clearly realised that the organisation of Moslem education holds the supreme place among the tasks of the community. This is a truism to which every communal patriot would subscribe with loud emphasis. It is, however, truisms which are frequently misunderstood and usually neglected in practice. There has been so much talk about Moslem education since the late Sir Syed Ahmad sounded his note of alarm that the problem has grown almost insipid and lost its interest and seriousness in the popular mind. Even many of those who are presumed to know better seem to be indifferent as if they believed a problem of such singular character and range could be solved by the sheer expenditure of lung-power for a full generation. The prevalent temper of a Mussalman with some taste for communal work may be summed up in "I know all about it." And primed with a "knowledge" which generally consists of a miscellaneous assortment of stray impressions, borrowed half-truths and dim echoes from the inanities of a professional preacher droning to a bored audience, he dismisses the whole subject with a glib assurance. This all-knowing, self-complacent and facile type of education-monger is an unsuspected hindrance and a danger. He has damped public enthusiasm and lulled the Mussalmans into quietude by his cheap, cribbed and mumbled phrases about Moslem education. He talks of intellectual and moral and social progress because he must, since some one else has set the fashion. But he understands his subject no more than the people he sets about to advise. His views are medley of strange desires leavened with a kind of low, practical shrewdness. Fat berths in Government offices; wealthy Hindu banyas and merchants; reminiscences of his travels in a railway train; his mild encounters with men who fill the atmosphere with new cries; his occasional glimpses into the life of great officials, with their unapproachable dignity and neat, silent ways; his rapt wonder at the huge administrative machine running on noiseless wheels—all this alternately stirs and overwhelms him, and he is driven to seek refuge in pathetic harangues at communal gatherings. The dominance of this tawdry vision must cease if the Mussalmans desire to build up a truly strong, enlightened and virile community fit to play an effective part in the affairs of its country. Intellectual equipment selected for its cheapness at some public auction, as it were, would not do. Character and personality cannot be had ready-made. Communities can realise themselves only through their own efforts, by the energy of their own wills and with the help of their own inner light. The first great thing is to feel the stress of hope and aspiration. When the goal is clearly set before the eyes, and self-confidence does not fail, the movement ahead, even through errors and pit-falls, is assured. Education is simply the necessary training of will and intelligence, imposed by the conditions of the present, to meet the demands of the future.

It now remains to see what sort of destiny the Mussalmans of India have been idealising for themselves and whether their ideals about the future are not mere will-o'-the-wisps luring them on to a

fruitless and weary quest. Some may even ask with pertinence whether the Mussalmans have reached that stage of culture and self-discipline which alone can bring about a unity of purpose and the evolution of ideals about the future. In modern Indian history there is no more pathetic chapter in some respects than the terrible dilemma of the Moslem position and the infinite travail, almost paralysis, of effort that has ensued in consequence. The advent of the British rule in India not only dispossessed a dynasty and a race of its political power, but also introduced social values and political standards which by their impact on an ancient polity led to chaos and conflict. The greatest sufferers were, of course, the Mussalmans—who with the loss of their political dominance were threatened with the loss of their culture as well. The revolutionary forces which the new order of things brought in its wake set to work to demolish the symbols associated with Moslem civilisation and power. The sense of utter loss, the swift impending change, the rapid onrush of ideas which implied a rebuke and a challenge to old social actions were infinitely galling to a proud and sensitive people. The Mussalmans looked on with sullen despair. Time has however, reconciled them to the inevitable, and they have learnt to estimate their situation stripped of the glamour of the past, in the clear light of day. They see that they are the subject race of an alien Power which has given India a firm, peaceful and progressive rule, and they also realise that they are on a complete equality of footing with the other races over whom they once held sway. To the Hindus the change did not mean any awkward shift—it meant simply a change of rulers. To the Mussalmans, however, it was a demoralising descent full of terrible mental and moral shocks. Indeed, it was a fearful fall on the horns of a dilemma, which still lies athwart the political situation of the community. As long as they were the masters of the country their numerical strength or weakness did not count. The change in their status from rulers to subjects, enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities with the Hindus, has thrown them into a serious embarrassment. Western education and democratic ideals fostered by British rule have taught them the supreme value of numbers. The lesson with its far-reaching implications has haunted the consciousness of the Mussalmans ever since the first generation of India's patriots began to visualise the future in terms of Western political experience. If representative institutions and government by majority were the goal of Indian aspiration, the Moslem minority might conceivably sink into eternal political bondage. The evolution of a common nationality united for secular ends and of a lofty type of patriotism was not an impossible dream. But as long as religion was the dominant force in the lives of the Indian communities and differences of creed, temperament and social outlook remained vital, Nationalism could not become the supreme motive of conduct and endeavour, nor would the minorities cease to have their fears and their doubts. Such were the natural thoughts of the Mussalmans as they first began to take stock of their political situation. Western education was in the meantime opening up to them new vistas of thought, and they soon began to feel the insult and perversity of having to live a life of repudiation, of veiled hostility to all that has fructified and ennobled human effort in history—the strivings after freedom, the noble rage of patriotism that sets itself to purge the lives of men of all that is vicious and mean in their condition and circumstance. This has been the dilemma of the Moslem position.

It is manifest, then, that the framing of a definite, compact and inspiring political creed has been for the Mussalmans a task of untold perplexity. Political thinking among them had been till recently starved, halting and jejune. The ideas embodied in the latest programming of the Moslem League signify not so much the discovery of a straight and sure path as the protest of educated, self-respecting Mussalmans against a life of eternal apology. They recognise that the aspirations which the Indian National Congress has made vocal are legitimate aspirations, and it would be an infamous thing if they lived to thwart them perpetually. What is more, they as men, feeling all the enthusiasm for progress that has sustained and moved men in history, share those aspirations themselves. They are still wanting in political nerve and assurance and this is solely because they find as yet no basis for free participation in the general political activities of the country without losing their communal individuality. Certain recent tendencies of the Hindu and the Moslem tempers have shown that such basis is not impossible to evolve, that, in fact, it may be evolved within a shorter space of time than most people have hitherto been prepared to allow. For this, however, unflagging efforts will have to be made, and the existing mass of prejudices and suspicions removed from the path by carefully educating public opinion in both the communities. This is an aspect of the subject with which we may deal later on. We are concerned for the present with the character of the political thinking that is going on in Moslem India and the sort of dreams that the Mussalmans are dreaming about their future.

Now, the simple fact is that the Mussalmans have so far done no political thinking worth the name and their dreams about the future are vague and fleeting. The dilemma to which we have referred has hitherto been the bane of their political existence. They are just now beginning to have a sort of confused suggestion of the possibilities that the dilemma can be solved. Much will have to be done before these possibilities emerge in feature and outline and light the way to

solution. There are, however, certain fundamental facts in the Moslem situation which must be grasped in order to form a clear estimate of the needs of the Mussalmans and the character of the ideals that they may ultimately evolve. The first great thing to remember is that a Mussalman's religion is his most exacting loyalty. In all social and political endeavour he will seek the inspiration of his faith. A time may possibly come, when religion may lose its vitality and some other secular force take its place. The political problem in India would then shift to a different plane and the Hindu-Moslem question would cease to be. But as long as religion is a vital force in India, the one pervading atmosphere in which motive and purpose take their rise, a Mussalman can never forget that he is a Mussalman any more than a devout Hindu can become oblivious of his Hinduism. Wavering loyalty is the determining factor of political conduct, it is best to recognise that the preservation of its individuality would be to each community its most natural and jealous concern. Political co-operation among different communities can be secured only on the basis of such recognition. The Moslem's task in the political sphere to-day is to preserve his communal individuality as well as to participate on free and equal terms with others in the conduct of Indian affairs. The thought of his numerical inferiority and his lack of aptitude for self-assertive and pushful political tactics have often depressed him and turned him to seek consolation in golden visions of the past of Islam and impossible dreams about its future. We do not, of course, mean that the feeling of Islamic brotherhood, which renders the sympathies of a Mussalman co-extensive with his religion, is in any way to be deprecated. The effect produced in India by the wars in Tripoli and the Balkans has been a great revelation. Amid the travail of suffering and sorrow it has proved unmistakably that the heart of Islam is alive. The future of a community that has something worth living and dying for is not quite hopeless. And it has been equally made manifest that the only motive power that can be applied with effect to Moslem communities is religion. What we mean is that idle dreams achieve little, and the habit of untrained indulgence is a mere sentiment incapacitating a man for practical and fruitful effort. The Mussalmans of India must band every nerve to building up a glorious future in their own country. Their strength will contribute to the strength of Islam as a whole. Even in a democracy ultimate power does not reside merely in numbers. By dint of character and intelligence they can become an indispensable factor in guiding the fortunes of their country. A community of seventy millions, united, intelligent and virile, would be an effective power in any scheme of government that India may ultimately evolve. The future of the Mussalmans is in their own hands—to make or mar. They must accept the existing conditions and make the effort. They cannot leave India. They cannot drive the other communities out into the sea. They can not alter the broad political conditions as they exist to-day. They have to make the best of the situation and set to work to equip themselves anew intellectually and morally and meet the other communities on equal ground.

It is impossible to think of any other course that would not be an outrage to the best instincts of the community. The British rule in India has been a great blessing to the people in many ways. It is gradually and inevitably leading them on to the goal which would mark the consummation of its work and would be at once its justification and its crowning glory. The people of India are being educated and trained in various ways, and the day, however distant, would assuredly come when they will take the direction of their affairs in their own hands. The Mussalmans can delay, if they will, but cannot permanently stave off the glorious event. And if they choose to be perverse they would only stultify themselves. The ideal of a free, united, self-directing India is surely noble and capacious enough for both the Hindus and the Mussalmans to share. It is an ideal that needs many decades of toiling, devoted service before it comes to materialise. No secular enthusiasm, however, can be more fruitful and ennobling than the one devoted to this object. The Hindus and the Mussalmans can only thus rise to their full stature as men and communities. The fact, we are happy to note, is beginning to dawn on the intelligence of the Mussalmans. After the growth of modern education in the community this result was inevitable. Those narrow-minded English publicists and officials who detect in this awakening a change in the traditional Moslem attitude towards the British rule are either deliberately perverse or grievously mistaken. There has been no change in Moslem attitude, but there has been certainly a change of method. And this has been due to the lessons the Mussalmans have learnt from certain recent Government acts and measures. We have often discussed the trend and effect of the Government policy in these columns and need not refer to them again. We may simply say this that the Mussalmans regard the British rule, as they have ever regarded it before, a guarantee for their free development. They cannot, however, be blind to the direction to which all political forces are tending to-day. They have to look ahead and mark the path that lies before them. How they would fare with their fellow travellers on the way when they together set out on their journey is a different question which we propose to discuss in our next. But even a child can understand that all progress postulates law and order and at present law and order are synonymous with a strong but popular British rule.



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GUR.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

You may not believe it now, but there was a time when the sky was clear, when the Indian sun shone with all its brilliance, when the grass and the trees were green, when men could enjoy a joke even at their own expense, and women's dress bills could increase in inverse ratio to the size and weight of their dresses without endangering Prestige. Then indeed the Hon. Mr. Gur could laugh and grow more and more unfit to be a jockey, a bantam boxing champion, or the cox of the Oxford Boat at Putney, or a number of other things that carry no weight in the world of affairs. But it was not a century or two ago as readers may well imagine. Antiquarians say it was not further off than 1911 when the world was young and gay, and although the previous quinquennium was noisy without being merry, it was fit on all sides that now that the purification of the lustrum had taken place in 1910, in future noise and mirth would go together. Before the year 1911 ended, however, clouds began to darken the horizon both on the east and on the west. The Indian sun began to lose its brilliance without losing any of its blasting heat. Jokes began to require, in India as they do in Scotland, "a deal o' care." But the making of jokes was itself becoming as difficult as the enjoyment thereof, for the unbroken colt that had till then never felt the touch of bit or snaffle now began to feel itself to be a jaded hack for which whip and spur were occasionally necessary.

This lasted for close upon a year when the cloud that was at first no bigger than a man's hand darkened the whole firmament, and a storm such as imperious LEAH had experienced began to make even far more robust people inclined to indulge in LEAH's rage. The joy of living was gone, and in its place came the passion for death. For a time a merry mask kept undisclosed the features of tragedy, just as hereditary wealth keeps up the pretence of affluence even when *res angusta domi* insist on their public recognition. Where genuine mirth lent colour to the jocund face before, now a mouthful of blood from the heart itself accompanied the forced laughter on each occasion and incarnadined the face. With more access of grief misery began to mock itself and the laughter grew dry as the heart became drained of blood. On the 5th of March, in the course of the Council Meeting the Hon. Mr. Gur stole away from the busy scene without good-bye or even *au revoir*. The world no doubt went on as before and Mr. Gur could well say with the poet:

غالب خستہ کی بغیر کون سی کام بند ہیں
روٹی زار زار کیا کیجی ہاں ہاں کہوں

(What is there that does not go on just as before without Ghalib?
Why shed copious tears and wherefore wail for him?)

But when misery had almost exhausted itself, another blow of affliction was struck, and this time it fell nearer the heart than before.

From mocking itself misery began to mock others, and the Hon. Mr. Gur appeared in a very strange guise indeed. From chronicling the amusing weaknesses of easy-going babbling legislators, he took to recording the distressing indications of the "strength" of grim and speechless (if not unspeakable) administrators. Mr. Gur disguised as a War Correspondent and couching his grey goose quill on a field of battle was indeed a strange sight. These were almost the signs of the end of the world, and in fact the Hon. Mr. Gur did say something about the Day of Judgment before he disappeared for the second time. Well, the heights of Simla saw him not in September, for he was making an aquarial search in the Silly Season for the Sea-Serpent and was hanging after the prodigious gooseberry in London.

To-day, still under the stimulus of the New Year's resolutions, the Hon. Mr. Gur resumes his seat among the gods that leisurely contemplate the dull debates and hesitating half-hearted conflicts of mere men below. Let FREE-LANCE hurl the javelin of his loyal buffoonery as before. Let the OORYA continue to make searching inquiries into the paternity of his Baby Province, and let BOOTLAIR SAHEB as usual refuse to be saddled with the cost of maintenance. Let KHUSH-HAL pipe, let SUREN roar and let MADRAS-CHUTNEY-PICKLE-ACHAK add piquancy to the cold roast beef of SANDOW III. The Hon. Mr. Gur is once more there to enjoy the fun and the frolic, and even if he is bearded like the pard, it is only to catch stray jokes as in a net, as stray ethereal waves bearing news are caught in the wireless apparatus. But Mr. Gur comes back a sadder though not a wiser man, for sadness comes but wisdom lingers, and the mirth will have to be noisier and more side-splitting than before if it is to quicken a more sluggish pulse.

Council met on the 6th January and thus commenced an unusually early session. The A. D. C. announced H. E. after whom ST. VINCENT stepped in from the same door. When H. E. had taken the chair an excellent XI of Additional Official Members came forward to take the oath of allegiance, being lead by two skippers instead of one, SAG-SABZI MACLAGAN, and ST. LUKE. PORTER seems to have imbibed so much of the spirit of self-government which is his own province that he has begun to fancy himself as a Tribune of the Plebs duly elected by popular suffrage and not a mere bureaucratic nominee. So when taking the oath of allegiance he read out that he was taking the oath as an elected Member.

When unquestioning allegiance had been duly sworn, questioning commenced and RAJA KHUSH-HAL led with half a dozen questions in his piping voice, compelling the SAGE, the UNDESIRABLE ALIEN, SANDOW III and the RAILWAY SLEEPER to reply. Now this questioning very cruel in the case of the RAILWAY SLEEPER for obvious reasons, but when once he is up he is not inclined to sit down before a quarter of an hour, for the questioner, like MACBETH, has killed sleep, and the RAILWAY SLEEPER may as well stand up and talk as sit down and not snore. But when at the end of the session he exchanges a lower sleeping berth in India with a higher sleeping berth in England, questioning Councillors will miss the giver of the most informing and exhaustive replies. Whosoever among the many constituents of RAJA KHUSH-HAL wanted for his consumption *ghas, gur or*

pass, and wanted it carried by the Railways at a low rate, was consoled by the RAILWAY SLEEPER'S assurance that the Railways had not altered their maximum rates, and if they made any distinction between sugar and gur, the discrimination after all was only in favour of the imported article used by the rich. May it not also be that as gur is sweeter than sugar, it is only sweet reasonableness that prompts the levy of a higher rate for its carriage.

Among others SRI RAMJI asked "will the Government be pleased to state whether" etc., etc., and the RAILWAY SLEEPER all of a sudden became, like other occupiers of the Government Front Bench, noddy laconic in his reply, and said that "the answer to the Hon. Member's question is in the negative." So it seems that the Government will not be pleased to state whether etc., etc. That is what comes of imitating others, for the RAILWAY SLEEPER never in all his Council days had felt inclined to refuse to supply any information ever asked for. The moral of the story is, beware of imitations.

SRI SITAJI asked Government to state what had been done by Government to extend free elementary education among the poor and more backward classes, in reply to which BOOTLAIR SAHEB gave a summary of the answers of the Local Governments. The Dis-united Provinces had referred the matter to a Committee of all talents whose recommendations would be considered when new grants would be allotted. In the Baby Province compulsory payment of fees had been abolished and ninety per cent of the pupils in every school could still be turned out if they did not pay fees. Thus was illustrated the paradox of free compulsory education. SANDOW III's province was more business-like in its reply. No boy was refused education on account of poverty, which, as Euclid would have said, *erat demonstrandum*. So after this self-evident truth no steps appeared necessary in the way of further relaxation of fees. The Province of the late ROOST-KERPUL, or rather the late province of ROOST-KERPUL had abolished fees for the last two years, and this example was followed by private schools also. In beggarly Burma managers of lay schools could not dispense education and dispense with fees, while the monastic class could afford to do so. Hence Burma Government inclined to think it could dispense with free elementary education altogether.

CHERRY CHITNIS had noticed the laconic character of some official replies and resolved to be even with the officials. Reading out questions too long a process, so at request of SIR GUR—much missed by all the Councillors who rejoice at his membership of another Council—had requested Hon. Members only to refer to the question by its number on the list. Usual formula: "I beg to ask question number so and so put down against my name." But CHERRY CHITNIS impatient even of this, contented himself with the expurgated edition of this formula which he had himself devised, and simply said: "Question No. 15."

After the question a little legislation. In the course of this the ADMINISTRATIVE ORPHAN announced that a certain unnameable individual had not only been knighted but had also been made a Raja, and, as anticipated by a well-informed local official, had managed to slip into the Council. To prevent future action for libel, would the RAJA kindly announce that he is just the reverse of an unnameable miscreant so that there may be no mistake in the publication of his name as member of Select Committee.

WORTHY MEYER, most modest and peaceful member of Government, introduced and referred to a Select Committee a "modest" and "entirely non-controversial" piece of legislation.

But the chief business of the day was the educational debate opened by SURAN. His resolution, as he put it, was "an exceedingly simple one." It was "a mere request for information," an appeal to Government "to take the public into their confidence." Smooth, eloquent SURAN, yours is a *sancta simplicitas* indeed, and of course you don't mean to harm a child. You only seek for information for which your dear friend of the Curzonian Durbar had invented the Official Secrets Act. You only want to be made a PEEPING TOM and a PAUL PRY. "By Special Appointment" to BOOTLAIR SAHEB and the SHARP'UN, innocently suggesting that there are and there can be no secrets in matters educational. With conviction lighting up your face you deny the possibility of every teeny-weeny skeleton in the educational pigeon-holes and you subpoena the inventor of the Official Secrets Act as your witness. Far be it from you to introduce a resolution in the spirit of controversy or contention. It is only pardonable curiosity and the desire to vindicate the character of Government that you ask for a glimpse of the documents exchanged between the SHARP'UN and other innocent educationist that shun politics themselves as they wish Indian students and their Indian teachers to shun it. Far be it from you to try the sweet unction of flattery. You only state an undeniable fact that education and sanitation are the watch-words of the Government of India. But O sage from the land of the *Rishis*! why handicap the question of the recognition of schools in which All-India is interested with the deadweight of an unknown second rate College in a far off district in which only one in the Council shared your enthusiasm and he too sought salvation in flight to Mecca?

SURAN, disdaining halting prose, commenced the "Argument" in the following manner:—

Of Bengal's Disobedience in the days
Of wilful CURZON who brought all our woe,
With loss of Dacca till one greater man
Restored it—although Delhi too regained
Her blissful ancient Seat of Government—
'Tis not, O Muse, the time to sing. Of that
Anon in Beadon Square. But of the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree whose deathless taste
Brought Life not Death, and an awaken'd impulse
Of Education as Bengal's reward,
Sing Heavenly Muse that on the secret tops
Of Simla and Darjeeling dost inspire
A thousand fears and dismal apprehensions.
Show then the vastness of our Mymensingh—
A single District measuring in square miles
Six thousand and three hundred thirty two;
Or of its teeming millions sing, O Muse,—
Four and a half they number—and compare
Our single Mymensingh with all their England
In the not distant days of CHARLES the First,
Which it doth equal. Or if earlier days
Delight thee more, say that it doth contain
Twice ten times puny England's population
When it was ruled by EDWARD the CONFESSOR,
Or fifty times what tiny England had
When conquering HENRY and proud Horsa came.
If even this doth fail to satisfy
The Indian Nation's fast expanding Ego,
Work out the flattering ratio of our millions
To England in the days of Noah's Dreadnought;
Or, earlier still, when grandma Eve prepared
For grandpa Adam her first apple-pie.
In ancient census figures I delight;
They point all morals and adorn all tales.
I seek their aid for my advent'rous speech
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above Parnassian heights, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all Temples those of Western Learning,
That are forsooth our holiest shrines of worship,
Instruct me, what in me is well-proportion'd
Exaggerate, what's low, make tenfold loud
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert the democratic creed,
And justify the ways of men to gods.

After rapid excursions into the *Gazetteer* giving the area and population of Mymensingh—thus proving it to be ripe for partition—and thence into the biography of the late MR. ANANDA MOHAN GHOSH, and the history of the ANANDA MOHAN College, SURAN waxed eloquent over things which were moving fast, very fast indeed as fast as five motor cars, as an Irishman would say under the impetus of world-wide forces of irresistible potency and the inspiration of progressive ideals, created by education and fostered (*ahem!*) by a wise and beneficent Government. Without fear of challenge or contradiction talked of Hindu and Moslem Universities Movements, with roots in the awakened educational enthusiasm, evoked by Royal Visit. Finally, came to Mymensingh ablaze with such enthusiasm that even SURAN had to swear his complete innocence of the charge of the slightest exaggeration of language. Story of the Mymensingh Hundred signing legal document within a few hours and guaranteeing for a lakh appeared like subscription of a foreign loan a hundred times over immediately on being brought into market. But wonder it wonders, Government was responsive and Government was sympathetic, and not one but two Directors favoured the raising of the College. An ideal world indeed! and without a grievance to fill the columns of national newspapers when, lo, a shadow is thrown over it all, and like wells and tanks and rivers dried by the sun and filled in an instant by a Monsoon downpour, the newspapers are filled with "copy" by the smart showers, or rather Sharp'UNS, according to the latest idiom from Simla. The Senate had made the recommendation, the University Inspectors had supported it and the Government of Bengal was in sympathy with it, but alas and alack the Government of India declined to grant the affiliation. And this tale of woe, SURAN launched into some comparisons with the express stipulation that he would now speak without chapter or verse, and if possible without the book itself. Wanted to know the reason of "this differential treatment" between a Government College and a private institutions and obtained, admittedly with some warmth of feeling (quite tepid for SURAN) on behalf of private institutions, with one of which he had been connected for as many years as BOOTLAIR SAHEB and the SHARP'UN, had been connected with the Government, that they were entitled to sympathetic consideration. Finally, closed his part of his speech with throwing on the Council proposition a severe

light and hope." The ANANDA MOHAN College would have its B. A. class opened in six months—which was not so long to wait after all, unless, of course, it was necessary to weaken the rest of the resolution.

After this SUREN came to the School Final Examination, and by showing that another examination had not proved a success, conclusively and overwhelmingly proved that the School Final was doomed, foredoomed to failure. Only in the last sentence did the Council grasp the significance of this part of the Resolution, for SUREN confessed he viewed with grave alarm and misgivings the operation and growth of a system which must encroach upon the ground covered by the University and eventually seriously restrict it. This introduced the third and most tragic Act in this drama when SUREN, the victor-victim of Barisal, fought a pitched battle with the SHARP 'UN and the I. C. S. over a measure which, if it had been adopted in the reign of ill-fated FULLER, would have saved him both the virtue and the necessity of resignation, and "I. C. S." the exhibition of discipline in the columns of the *Pi* dog. Having the sympathy of the entire Council with him, SUREN's oleaginuous eloquence rushed over oiled castors. He escorted into the Council the Nestor of Bengal Zamindars, who never hesitated to besiege any Troy and came as the representative of the past to join hands with representatives of the present most probably to save the character of the representatives of the future, though SUREN did not say anything about the future.

As the HON. MR. GUR said last year also when the MILD HINDU's resolution asking for papers on free and compulsory primary education was discussed, and SUREN spoke of these matters, wonder whether any Bengali orator or journalist could perform the miracle of discussing education without building the "Temple of Learning." SUREN tried and failed ignominiously. Shrines, worship and temples were all there in the speech of the Idol of Bengali students. Quoted with great effect the appreciation of the Bengal Government, on the Calcutta University Senate's recognition of schools, from the Bengal Administration Report—for writing which the too intelligent Under-Secretary was probably being sent to the most malarial District just when his furlough was due. Having argued that there was no case for transferring the power from the University to the Local Government, SUREN shrewdly entered the realm of "between-the-lines." "I cannot disguise from myself the conviction that behind all this is the old plea of efficiency." The Senate, said he, deliberates in public and decides in public, and even though it is mainly official, decides with the aid of popular representatives. But the Education Department of Local Governments would deliberate behind the *purdah* and decide in the *zenana* without outside assistance. What guarantee then that its decisions would always be guided by educational considerations? Then followed a syllogism.

Government is unquestionably a political organisation.

Therefore, its educational decisions will be dictated by the police.

One of the premisses was missing and the fallacies of Four Terms, Undistributed Middle and Illicit Process of the Middle Term were all there. But whether rules of Logic supported the syllogism or not, all realized that the conclusion was not so very wrong.

After showing that in Bengal the piper was paid by the people, SUREN insisted on calling for the tune and appealed for a policy of trust, as if assuring that the tune that will be called for would be "Rule Britannia" and not "Bande Mataram." Just as he was launching into a praise of "our local institutions, our local environments, our local traditions," ST. VINCENT, the Prompter, walked up to the Throne with the shears of Atropos to cut short SUREN's thread of eloquence. H. E. with characteristic courtesy asked the Hon. Member to conclude. SUREN pleaded for two more minutes, but H. E. informed him that he had had more than the regulation forty minutes and must conclude at once. This exceedingly cruel on SUREN who had an elaborate peroration to declaim. But SUREN as resourceful as he is eloquent, and saying "I will, My Lord," went on as gaily as ever. "We of the East abhor great and sudden changes whether in education or Government (No revolutionary need apply) with all the warmth of our Oriental natures," including presumably a sudden change from speech into silence as H. E. had vainly desired. After praising H. E. and Government for another minute or two, closed his stately oration with an appeal to be permitted to walk in the old ways, where their steps had been so sure, so safe and so steady, and where on the whole the results achieved had been so triumphantly successful. The C. I. D. man whose steps had also been so sure, so safe and so stealthy now laid a heavy hand on his shoulders and asked in tragic accents: *Quo Vadis?* Whither, O SUREN, whither?

Hardly had SUREN sat down when up rose the non-official Member of the Government of India and the official representative of the Government of the Punjab. Who else could it be but the gallant FREE-LANCE, in voluminous trousers and white turban sitting behind his Despatch Box like any other Member of the Government. Many are the conjectures about the contents of this box, but none save one appear to be correct. Some think that it contains sealed samples of the food served to the chargers of the gallant Tiwana Lancers, while others suspect that it contains a *bijou* canteen for the Regiment's honorary officers. But the C. I. D. has reason to believe that if the box doesn't contain a couple of miniature revolutions

originally made for a South African Republic, it contains—bombs. One of these days a raid is certain to take place, but until then FREE-LANCE can go on dropping explosives of another kind in every debate to the serious risk of the sides of Hon. Members being split with uncontrollable laughter. FREE-LANCE, a true Oriental in his politics as in his social life, would have all correspondence intended for the exclusive monopolistic use of officials remain in strict *purdah*, whereas he thinks it essential that correspondence set apart from its inception for public use should parade its charms from the *balukhanas*. Wonder why he doesn't wish to dedicate even these *murtis* to the gods. Publication of the former class of correspondence, with its characteristic abandon, its oft-recurring allusions to the equally outspoken sentiments of the addressee, and its under-current of secret and unrestrained intimacy as indecent and scandalous as the publication of the documentary records of an interesting Bench of the British Judges in the form of "A Lover's Letter-Writer." How shocking the mere mention in public of the language used by "Popsy-Wopsy" in replying to the importunities of "Dicky Darling." Why, "the majority of those who indulge in commenting upon such publications, and who have unfortunately not very many vocations to pursue in life (Lucky beggars! Wish we had half their 'misfortune') fall short of understanding it in the proper sense, and some of them, if they do so, may distort the meaning in a way which may suit their own purposes," suggesting an "improper sense," not at all suiting the very proper purposes of the co-respond—(PROOF READER: Is the spelling all right, Sir? EDITOR: No, I am afraid it is not, unless the reader is Scotch, Irish or American. You better offer them another 'r' or they would take possession of the entire printing press.)—correspondents. "Thus there lies a great danger which may involve grave issues" (PROOF READER: Shall I drop an 's' Sir, to distinguish it from 'issues' requiring an early grave? EDITOR: You are too far-fetched, my man, and hope you won't give me notice to join the Punjab Secretariat where I hear they give a handsome Commission to their clerks and translators on each day's 'bag.') By so doing there are chances of giving a field to hot-blooded youngsters, and an opportunity to a section of publishers whose sole ambition is concentrated on making capital out of the sale proceeds of their publications finding a ready market at such times and who may welcome the opportunity to rouse the passions of innocent people by such stirring publications."

This was indeed a sustained argument; but FREE-LANCE has to maintain his reputation even more than he has to sustain an argument, and in these days of keen competition in the Punjab for a tiny enough seat, it would never do to be the first to oppose only the resolution that has been moved. He must anticipate the next move also. Who could venture to talk of relevancy if a resolution for the publication of papers reminded FREE-LANCE of other papers too that should not be published? "I have heard," said the FREE-LANCE "that resolutions are being passed by certain organisations to persuade the Government to soften the Press Act for the benefit of the above-mentioned classes which, I hope, the Government would not listen to." Bravo, FREE-LANCE, kill two birds with the single stone of disinterested loyalty, and always ask Government to imitate NELSON with a variation, by turning a deaf ear to the people's petitions.

MAHARAJA MIR KASIM argued convincingly that where a School Final is a passport to service it should be held, but when thousands pass the Matriculation every year it should be the or examination and should be a passport to service. If you don't understand the logic of this ask anybody in Bengal. They will understand it anywhere else.

SRI SIRAJI was unusually eloquent, but as usual inaudibly-throttled the beautiful speech with which he had equipped himself. Indulging, as he said, in no language of flattery or vain compliment characterised the blessing of English education as one of the blessings of British rule, and forgetting the association of processions with torchlight and of students with processions, likened English education to a torch. Little do you know, SRI SIRAJI, what a cult believed to be by some of the blessed educationists, and how it is sometimes mistaken for a fire-brand! You may go back ages and *rishtis* of your ancient land, but approach not the state of the modern world. Indulge as much as you can in high-things so long as you do not think of the heights of Simla and so your living continues to be plain. "Man lives more in the present than in the past," but take care that he does not deserve to the near future by cutting himself too much from the past "whereas in ancient India knowledge and learning was confined few," it is plain that the only policy in consonance with the age the East is to confine it to fewer still.

The SECOND PANDIT must have gladdened the heart of by declaring that probably it is only a question of delay affiliation of the ANANDA MOHAN College "for a year or two, SUREN had condemned Government for delaying it only for six." But he must have gladdened the heart of the SHARP 'UN at by referring—quite unconcernedly, of course,—to the entertained by some people, presumably living in Mars or Ne Saturn, in short anywhere but in India and in that Chamber, that "Government had been trying to check the

secondary education and placing difficulties in its way." He complimented the Secretariat officials on their industry by expressing the fear that even applications for affiliation may be treated "as one of the numerous papers that come up for disposal and are disposed of one way or other under pressure of work."

The one and only original PANDIT followed his *alter ego* and paid a compliment to the faith of Bengal in the good intentions of Government. He suggested the policy of hastening slowly with the School Final so that "after the lapse of some little time even in Bengal the misgivings and the suspicions entertained against this examination will probably pass away." As regards the transfer of the powers of recognition from Universities to Local Governments, the PANDIT, with transparent sincerity, announced that he was certain "there is nothing that the Government have to conceal on this point", and yet his suspicions got the better of his faith, and he somewhat unexpectedly supported the demand for papers.

BOOTLAIR SAHAB now rose to reply. In the Moghal days every battle commenced with the play of artillery on both sides from a safe distance which never did, nor meant to do, any harm to any individual. BOOTLAIR SAHAB imitates these battle tactics to perfection. Every reply of BOOTLAIR SAHAB commences with a play of the artillery of compliments which never do, nor mean to do, any harm to any individual. After that follows the real business of the day and it is pretty terrible business. Last year these tactics were tried on the MILD HINDU who has himself become a past master in the art of showering harmless compliments characteristic of Moderation. This year, in the sad absence of MILD HINDU which robbed Council of its greatest ornament, the artillery duel was indulged in between BOOTLAIR SAHAB and dear SUREN. "Although his words were rather strong and fulminant, (SHARP'UN, do ask the Boy AT THE WHEEL whether such a mixture of nitre, sulphur and potash comes under the Explosives Act.) I gladly recognise (*ahem!*) the moderate tone of his speech and his desire to (*violent cough!!*) help. SUREN had been unnecessarily alarmed. Of course, all due to a misunderstanding, don't you know. Government desire whole-heartedly to take people into confidence. They have no secrets in education. How could you think of such a dreadful thing with me and the SHARP'UN—Yes, specially the SHARP'UN—in the Education Department? Never dreamt of such a thing as substituting mistrust for trust. In fact, I make it a point to avoid anything in the nature of a miss. And pardon me if I take cover—as we sometimes have to do—behind H. E. whom some awful fellow in Bombay was sending back to England next February with a view to substitute the Flaming Sword of the Empire. Surely it was inconceivable to associate mistrust with the Viceroyalty of H. E. Hoping that non-official gentlemen now sufficiently hoist with their own petard, let me proceed to the real business of the day. Of course, as in business—or love—rules, customs, conventions and etiquette must be observed. Those who co-res—(No, you must stick to the 'double r' at least throughout this speech—error)—correspond with Government must feel that they can respond freely and frankly without fear of publicity except in vital cases—to be arranged after full consultation with all concerned, including third parties, known in Roman Law as *extraneis* and in ula society as the plural of *tertium quid*."

Having thus made the necessary pronouncement, BOOTLAIR SAHAB a dear SUREN a nasty knock-out blow about differential treatment between private and Government Colleges, showing that while the Mysingh College relied on unperformed promises, the Rajshahi College either fulfilled the conditions or they were in train. A passing sneer he enthusiasm that was claimed to be ablaze and a little skipping discomfiture of the authorities in the BRAJA MOHAN College brought this part of the reply to an end.

He commenced a long-drawn exegesis on the School Final more hectic of droning pedagogy than of the brilliance of BOOTLAIR SAHAB. "Wonder why Council was not asked to take it as read, or to have in the 'very able and exhaustive' Quinquennial Review" by the SHARP'UN—even though he himself says it as

in this exhausting dissertation, no one in the Council had energy to listen with critical ears the hurried and desultory for proposing transfer of recognition of schools from the titles to Local Governments. Conveniently forgetting—as single official fails to forget, or fails to remember when y—the fallacy pointed out by Lord Morley, that "whatever for Canada is good for India," and that "because a in Canada at certain times of the year is a truly comfortable therefore a furcoat in the Deccan is just the very garment would be delighted to wear," BOOTLAIR SAHAB declared very modern system of educational organisation is based on and growing measure of State control", and that "the education is a duty which the State owes to the parents rising generation." O, BOOTLAIR SAHAB, can you say that rol means the same thing in the half-naked Deccan that far-coated Canada? What respect does the State pay to wishes and what co-operation does it promise to the nation? Nay, what knows it of the thoughts that

pass in the minds of the Indian parents and the dreams that the rising generation dreams?

After laying down a number of questions to be settled by Government which could not be controverted, BOOTLAIR SAHAB skipped over the all important question, whether these questions were to be judged according to the standard of the State or the standard of the parents and the rising generation, excusing himself on the ground that he did not wish "to introduce any unnecessary element of controversy into his remarks." Forgetting that he had already enunciated quite a number of questions to be settled in connection with schools, attempted to show that the Universities had no adequate machinery for ascertaining the condition of schools, as if that was all that needed enquiry. Still the main question was there and could not be avoided. Why a change of policy? So rushed through three or four "complete answers", such as, *firstly*, the new teaching Universities and, *secondly*—the new teaching Universities! But dear BOOTLAIR SAHAB, was not at least one teaching University to be made acceptable to an importunate community by permitting it to recognise schools, on the condition that it did not clamour for the affiliation of outside Colleges, and now, does it "seem necessary to set free" even that teaching University "from the burden of work in connection with schools in order to give it time for its more appropriate work"?

SUREN had talked of the piper and the tune argument glibly enough but had forgotten that BOOTLAIR SAHAB was judiciously distributing his largesse among private schools also, in order to call for the tune that he liked best. SUREN had boasted that out of 619 schools in Bengal only 63 were Government schools. BOOTLAIR SAHAB reminded SUREN that out of 929 private schools only 844 were the pipers that had not been paid for by BOOTLAIR SAHAB and, being anxious to call for the tune, "the Government of India have expressed their desire that grant-in-aid should be made more liberal and elastic." Who talks now of stopping the grant of the new Pied Piper of Alig—no, Hamelin, that wants to play the tune of his own community, of course, in order to compass the destruction of its entire rising generation?

In conclusion BOOTLAIR SAHAB wondered whether people realized the enormous changes that were coming and the necessity for recasting their ideas. "What may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer now. What seems an impossible reform now will perhaps be out of date ten or fifteen years hence. Things are moving very fast in the educational world and if India wants to hold her place, we must move in sympathy with them." True, quite true, and the Hon. Mr. GUR echoes the sentiments of BOOTLAIR SAHAB and hopes that *everybody* would realize the enormous changes that are coming and the necessity for recasting his ideas. How very true that what may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer now, and that the impossible reforms of to-day will be the anachronisms of tomorrow. Things are moving very fast in the educated world of India, and if anybody wants to hold his place, he must move in sympathy with them. Like BOOTLAIR SAHAB, Mr. GUR is an optimist about Indian education, and when he too looks at the results already achieved with the materials at the disposal of India, and reflects on the possibilities as well as the difficulties of the future, he rests in hope. Only he asks Government to believe in the honesty and good intent of India, as Government would have India believe in the honesty and good intent of Government. They are straining every nerve to make Government more responsive to the desires of the people and needs of the time, as BOOTLAIR SAHAB is straining every nerve to make education more responsive to the needs of the people and the time, and both count—and confidently count—on the assistance of each other "in the great work before us all."

SUREN responded in the duel of the artillery of compliments with more compliments about "the tone, the temper and the spirit" of BOOTLAIR SAHAB's speech, and while recognising "the spirit of friendliness and sympathy with which the whole of that speech is charged", dear SUREN saw the Vision of India as it should be. He saw BOOTLAIR SAHAB as the Minister of Education, sitting on the Government Front Bench, and himself, as the Leader of the Opposition, seated on the Front Bench opposite. It was a debate on a motion for publication of papers involving want of confidence in Government, and SUREN felt certain that after the division he would cross with his followers to the other side and leave BOOTLAIR SAHAB to plough the arid sands of Opposition. To be the Prime Minister of India, to be able to control a fifth of God's creatures and to settle their destinies with his "Aye" and "Nay," was indeed a noble ambition. Who, then, can quarrel with dear SUREN for saying to BOOTLAIR SAHAB, "We reciprocate that sentiment on this side of the House?"

This was the one great thing achieved, and the rest was jejune, flat and unprofitable. After demanding greater deference to "the public opinion of the educated community who are the architects of the Government best able to instruct and enlighten Government," SUREN resumed his seat, still "on this side of the House," and through MADRAS-CRUTCHY-PICKLE-AGGAR clearly indicated that on a third part of the Resolution SUREN could hope to secure a dozen votes against four dozen votes of the Government, the much depressed Leader of the Opposition could not muster enough self-confidence to throw down to BOOTLAIR SAHAB the gage of a division. *His modesty is his strength.*

Enver Bey Appointed War Minister.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 4.

The appointment of Enver Bey to be Minister of War and his promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General, which carries with it the title of Pasha, have naturally aroused considerable interest and are susceptible of a variety of explanations. It had been expected that Djemal Bey, who has also been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General with the title of Pasha, would succeed Izzet Pasha. There is a tendency to connect Enver Pasha's appointment with the commencement of work on the part of the German Military Mission under Liman Pasha, on the ground that Enver Pasha, as former military attache in Berlin, would naturally be *persona grata* to the German officers and more capable of rendering them assistance than perhaps any other Ottoman officer.

On the other hand, it is suggested that the appointment of Enver Pasha is a perfectly natural step in the political evolution of Turkey since the definite triumph of the Committee. What, it is asked, could be more normal than the appointment to the highest office but one that is open to a Turkish soldier of one of the most conspicuous figures of the new regime. The truth probably is that, while the influence of the Triple Alliance may have had some weight with the Government so far as the choice of persons is concerned, the appointment of one of the principal Committee officers was inevitable when once it had been decided to make a change at the Ministry of War.

Constantinople, Jan. 7.

Enver Pasha has not waited long before showing his hand. An Imperial *fradeh* issued last night permits him to place on the retired list 280 officers above the rank of Major, among whom are Hadi Pasha, a former Chief of the General Staff, and Hurshid Pasha, a former Minister of Marine, and Commander, during the recent war, of the 10th Army Corps. "Make way for the young," is clearly going to be the motto of the new Minister for War, who has agreed to submit all War Office accounts to the inspection of the civilian employees of the Ministry of Finance. Many Members of the Committee of Union and Progress anticipate, perhaps optimistically, that this concession will save Turkey between £22,500,000 and £28,000,000 per annum.

I learn from a well-informed source to-day that Enver Pasha proposes, for the present at any rate, to combine the functions of Chief of the General Staff with those of Minister for War, though it is difficult to understand how any one officer, however energetic can undertake two such difficult and different tasks without the assistance of an active Turkish or foreign *adlatus*. The mystery, perhaps, is explained by the news which has reached me from the same source that Damad Ismail Hafiz Hakki Bey, a Colonel on the General Staff and formerly Military Attache in Vienna, has been appointed Vice-Chief of the General Staff. Colonel Hafiz Hakki Bey is an energetic and active officer and a keen supporter of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Constantinople, Jan. 8.

An Imperial *fradeh* has been issued sanctioning the appointments of the Inspectors-General of the four Armies and the Commanders of the 18 Army Corps into which the Ottoman Army is to be divided henceforward. The following are the names of the Inspectors-General:—Marshal Tatar Osman Pasha in Constantinople, General of Division Zeki Pasha at Adrianople, Brigadier-General Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, till yesterday Ambassador in Berlin, at Erjindjan, and Brigadier-General Djavid Pasha in Mesopotamia.

Among the appointments of the Army Corps Commanders I may mention those of Liman von Sanders Pasha to the 1st Army Corps, Hassan Izzet Pasha to the 2nd Army Corps, Essad Pasha, the hero of the siege of Yanina, Hertev Pasha, Fakhri Pasha, and Ali-Riza Pasha are appointed to the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Army Corps respectively.

Another Imperial *fradeh*, authorizing the placing on the retired list of over 100 superior officers in the Army, has also been issued. Among those who are affected by this measure may be mentioned, in addition to Hadi Pasha and Hurshid Pasha, Ghazi Shukir Pasha, the defender of Adrianople; Torgud Shevket Pasha and Ahmed Abuk Pasha, both of whom served with credit in the recent campaign; Abdullah Pasha; Ahmed Feuzi Pasha, the aged conqueror of the Yemen; Yaver Pasha, who was made prisoner by the Bulgarians at Feredjik; Hussein Husni Pasha, and, finally, Hassan Tabein Pasha, who surrendered Salonika to the Greeks. Four Commanders of Army Corps and some 25 Commanders of *Minan* or *Redif* divisions figure on this list.

Of the new appointments, that of Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha has aroused considerable interest, for very obvious reasons. Even greater interest is likely to be excited by the statement, published in the *Tanin* this morning, that Enver Pasha will be appointed Chief of the General Staff, assisted by two vice-chiefs, the first of whom

will be a German officer, not as yet definitely selected, while the second, as has been already stated, is Colonel Damad Ismail Hafiz Hakki Bey, who, I may add, is connected with the Imperial Family by his marriage with the daughter of Prince Salah-ed-Din Effendi, the only son of the deceased Sultan Murad V., who was deposed in August, 1876, and died in 1904.

Russia and Azerbaijan.

(BY A TABRIZ CORRESPONDENT OF THE "NEAR EAST".)

Is this still a Persian province? It is hard to think so—

(1) With 25,000 to 35,000 Russian troops* in Azerbaijan, occupying the most important towns—Tabriz, Ardebil, Maku, Khoy, Urmu, Suj Bulak, Dilman (Salmast), Sirab, Maragha, Binab, etc.

(2) With Shuja-ed-Dowleh as Governor-General, appointed by the Russians.

(3) With Governor-General Shuja-ed-Dowleh's palace and person protected by Russian troops every night.

(4) With all the Governors appointed by Shuja-ed-Dowleh being appointed only after their names, character, and inclinations, past personal history and present personal likes and dislikes have been submitted to the Russian Consul-General for his consent and approval, and *vice-versa*.

(5) With all the candidates for Governorships presented by Shuja-ed-Dowleh being considered by the Russian Consul-General as good *Russophiles*.

(6) With a Russian Consul, Vice-Consul, Consular Agent, or even a Tajir-Bashi in every town and city, nominally "to protect the interests of Russians and Russian subjects," but in reality to "advise" the Governor—or, in plain language, to tell the Governor what to do and how to behave towards the Russians and Russian demands.

All these things are not at all surprising considering the fact, the indisputable fact, that Governor-General Haji Shuja-ed-Dowleh receives his instructions for the following day's work every night* from M. Vedinsky, the dragoman of the Russian Consulate-General, by telephone. He dare not move a step without informing M. Vedinsky; and in order to spend a few of the hot summer days at his summer palace, at Namatabad, this Persian Governor-General had to ask the consent of the Russian dragoman before leaving the town!

Now, where is the intelligent man who has any knowledge of the Near East who would, or could, state positively that this unfortunate province of ours is a part of the Persian Kingdom? Sultan Ahmed Shah, the young Shah-in-Shah of Iran, had lost Azerbaijan soon after his accession to the Peacock Throne of Nadir Shah. Of this fact I was informed by a friend, who said to me: "At the time that Mohammed Ali Shah arrived in Gumeshtepa I was in Ardebil. A month before Mohammed Ali reached Persia, before there was any talk or rumour of his coming, I received a letter from an officer in Urmu, who wrote to me: 'Ashes upon our heads! We have lost Azerbaijan. Mohammed Ali Mirza is again returning to Persia, and he has given this province to the Russians as the price of his liberty to regain his lost throne.'"

That is plain enough, is it not? The Russians are, and often have been, criticised for acting as if they were "at home" here. The letter just quoted throws a bright light upon their actions; and according to their own lights, it might be argued that they have a good right to act as they do act, and have been acting, for some time past.

A Persian who was employed by the Russian in their commissariat department related the following incident recently—"I went to the bazars to buy some cartridges for my Browning seven-shooter. The shopkeeper asked me five tomans for fifty cartridges. I offered four. He refused my offer. After much bargaining I consented to pay him the full price he had asked, five tomans; but the man then refused point blank to let me have them. 'I do not care to sell them,' he said. 'Do you mean that you will not sell them at all, or that you do not care to sell them to me?' I asked. The shopkeeper replied: 'I do not care to sell them to you?' Then I was furious. With the butt end of my Browning I struck the man on the head, forehead, nose—anywhere that the blows happened to fall. I left for the barracks, but before going I took the fifty cartridges I needed and left five tomans in the shop—for the shopkeeper, sore and bleeding, had already left his shop to complain to Shuja-ed-Dowleh. An hour afterwards two ferrashes of Shuja-ed-Dowleh came to arrest me."

I must here say that this man, with his Russian military cap, and long boots, was trying to pass himself off for a Russian, though he was a Persian subject. He continued: "I told the ferrashes: 'If Shuja-ed-Dowleh wants me, he must ask the Russian commander

* The Russian troops in the province are usually believed to number about 17,500.—[Ed.]

for me, for I am a Russian subject, and neither you nor your chief could arrest me.' Thereupon the ferrashes apologised for 'not knowing' that I am a Russian subject, and left me, after bowing profoundly. Two hours later a telephone message called me to the Russian Consulate-General, and, of course, I knew at once that Shuja-ed-Dowleh had informed the Consul-General of the incident. I went, and the Consul, meeting me on the verandah, said: 'What has happened to you to-day in the bazaar?' I told him the whole story. Then he, serene and quiet, said to me: 'I do not say that you have behaved badly in the circumstances, but here in Tabriz we are treating the natives rather delicately. You had better be careful hereafter. And that was the only scolding or punishment I got for beating the shopkeeper.'

Outside Tabriz, the Russian subjects, encouraged and protected by their Consular officers, do pretty well as they please. Selling land to foreigners is forbidden; but Russian subjects buy all the land they want—and more! They lend money to Persians, who mortgage their land, vineyards, water-mills, villages, etc. and in case of inability to repay the loan the mortgaged property is appropriated. A Russian subject—a mere subject, not a Consular official—has taken under his protection thirty-five or forty Kurdish villages near and around Suj Bulak. Each of these villages will yield annually from 2,000 to 40,000 tomans. One village near Suj Bulak yields grain alone worth 3,000 tomans annually. Another produces rice worth 10,000 tomans, to say nothing of its grain, barley, hay, straw, monetary taxes, fines, etc. And the Russian subjects who "hire," "rent," or "protect" these native villages profit to the tune of thousands of tomans every year. The citizen of no other nation could do likewise in this province, however. He is not given the chance!

The Near East for October 3 has just come to hand, and I and a number of my friends have been surprised to read the following lines in your "Notes of the Week" about this province (p. 622, col. ii.):—

"As it is the avowed intention of the British and Russian Governments to maintain the integrity of Persia and to confirm the authority of the Persian Government, it would seem necessary to inquire from what quarter Shuja-ed-Dowleh derives his inspiration for his separatist policy."

We—I and my friends—had always thought that if any man understood the politics and diplomacy of the Near East that man was the Editor of the Near East. Now it almost seems either that we have been mistaken in our opinion or else that the Editor is hiding his knowledge and feigning ignorance concerning the quarter whence "Shuja-ed-Dowleh derives his inspiration for his separatist policy." But fortunately the Editor answers his own inquiry, in the first part of the same Note, when he says:—

"Straws, which are supposed to indicate the direction in which the political wind is blowing, are very prominent at the present time in the Persian province of Azerbaijan."

Treasury officials of Persian nationality are arrested by Shuja-ed-Dowleh, and "the Governor-General's action would seem to have met with Russian approval, inasmuch as no step were taken to remonstrate with him or to protect the Treasury officers." Again: "Shuja-ed-Dowleh now appears to have decided that elections for the Majlis would be undesirable for Azerbaijan. . . . An agitation has been set on foot against the summoning of the Majlis. . . . If the elections were suppressed in Azerbaijan, the position of the province would be tantamount to one of independence of the Central Government." All these things and all those which I mentioned earlier are "straws" which indicate in what direction the "political wind is blowing" across this unhappy country, and from what quarter the Governor-General, Shuja-ed-Dowleh, "derives his inspiration"—be it separatist, independent, or vassalist.

After all, we have not been mistaken in our opinion of the Editor's knowledge of Near Eastern winds and the quarter whence they blow!

MIRZA FIROOZ KHAN.

A French View.

Odesa, January 4.

A Frenchman just arrived here from Tabriz, where he has commercial interests, to-day said to me that he frankly did not believe the recent official announcement that Russia was about to withdraw certain of her troops in Azerbaijan to the Caucasus. It was, he said, a stereotyped and empty official intimation to which they in Tabriz had become accustomed during the last three years. The reason for the partial withdrawal given in this latest announcement was that the Persian Cossack force in the capital of Azerbaijan is to be increased by 600 or 800 men, commanded, of course, by Russian officers. But even supposing said my informant, that these additional Persian Cossacks were to relieve the same number of Russian troops in Tabriz, permitting their withdrawal to the Caucasus, that

would not essentially or appreciably deplete the Russian garrisons in Northern Persia, which, all arms included, number 17,400 men. Such periodical announcements of the pending withdrawal of Russian troops, further remarked my informant, were intended, not for the Russian but for the British Press; they make agreeable reading for Englishmen who, with all their admiration for the astute diplomacy of their Foreign Minister, are by no means quite content with the role of "second fiddle" which England plays to Russia in Persia. To-day Northern Persia is *de facto* a Russian province. As my French informant added, Russia in Azerbaijan has adopted the motto of Macmahon at the Malakoff, but in a more literal sense *J'y suis, j'y reste!*"

1914—The Sword of Peace.

In the course of an article in the *Nineteenth Century and after*, Major-General Sir William G. Knox, K. C. B., writes:—

1914! What a blood-red track of war has the twentieth century so far painted upon history—and does the colour promise to be fainter in the year before us? We may doubt it with reason, for the march of our so-called Civilisation has in the past Christian year of 1913 increased the already existing military burden placed upon the white man's shoulders on the Continent of Europe; the penalty due to race hatred, greed, and envy, signs of a veritable slump in Christianity. Never in history has the cradle of civilisation offered such a picture of instability, distrust, rivalry, and rancour. Not a stone has yet been quarried for the foundation of a real Temple of Peace. The world awaits with trepidation the great expenditure of blood and gold which alone will terminate the never-ending threats and rumours of war, the commercial conflicts, the political complications that periodically befog the atmosphere. Armies and fleets redoubled in numbers and efficiency are sad commentaries on Christianity's failure and inefficiency. In any future dispute an appeal to arbitration by a weakly armed nation will find no favour in this twentieth century. 'Forewarned is forearmed' has passed into more than a proverb, and no sympathy can be wasted upon a nation that draws the sword without knowing that its manhood is able and trained to grasp the hilt. Diplomacy may avert the storm for a time, but the rumbling of the thunder seems to return with marvellous regularity, and on each occasion with louder warnings of danger. War preparations have been so perfected and thought out that the flash and the crash are practically simultaneous. The aim of military war staffs is now to attain to such perfection that the armies they direct can deal a 'knock-out' blow to an adversary in the shortest possible round.

Further, so low has the code of honour fallen among some nations that a stouter material than parchment must be found upon which to write future treaties. A people thus dishonoured by tearing up solemn obligations have surely no right to be called a nation. In the honourable comity of nations they are an abomination. The example of a Great Power compounding the felony by an ally of the theft of two fair provinces from a weak neighbour was not lost upon the Kinglets of the Balkan Peninsula. Into what shreds is the Berlin Treaty not torn?—and yet in our simplicity we claimed indestructibility for the recent one of London. Would it be inapt to describe the recent Treaty of Bucharest as a mere paper cone placed upon the summit of a newly raised volcano in the Near East? How can we expect that puny kingdoms which keep their flags flying under the shelter of a slender thread of guaranteed neutrality will receive consideration in the future?

It is this new interpretation of the word honour as a solemn obligation that tends to weaken the recognised chords that should go to make harmony in the Concert of Europe. A string or two may snap at any moment at the bidding of a populace blinded by rapacity or jealousy to the codes that govern chivalry and honour. Discord, the results of the break, clangs into war, and with war and in war nothing is impossible.

The Albanian Throne.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Jan. 3.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* declares that Izzet Pasha's resignation of the post of Minister of War was due to the proposals of the Albanian Mohammedans to make him prince of Albania, and says that he will go to Avlona next week with the Albanian deputation which is at Constantinople. He is said to have expressed his willingness to accept the Albanian offer upon condition that Albania becomes not a kingdom, but a principality, and for at least ten years is placed under the control of Austria-Hungary and Italy. The campaign in favour of Izzet seems to be taken seriously here.

Prince William of Wied, who has been spending Christmas and new year at Newwied, returned to Potsdam to-day.

Rome, Jan. 7.

The *Tribuna* finds comfort in the reflection that the Provisional Government of Albania had evidently no part in the attempt on the part of the Turks to instal Izzet Pasha as Sovereign, and that Ismail Kemal Bey and his gendarmerie have been fully equal to the occasion. On the whole the journal is not disposed to attach much importance to this unsuccessful enterprise or to retreat from its statement that the Eastern situation has much improved in these last days.

Rome, Jan. 7.

A telegram from Avlona of to-day's date says:—

Yesterday evening an Austrian steamer arrived here from Constantinople with 200 Turkish soldiers and six Turkish officers. The intention was to land the troops by night, raise the population and proclaim Izzet Pasha as Sovereign of Albania. The Provisional Government, in agreement with the International Commission of Control and the Dutch gendarmerie officers, immediately proceeded to arrest the Turkish troops. The incident has created a profound impression here.

Paris, Jan. 7.

The rumours as to Izzet Pasha's designs upon the Albanian Throne are treated here, as in Berlin, with seriousness. It is thought that the Turkish Government can scarcely be ignorant of the Young Turkish agitation in Albania, and the rumour that bands dispatched by the Committee of Union and Progress are on their way to San Giovanni di Medua is regarded as a further indication of the aggressive policy of the present Ottoman Ministry.

The Avlona correspondent of the *Temps* states that the International Commission of Control has received trustworthy information to the effect that Young Turkish bands are preparing to land at San Giovanni di Medua. In view of this information it has been decided, after consultation with Colonel Philipps, who commands at Skutari, to obtain the consent of the Powers for the dispatch of a company of international troops to the Alessio region. Avlona was placed under martial law last night.

Constantinople, Jan. 7.

The *Turquie* to-day published a sensational announcement to the effect that Izzet Pasha, a former Cabinet Minister and now an Inspector-General in the Army and a Senator who is of Albanian origin, has been proclaimed Prince of Albania at Durazzo. Turkish official circles deny all knowledge of any such event, or of any such intention on the part of Izzet Pasha, who was recently reported as being about to proceed on a journey to an unspecified portion of Europe. The language of a section of the Committee Press, which has never ceased to express regret at the appointment of a Christian Prince to the Albanian Throne coupled with the fact that an Albanian deputation recently visited Constantinople with the avowed object of interesting Izzet Pasha or other prominent Turkish officers in the situation of the Albanian Moslems, certainly produce the impression that the Committee of Union and Progress, or at all events an influential section of that body is inclined to support any move calculated to strengthen Albania against Greece, or at least to embarrass the latter country. Whether the Powers are regarded as serious factors in the future of Albania is another question. It is certain that not a few well-informed Turks and Europeans are very sceptical about the ability of the European Concert to lend any real support to its candidate for the Albanian throne. One may add that predictions of the appearance of Albanian, Bulgarian, and Turkish bands in Macedonia in the spring are uttered with such conviction in well-informed Turkish circles to-day that one is inclined to wonder whether these Ottoman prophets prophesy because they know.

Vienna, Jan. 7.

The proclamation of a state of siege in Avlona by the Provisional Government and the attempted landing of Turkish troops in the supposed interest of Izzet Pasha have produced an unpleasant impression here, where it is believed that the Turkish Government was cognisant of Izzet's intentions.

As an argument in favour of the probable failure of any attempt such as that ascribed to the ex-Minister of War it is repeated that the candidature of Prince William of Wied has met with the unanimous approval of Christians and Mohammedans alike. It must, however, be observed that the Prince himself has not yet officially announced his acceptance of the Throne, which was made dependent on the fulfillment of certain conditions. All these, more especially the financial conditions have not yet been fulfilled, and in well-informed quarters the belief is gaining ground that the delay in regulating these preliminaries is tending to diminish what slight inclination Prince William himself may have possessed to ascend the Throne of the new Albania. To Austria-Hungary and Italy his withdrawal would be unwelcome, and it is believed that these two Powers are determined to uphold as far as possible his candidature in the face of any attempts that may be made in other quarters to set up a rival ruler.

Constantinople Jan. 8.

Izzet Pasha absolutely denies that he had any knowledge that an attempt was about to be made to place him on the Throne of Albania, or that he was party to the Avlona affair. He declines, however, to define his attitude in the event of his being offered the title which the

Powers have reserved for Prince William of Wied, and explains that his resignation of the post of Minister of War was due to reasons which he is not yet at liberty to make public. Such is the substance of statement communicated by the Pasha to a representative of the *Tribuna*, which is published to-day by the *Turquie*.

Meanwhile the telegram from Rome describing the recent attempt upon Avlona are very curious reading, and suggest to some observers that, whatever may have been the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the affair, Turkish extremists have played a part in attempting to cause a revolution in Albania. Those who hold this view point out that rumours that an attempt of this sort might be made reached several Embassies before Izzet Pasha had resigned, that Ismail Kemal Bey and other members of the Provisional Government are anathema to the Committee of Union and Progress. They point out, moreover, that the departure of 200 "Albanians" on board the Austrian Lloyd steamer Meran was public property some days ago, but was explained, semi-officially, as being in consequence of the activity of the authorities, who for some months past have been ordering Albanians who lack visible means of support, or are believed to be disaffected, to quit Constantinople. Had the attempt been successful, so argue these observers, the Committee would have been able discreetly to inform its supporters that its efforts had established a Moslem Prince on the Throne of Skanderbeg. If it failed no one, with the exception, perhaps, of Izzet Pasha, would be much the worse. Altogether it was a very spirited and hopeful adventure.

On the other hand, it must be stated that not only do Turkish statesmen deny all knowledge of the affair, but that many politicians, since the news of the Avlona incident reached Constantinople, have been at pains to assure foreigners of their complete indifference to what happens in the Albanian State.

Vienna Jan. 8.

News was received here yesterday evening that a further detachment of 300 Turkish soldiers and officers in multi had landed at Avlona. They were arrested and will be sent to Trieste, where they will be handed over to the Turkish authorities.

A telegram from Avlona states that one of the principal promoters of the movement which led to the proclamation of a state of siege was arrested at that port to-day on his arrival from Brindisi.

Hilmi Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, has stated to a representative of the Press that the change in the person of the Minister of War had nothing whatever to do with Albania, and that if Izzet Pasha were to assume any post in that country he would cease to be a Turkish subject and Turkey would have no authority over him. The Ambassador added that at one time proposals were made to Turkey that she should extend her influence over Albania and nominate a Turkish Governor. These suggestions were not, however, listened to, and there is no reason to suppose that the Turkish Government has since changed its policy.

The Hindieh Barrage.

The inauguration of the Hindieh Barrage on the Euphrates, which took place on December 12, 1913, marked the beginning of what will, it is to be hoped, prove a new era of prosperity for this region. Sir John Jackson, Limited, had issued invitations to the Governor-General, chief Government officials, foreign Consuls, and the chief people residing in and about Baghdad, a few days previously; and most of the guests, including the Governor-General, arrived on the scene on the evening of the 11th.

As the waters had already been diverted through the Hindieh Barrage in order to allow the dam across the old bed of the Euphrates to be completed, the ceremony was arranged to take place at the Hilla Canal, whose head is about 450 metres above the Barrage. Across this canal, short distance below the regulator had been built a temporary earthen dam, which, on being broken, would supply the first waters to the Hilla Canal.

Early in the morning of the eventful day, the Governor-General, his staff and guests, accompanied by the Military and a military band, proceeded to the Hilla Canal, the banks of which, at the site where the ceremony was to take place, were lined with soldiers, Arab Sheikhs on horseback, and crowds of Arabs. Opposite the dam was erected a maqnee, to which the Governor-General and guests proceeded. Here, Mr. Arthur Whitley (chief representative in Mesopotamia for Sir John Jackson, Limited) made a speech.

SIR W WILLCOCK'S SURVEY.

After thanking the Governor-General, his emirs, and guests for having come there to perform and assist at the inauguration of the first completed irrigation work, Mr. Whitley went on to say that the work was destined to bring back to the Babylonian realms the prosperity which had so long been lost through want of water. It would assure a perennial supply to the district affected; and he thought that day would become historical in the annals of Mesopotamia as marking the first step towards revivifying a country which

in past times was celebrated for its productiveness. He then sketched briefly the history of the undertaking. By the sage advice of the Minister of Public Works at Stamboul, Sir William Willcocks was commissioned by the Ottoman Government to survey and prepare plans embodying irrigation schemes for the whole of the delta of Mesopotamia. The majority of these plans were ready in 1910, and it was at once decided to commence the works of the Hindieh Barrage and the Habbaniya Escape—both on the Euphrates. The former was for the purpose of distributing water from the Euphrates to the various canals above its site, and more particularly to the Hilla Canal (the old bed of the Euphrates); while the Habbaniya Escape was designed for the purposes of taking off and storing the flood waters which were the cause of disastrous floods during the months of April and May each year. So pressing was this necessity that Sir William Willcocks commenced these works while the Ottoman Government made arrangements with a firm of contractors for their construction. In February, 1911, the Ottoman Government made a contract with Sir John Jackson, Limited, of London, for the works mentioned, and this firm commenced operations immediately.

The works at the Hindieh Barrage (the speaker continued) comprise thirty-six openings, each five metres wide by seven metres high, provided with steel gates for regulating the distribution of water. There is also a submerged barrage, which replaces the old rubble barrage, situated about seven hundred metres below the new works. There are two navigation locks, head regulator for Hilla Canal, and various other subsidiary works. That day witnessed the completion of the essential part of this work, there remaining still the strengthening of the earthen dam across the Euphrates and smaller works.

CONSTRUCTION DIFFICULTIES.

Mr. Whitley could not say that they had arrived at this stage without having encountered difficulties—he did not refer to difficulties of construction, which every engineer expected to meet and overcome in the course of such works. It was only necessary to cast their minds back over the last two years to understand that this had been a very difficult period for the Ministers at Stamboul; but, in spite of all, the works had made progress, and to them the country should offer thanks and congratulations as well as to the Governor-General and officials of Baghdad for having overcome obstacles which sometimes appeared colossal. He did not doubt that those who had participated in bringing matters to their present state would forget the anxieties and troubles met with in remembering that to them belonged the honour of having been the means of bringing to this part of the Ottoman Dominions a boon so large and beneficent.

The speaker concluded: "The firm of Sir John Jackson, Limited on the other hand, have the honour of being the first in this country to bring such a work to a successful conclusion, and bearing in mind that the designer, Sir William Willcocks, attaches great importance to the fact that the Hindieh Barrage and Habbaniya Escape should be operative at the same time, it is hoped that circumstances will permit of our soon handing to the Government another work ready to render such services as will eliminate the yearly catastrophes occasioned by the floods of April and May.

THE VALI'S SPEECH.

To this speech, delivered in French, the Governor-General replied, in Turkish. "We all know," he said, "that the Sanjak of Diwanis is one of the most important parts of Irak. The present state of neglect is due to the change of course of the Euphrates, which formerly assured the prosperity to this vast tract. In spite of the difficulties it has encountered, the Government, in order to turn the river back into its former course to give the inhabitants of this *Ura* the water they require, and to restore life to these regions, has struggled to provide the money necessary for the carrying out of these large and important works. It has persevered in the execution of this work of good-will on behalf of the people." After referring in terms of appreciation to the technical administration, His Excellency went on to say that the works already completed not sufficing for the irrigation of the whole district and the needs of its people, he promised to spare no effort to bring about the execution of what was yet lacking in order to assure the welfare of the *Ura*. He concluded by thanking the Company assembled to take part in the inauguration.

The Governor-General, followed by the principal personages present, then descended the river bank by a special staircase, and proceeded along a narrow bank of earth which held back the water of the Hilla Canal. Prayer was then offered up, the Moslems present standing at attention, with the palms of their hands extended upward, until it was finished. Then the labourers sacrificed twenty sheep on the dam on which the Governor-General stood. Thereafter the Governor-General removed a little earth from the bank with a native spade, as did the Engineer-in-Chief, the Resident Engineer and other persons.

THE DIVERSION OF THE WATERS.

About twenty labourers had been stationed on the bank ready to cut it away; and now, at a given signal, they began to work furiously to remove the last obstacle to the progress of the water towards Hilla. In about five minutes this was accomplished—photos being taken meanwhile—and then, amidst cheers, the shrill order of the Arab women, and the firing of shots into the air, the water broke through and proceeded down the canal. A few Arab women rushed into the water and bathed—"for good luck," it was understood. The assembly lining both banks, numbering about 6,000, then dispersed.

After the ceremony Sir John Jackson, Limited entertained the chief visitors at lunch to which about one hundred and fifty persons sat down. Monsieur Edmond Bechara, the Ottoman Government Engineer-in-chief for irrigation in Mesopotamia, made an interesting speech, in the course of which he remarked that the day of Irak's misfortune were passed, and urged his compatriots to face the future with confidence. The Barrage, he said, was a gift of the Constitution; and he paid homage to the Ministers of Public Works—Nouradoughian Effendi, Haladjian Effendi, and Nizami Pasha—who had worked so hard on its behalf, and to the different Valis who had ably seconded their efforts, especially to Colonel Jemal Bey, to whom the speaker was indebted for having been chosen as head of the Irrigation Service of Irak. Sir William Willcocks, the contractors, Sir John Jackson, Limited, their resident engineer, Mr. Whitley, and his able assistant, Mr. Warbrick, were also warmly thanked; and the speaker declared that if the opening of the Habbaniya works could be accomplished within two years the debt to their British helpers would be all the greater. He concluded by urging the people of Irak to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the construction of the Barrage, and to unite in restoring the historic land to its former state of verdure and fertility, quoting from the Koran the words: "And by means of water hast God given life to all things."

Meissner Pasha, Engineer-in-Chief for the Baghdad section of the German railway, congratulated Sir John Jackson, Limited, on the excellence of the work he had seen.

Mr. Arthur Whitley thanked M. M. Bechara and Meissner Pasha for their kind references and took the opportunity to thank the Ottoman Government for the courtesy and good-will shown by their representative. He said that it had been a great help to recognise that the Valis had soon after their arrival in this country understood the importance of this work, and in the interests of the country had done all that was possible to further the work confided to Sir John Jackson Limited. To the Treasurers were due thanks and congratulations for having found a way out of extraordinary difficulties which sometimes had arisen, and he had no doubt that the gentlemen referred to would bear him out when he said that his firm had rendered them some assistance during the critical periods. He expressed sincere thanks to Mons. Bechara and his staff for their technical aid, which was always gladly offered. Sometimes they (Sir John Jackson, Limited) had thought that the inspection had been perhaps a little rigorous, but he had to admit that their decision was honourable and just. Before sitting down, Mr. Whitley thanked his colleague, Mr. Warbrick, and his staff for the loyal way in which they had worked and said, that if at times they had felt things were not quite like an ordinary contract it was, felt sure, all forgotten now in the knowledge that they were the pioneers for the firm in a new country. After Mr. Warbrick had replied the party broke up, the Governor-General and most of the visitors returning to Baghdad.—*The Near East*

Turkey's New Loan.

During his stay in Paris, Rifaa Bey, the Turkish Minister of Finance, was interviewed by a representative of the *Financial Times*, in the course of which he denied that his presence in Paris was connected with Turkish loan negotiations. With respect to the various rumours circulating on the subject of a Turkish loan of 700 millions of francs (or £28,000,000), and more especially with reference to the criticism that such a sum was very far from sufficient to put the finances of the Ottoman Empire in order, and that if Turkey really wished to set her house definitely to rights £80,000,000 would be required, the Minister replied as follows:

"In order to pay the salaries in arrears of a number of officials and to pay a number of outstanding debts to contractors, we require about £75,000,000. The remainder of the projected loan is intended to be used to pay off the Treasury bonds now held by foreign bankers and to construct the Black Sea Railway."

"With regard to the assertion that if Turkey wished to set her finances completely in order a sum of £80,000,000 at least would be required, the only reply I can give you is that, having made such an assertion and not at all acquainted with the financial position in Turkey."

"The economic development of Asia Minor can only take place progressively. This part of the Empire cannot be turned into a flourishing and rich country from one day to the other, but requires many long years of steady and persistent efforts. There is, therefore, no immediate necessity to provide all the capital necessary for the 'putting into value' of Asia Minor. The money could be provided as the economic conditions of the country gradually develop."

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Asked whether it was true that a portion of the loan of £28,000,000, projected to be raised in France, was destined to military expenditure, and especially to the purchase of a super-Dreadnought, the "Rio de Janeiro," the Minister replied: "It is quite untrue to assert that any portion of this projected loan to be raised in France will be applied to the payment of the super-Dreadnought from Messrs. Armstrong or for military supplies from Messrs. Vickers or any other foreign firm. Allow me to repeat that the £28,000,000 in question will, as I have already told you, be applied to paying the old debts of the Turkish Government, now in suspense, and next to constructing the Black Sea railways the concessions for the working of which are about to be granted to various French syndicates."

Rifaat Bey was most positive in insisting that the Turkish Government would never fail to respect the engagements it had contracted with its foreign bond-holders. He added, "even if Turkey were obliged to deprive herself of her most pressing home requirements she would still honour the interest due on her foreign debts, and nothing in the world would induce her to bring discredit on the service of the public debt." "You may," he added, "formally and officially deny the statement that the Grand Vizier ever made the statements attributed to him."

THE BUDGET.

Referring to the budget, he said that the receipts are expected to total £127,384,300, and the expenditure is put at £132,740,000, thus leaving a deficit of £5,406,000.

All nations, except Russia and the United States, have agreed to Turkey's increasing her *ad valorem* duties from 11 per cent to 15 per cent., and if Turkey should be enabled to carry this proposal into effect, the increase of 4 per cent., it is estimated, will produce an additional revenue of £2,000,000, which would thus reduce the deficit to £3,506,000.

The Porte hopes that the Balkan States will, as arranged, take over such a portion of the Ottoman Debt as is represented by the territories conquered from Turkey, which would take the form of an annuity of about £1,250,000. In this way, if the amount of such annuity be deducted from the estimated expenditure, it is hoped to be submitted to the Turkish Parliament two months hence, the Budgetary deficit will not exceed £2,500,000.—*The Near East*.

Two years of Italian Imperialism.

The Italian General Elections, which took place on October 26th and November 2nd, resulted in the enormously increased number of seats and votes gained by those parties, leaders and personalities who most consistently opposed the Libyan war: and this chiefly in the great manufacturing towns and the best educated rural areas of Northern and Central Italy; it cannot therefore be attributed to the recent enfranchisement of illiterates. Signor Luigi Villari's account of the matter in your columns last November is obviously at fault. I propose to try a complete one based on accessible sources and designed also to correct the accounts of some British writers, who either too naively trusted Italian official information, or, as it would seem, have been more anxious not to displease the official and fashionable circles of Florence and Rome in which they move, than of attaining to historical truth.

Readers only moderately acquainted with its history, and the garbled of British song it inspired, will agree that the Italian *Risorgimento* is not surpassed or even equalled by any other national movement in lofty idealism and heroic loyalty to principles of individual and national rights and of human solidarity between nation and nation. As soon, however, as social problems began to claim the hitherto undivided attention demanded by the process of national unification, a new spirit began to make itself felt.

Mr. Bolton King and Mr. Thomas Okey have well described in *Italy To-day* the spring-tide of Italian socialism and its undeniably great work in teaching workmen and peasants the use of the vote and of organisation; in promoting social legislation; in raising wages; and more especially in abolishing electoral bribery in most southern and central manufacturing towns and in widely scattered rural areas. Unfortunately since 1902, when the Socialist Party began to exert a great and often decisive part in Parliamentary affairs (a part whose climax was reached in 1911, on the eve of the vote for the granting of a widened franchise, including even illiterates, and the creation of a State monopoly of life insurance); the party became bitterly divided on the question of lending support to, or withdrawing from, Liberal Ministers. These quarrels, and the crisis of the Revision theory of social evolution, the appearance of syndicalism,

the abuse of national and local general strikes in public services, often from trifling causes, brought about a falling-off of enthusiasm and energy, and the timid became alarmed at the great influence of Socialism.

University students, hitherto attracted to Socialism, began to be influenced by new philosophical and sociological tendencies. They studied social Darwinism, Nietzsche, pragmatism, while the press echoed the mighty rivalries of world-wide empires for naval supremacy and economic expansion. These studies produced in many minds that confusion of thought so skillfully analysed in Mr. Hobhouse's *Democracy and Reaction*, and resulted in a non-ethical, aggressive view of life and history. It seemed such a relief to shake off the yoke of naturalistic fatalism and the nightmare of the inevitable superiority of the Teutonic over the Latin race. They sunned themselves in joyous anarchy. They felt themselves participants in a creative historical evolution. Then, if other nations were coveting colonies, why should not Italy too, from whose shores yearly swarms of four hundred or even eight hundred thousand men sailed to earn their bread abroad, often only to forget their sweet native tongue and to become citizens of foreign lands? In this spirit the spring of 1911 witnessed the celebrations of the jubilee of national unity. The great turning-point had come; the ideal impulses which had hitherto fed the Socialist movement began to flow into imperialistic channels; and it may be said with some truth that those who started the Press campaign for the Libyan war did it not without hope of preventing the advent of the widened franchise and of the State life insurance monopoly, and perhaps of dealing also a mortal blow to the Socialist Party.

But all this would fail to account for the popularity of the war apart from the influence of the Press. In Italy almost everybody reads one paper only; independence of printed matter is a very rare thing; there is practically no independent Press; all the greatest dailies are supported by powerful private interests or are owned by trusts and they promote the interest which support them by systematically discouraging habits of thoughtful criticism, by exploiting the native aestheticism of the Italian people and ceaselessly cultivating frivolity, sensationalism, gloating over details of crimes and scandals, evoking, according to the subject, either the sceptical or the arrogant mood, and chiefly bent, not on speaking but on manufacturing truth. Such a press, otherwise technically excellent and well written, is not infrequently served by unscrupulous men ever ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder, ambitions of worldly success by subserving powerful coteries. As a rule, each paper voices only its owner's views; no letters to the editor or opponent's articles are, except on trifling matters, admitted to give readers the other side of a question. Therefore, it is the barest truth to say that in Italy, as in France and Germany, Public opinion is a Press-created opinion. *The Libyan war was essentially a Press-organised war, the work of literati, aesthetes, and self-styled INTELLECTUALS of all sorts, exploited by the military and naval classes and the industries dependent thereon, and knavishly thought to be a crusade, all whose cost in money and blood was paid for by the people at large.* Therefore, when the war broke out, public opinion was worked up to acclaim it and to silence, as Signor Villari humorously puts it, opposition. Four or five months before the war, a band of unscrupulous writers from Tripoli sent to the most popular dailies articles magnifying every little misdeed of Turkish administration, sketching fancy pictures of the country they dared call *The Promised Land*. They distorted and falsified Strabo and Pliny to prove that Libya was a second granary of Rome; that water was abundant; the land rich in phosphates and sulphur mines, capable of diverting from America the big stream of Italian emigration, of renewing the miracle of the colonization of the Pampas, and redeeming Italy from the necessity of buying her cotton from the United States. In vain some of the best authorities on the geography, geology, history, and economy of Libya and Islam, such as Prof. Gaetano Mosca, Arcangelo Ghisleri, the Prince of Teano (a Conservative M.P., author of the world-renowned *Annals of Islam*, and for twenty-five years traveller and student of the coveted land), uttered warning against these illusions, which are still shared by Italian writers such as signor Villari, and tried to stem the flood of geographical, economical and historical errors poured forth from the columns of the *Corriere della Sera*, *Tribuna*, *Stampa*, *Giornale d'Italia*, *Mattino*, &c., by a self-constituted university of omniscient professors; it was deemed unpatriotic to hint at their possible untruth. They were, however, systematically collected and exploded in the *Unità* of Florence, and have been mercilessly shattered by the publications of the official scientific commission sent by the Government to Tripoli, on whose report the war Press is astonishingly silent. Not the slightest trace of phosphates or sulphur mines; no hope of successful introduction of Italian agricultural methods; no superficial or deep-rising artisan wells; the problem of drinking-water for possible Italian settlers still awaiting solution; no actual or possible analogy between Libya and the American Pampas owing to the essentially different climate.*

(1) *Primi studi agrologici sulla zona di Tripoli*, Bergamo, 10 lire.

Moreover, every bit of cultivated land is already owned, and properties are much sub-divided. The present form of nomad agriculture is the only one adapted to local conditions, which are incompatible with agriculture of the Italian type; and the returns are always lower than the lowest in Italy. The most profitable industry appears to be cattle-raising. But given the climate and the mountain system of Tripolitania, which both preclude the existence of varying zones of cultivation, nomadic life alone is possible. Signor Ghino Valenti, one of the best agrarian economists in Italy, states that while America allows the Italian emigrant to accumulate a capital, Libya will require the immigrant to be in a position to risk a capital already in existence, in order not to relapse into a condition far worse than that which compelled him to leave his native land. Moreover, it is not true that Italian emigrants are badly paid, since their forward to Italy about twenty millions sterling yearly; and if we remember that many of them are peasant proprietors whose meagre fields do not enable them to live on their native soil, it is absurd to think that Libya will ever take the place of America. The writer of this paper has heard Italian emigrants, who joined the ranks destined for the conquest of Libya, express their utter disappointment with regard to the hopes so irresponsibly kindled in them, and deny any possible analogy, from the emigrant's standpoint, between Libya and America. What Signor Villari says in regard to emigrants anxious to settle in Libya may have been true at the beginning of the infatuation; now it is most emphatically true that the keenest critics of the war and its illusion are the soldiers returning to their native land. Moreover, the problem is complicated by the fact that since Libyan products are similar to Italian, they must compete with those of Southern Italy and Sicily. Finally, with regard to the alleged necessity of colonies to prevent the denationalisation of emigrants and their despised condition in foreign lands, the obvious reply is: first, that they would not be so despised if what to them is only ironically a *motherland* provided them with good education, developing their rich natural endowments so as to make the world feel their unique and inestimable value; and, secondly, that if the sense of organisation were duly cultivated they might, without war, slowly and insensibly impress their genius on and become the governing *élite* of those countries wherein they are already, or are approaching, a numerical majority.

Not unaware of the feeble, fanciful character of all these prospects, the supporters of the Libyan expedition emphasised arguments relating to its political and strategical character. The conquest of Libya, it was said, was necessary to prevent Italy being expelled from the Mediterranean and isolated and cut off from the work of civilisation; to obtain from Turkey, who only gives way to force, favours on behalf of our Levantine trade; or to raise our prestige in the world, which had fallen since the defeats of Lissa (1866) and Adowa (1896). Tripoli, others added, would then form the nucleus of a new Empire destined, in process of time, to absorb Tunis and Algeria and Egypt as far as Abyssinia. Otherwise, sooner or later, England and France might advance from the hinterland to the sea-shore, or some German interest might establish itself in Tripoli or in Cirenaica. And it would seem, indeed, that the real pretext or final determining cause of the Italian expedition was really a vague hint that some German interest was about to obtain concessions from Turkey, till then reluctant to grant similar concessions to Italy. This explanation appears the more probable since all were agreed that the occupation was to be a military promenade without the sacrifice of a dead or a wounded soldier; that the Arabs were anxious to receive the Italians with open arms, and the whole business, according to the Prime Minister's statement to the *New York Herald*, would not cost more than four millions sterling. No wonder, therefore, if in a year filled with patriotic celebrations of the Nation's Jubilee, the whole country, worked up as it was, applauded the prospect of crowning the year with one *fait* more, only just a little more dramatic? Does Signor Villari think that without the fables concerning the *Promised Land* and the belief in its peaceful occupation, the enthusiasm would have been so unanimous?

Now, so far as these arguments are concerned, it may be said: (a) It is obvious that, to prevent another Power obtaining exclusive privileges in Turkey, it would have been sufficient for Italy to conclude an alliance or an *entente* with Turkey in exchange for the coveted commercial concessions; or that, in joint action with other Powers, Italy might have asked for the open door and equality of opportunity in Tripoli: for, all that was worth obtaining commercially in Tripoli would have been obtained without the cost of a military occupation, which has absorbed the value of such trade for perhaps more than half a century. (b) In regard to the strategical and political value of the occupation, it is now admitted that, at least for the present, the nation is weakened in its European influence, owing to the army kept in Libya, and that this is one cause of the increased military armaments in Germany; it is also admitted that as soon as possible Italy must increase her army and navy: this

much was admitted by the *Tribuna* and *Corriere della Sera* of April 3rd last. And even the blind can see that it is more difficult and costly to defend a widely extended coast than to defend the already long and exposed coast of the peninsula and its two greater islands; indeed, there are naval experts who believe that the national defence has been permanently weakened, and there are economists who think that the Libyan war has permanently increased the annual national expenditure by more than ten millions sterling. (c) In regard to the increased prestige, it may be safely said that for many years Italy has not suffered such an affront as the recent decrees of Austrian governors in the yet unredeemed provinces of Trent and Trieste, who dismissed all Italian subjects from employment in the municipal offices of these provinces, independently of the length of their service; decrees as yet followed by no satisfaction. Moreover, neither in Italy among the multitudes feeding on emigration, nor in the lands receiving them, can such prestige be increased by the fact that this year only a miracle seems likely to prevent emigration statistics exceeding 800,000.

Signor Villari feels indignant at the severe attitude of European public opinion with regard to the officially denied Italian atrocities, and explains such attitude as an expression of hostility towards Italy, by powerful international financial interests, through salaried war correspondents. I will briefly remark on this painful topic that in the war correspondence of some Italian dailies (see Luigi Lucatelli in *Secolo*, 8 November) and in soldiers' letters printed in the provincial press, less muzzled, and even inclined to take such feats as acts of bravery, such things can be read as surpassing in atrocity everything written by foreign correspondents. Several of these letters have been collected for posterity by Signor Ghisleri in his leaflet on the *Libyan War and the Law of Nations*. The official explanation of such excesses is simply untrue. Readers of the *Turin Stampa* (29 December, 1912) and the *Naples Mattino* (31 December, 1912), and even of the *Giornale d'Italia* (23 October, 1912), all three Jingo papers, besides readers of Signor De Felice's articles in Sicilian papers (he is an M.P. who went to Tripoli as war correspondent), will have received from eye-witnesses the true and heretofore unchallenged account of the Shara-Shat misdeeds. There was neither rebellion nor treachery by the Arabs, simply an encircling operation, against which the Italian military authorities took no precautions, and which caused a terrible panic among the Italian troops. There was nothing to punish; the oasis slaughter stands unjustified; nor do the Turkish atrocities affect the point, for they were only discovered later; and, after all, if you worry wasps it is silly to complain of being stung. The strictest official censorship controlled the Press, so that that alone should be printed which the Government desired should be believed; and correspondents who reported the *true facts* were mercilessly expelled. It is indeed difficult to find in modern history another such successfully organised deception of a whole nation; of a whole nation so perfectly hypnotised, now into ecstatic passiveness, now into hysterical enthusiasm or indignation by the systematic daily and hourly elaboration of new lies by the Press.

Was the war of any moral or spiritual value? Its first effect was to relax the already rather loose control over the Administration; Parliament was not re-opened, and remained closed for an unusually long period. When re-opened, opposition was silenced or abdicated its functions; in the Press, criticism was suspended; to Socialists alone was left the rare honour of standing alone against the all but universal infatuation. The naval and military industries regained the uncontrolled mastery of the State purse, which the Parliamentary enquiry of 1906 had shaken, and the war expenditure was conducted by methods which no Court would approve of in the case of private individuals; and a greater sincerity in the compilation of Budgets was declared desirable in his election programme by no less a statesman than Baron Sidney Sonnino, the leader of the old Conservative Party. The figures given by Signor Villari represent only money actually paid by the Treasury to the Army and Navy Department, exclusive of pensions, repairs, &c., the total cost of the war is by experts put between forty and sixty millions sterling. The war, though officially ended at Lausanne, really continued at a cost of forty thousand pounds daily. Nobody now denies that either a foreign loan or new taxes will be urgently needed; and though the Prime Minister declared that new taxation must fall on the wealthy alone, he did not explain how, under the present extremely defective Italian methods of ascertaining incomes and the ultra-protectionist fiscal system, such taxation could be prevented from weighing in the long run chiefly on the working classes.

Owing to the world-wide boom in trade, existing taxes have yielded exceedingly well, but surpluses cannot go on for ever, and these taxes weigh heavily on bread, salt, sugar, clothing, and other necessities. Owing to protection, the cost of living in the Continent has increased by about 10 per cent. more than in England. Surpluses ought, therefore, either to lead to a permanent reduction

of existing taxation, or be employed in building better roads, in opening new schools, or raising the shamefully low salaries of elementary and secondary teachers. Meanwhile, it is certain that in the proportion in which money will be wasted in more and less useless public works in Libya, *pro tanto* urgent needs in the peninsula, and chiefly in the south, will be neglected. It is now fashionable in Italy to resent the assertion that Italy is not rich, and that, though in fifty years united Italy has worked marvels, there still exists in her midst such misery, such illiteracy, such lack of civilisation and political education, chiefly but not exclusively in the south, as to make it almost incredible that she should boast of exporting to Libya a commodity of which so many among her own people are so sorely in want. But recent elections prove conclusively that these words are not too strong. Nobody in Italy, even among so-called Radicals, feels as an anomaly the direct interference of the Government through the local authorities to obtain a majority or to ask Government support in the elections. In the south, chiefly in Molletta and Bitonto, Government representatives, in obvious alliance with hooligans, made it quite impossible for thousands of opponents, through sheer terror, to leave their homes on election day, or allowed them to be bullied, kicked, and robbed of their certificates before the polling stations. Police delegates organised and guided hordes of hooligans, who attacked the opposition candidate not only with stones and sticks, but even with pistols and bombs. One of the commonest practices of the State police, as proved recently in a Milanese court was employed on a wide scale in the South during recent elections: knives were placed in people's pockets during meetings and processions, who were arrested and brought before the court as bearers of illegal weapons. Needless to say, judges always accept police evidence as final.

Intimidation on behalf of Ministerial candidates was unprecedented, most of whom owed their success to a compromise with Clericals. The elections, nevertheless, resulted in the moral defeat of the Ministry; the anti-war parties, chiefly Socialists and their *discredited* leaders, as Signor Villari has it, more than doubled their numbers and polled more than a million votes. The leading free trader and pacifist, Signor Giretti, who unlike more faint-hearted pacifists, did not shrink at the Peace Congress at Geneva from condemning the war, triumphed in spite of unexampled Governmental pressure. The country, owing to its moral and economic strength gained during the peaceful period of 1896-1911, has supported the war with energy and resource superior to expectation unhappily, however, squandered in a futile enterprise.

But the country is now wearied by a wasteful, arrogant policy, which destroys its reputation for Liberalism and promotes a dangerous rivalry in naval armaments in the Mediterranean, with its danger of further imperialistic ventures. Already the present Ministry is in difficulties and their successors' task will be a heavy one; already an adequate defence of Libya by sea and land threatens to involve a further expenditure of some forty millions sterling; and the working classes and the awakening South are demanding a better and worthier lot. . . . Surely it is yet too soon to draw the whole moral of the Tripoli raid.

My countryman who share Signor Villari's views will denounce as unpatriotic his account of Italian policy in a foreign periodical. But truth knows no barriers, and, moreover, it is very unfair that supporters of the now prevailing Italian policy should alone claim the privilege exalting it and of sneering at its opponents in the foreign Press, while at the same time claiming to impose on them the duty of patriotic silence, thus levelling down patriotism to an enlarged form of loyalty among associated evil-doers. Surely those who to promote this war did not shrink from organising the systematic deception of their countrymen, and now appear as having offered to the world an unprecedented example of corporate stubborn mendacity, have sinned against Italy's good name and majesty far worse than anyone humbly endeavouring to show how, after all, she was not wholly deceived and is already on the way to regaining her better self.

ANGELO CRISPI.

References: The invaluable collection of the *Unità* of Florence, edited by Prof. Salvemini, and containing the best concrete discussions of the most pressing Italian problems. Via Lungarno Vespucci 12b.

Arcangelo Ghisleri: *Tripolitania e Cirenaica dal Mediterraneo al Sahara*, 3rd edition, Bergamo, Istituto d'artigianato, 1913; by far the best study of the region.

Arcangelo Ghisleri: *La guerra libica e il diritto delle genti*. Libreria politica moderna, Roma 1911; contains a valuable bibliography.

See in *Comrade* 22nd No. of November 22nd, Signor Ojetti's letter on the Government police's brigandage in Molletta. The Bon r-

bons are almost rehabilitated; the *Corriere* is a Jingo conservative paper, and therefore the letter is all the more significant.

Cynicism Old and New.

Cynicism is not fashionable nowadays either as a philosophy or as a method of humour. We no longer take any pleasure in talking scandal about human nature, at least we leave it to men of science to do that, and they do it without any of the gusto of the humourist. The old humorous cynicism was a mischievous attack upon human prestige and dignity. When men were supposed to be a little lower than the Angels, there was some fun in showing their likeness to the beasts. But when that likeness has become a commonplace of science and man has been dethroned by his own thought, cynicism is merely platitude and has as little liveliness about it as copybook morality. No doubt there was a time when the saying that no great man is a hero to his valet seemed both wicked and surprising. But that epigram has been expanded into stout volumes about the connexion between genius and epilepsy, which make us almost thankful that we have not the misfortune to be great. It was possible once to be cynical about Joan of Arc, to prove with some vivacity that she was an impostor supported by priests and statesmen for their own ends, and wit could sparkle over the contrast between this imposture and the splendour of the national legend that it produced. But when medical science takes the matter up and tells us that Joan herself was only the most hysterical person in an age of hysteria, then we have no spirit left to be cynical. Rather we become hypochondriacal about humanity and are tempted to feel that a rest cure is the proper remedy for all its conflicts and glories, for all the illusions which the flesh imposes upon a non-existent spirit.

There is a kind of confidence and security in cynicism which we lack nowadays. Doctor Johnson said that any man who depreciated himself only did so to show how much he had to spare. After all the discoveries and theories of the last hundred years we do not feel that humanity has enough to spare for cynicism. We have scientific formulae for all the old jokes that were made against it, and so the jokes sound to us too much like truth to be amusing. There was a kind of cynical rage in men like Swift which came of disappointment. He felt that he had been taken in by the pretensions of humanity and he revealed them as impostors who might be chastened by the revelation of their own baseness. To him also the animalism of men was mere perversity. His yahoos were bestial by their own fault and therefore lower than beasts; there was something devilish in them which he hated and which he hoped to punish by making them hate themselves. But if Swift were alive now he would leave the description of yahoos to conscientious naturalists such as Zola. His genius, however fierce and unhappy, could not ease itself with cynicism, for it would find no pretensions in humanity to destroy. Nowadays a Swift, writing as he wrote, would have all dull men on his side, and that would be intolerable to him. His rage could not vent itself in scientific platitudes, and it would have therefore to find a vent in some kind of rebellion against them.

Samuel Butler was the last of the cynics; and his behaviour proves how difficult it is to be a cynic in the modern world; for he saw that if he was to escape platitude, he must always keep his temper with mankind. To fall into a rage with humanity was to confess that you had harboured obsolete expectations of it, that you were making discoveries which every one else had made long ago. He therefore remained perfectly calm and treated human beings as if they were rather amusing creatures who might enjoy themselves as much as he enjoyed them if only they would not take anything too seriously. He was, indeed, the first to be cynical about modern science; for he refused to take that any more seriously than any other human product. He smiled at our modern discoveries as much as at our old pretensions. Thus he pointed the way out of the depression which those discoveries have caused. For after all, if we take our own discoveries about ourselves too much to heart, it must be because we have an excessive opinion of our own wisdom. It is conceit that makes us sure of our own insignificance, for if we were not conceited we should be sure of nothing. We are still trusting in our own understanding of the universe even when we give ourselves a very low place in it. He therefore was cynical about that understanding; and in this ultimate cynicism of his there was the germ of a new mysticism, a mysticism which smiles at the self-confidence of man when he declares himself to be nothing but matter. If we have a very low opinion of ourselves we are not likely to be right, for there is an evident inconsistency between that opinion and our confidence in it. So cynicism begins to comfort us when there remains nothing discomfiting for it to say.—The Times.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.) -

Suit No 271 of 1913.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF OF FYZABAD.

Gharib, son of Durga, Kalwai of Mohalla Fatehganj,
Dal Mandi, district Fyzabad Plaintiff,

versus

Mahabir Baqqal, etc. Defendants.

To Raghubeer Baqqal, son of Sital, of mohalla Khodaganj, city Fyzabad, at present residing at Amra Tola Bazar, city Calcutta, as Palladar, through Madho c/o Parag Maharaj, Dal seller of mohalla Emami Basta, city Calcutta, No. 248 and 3, defendant No. 2.

WHEREAS, the abovenamed plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for foreclosure of decree, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 4th day of February 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 23rd day of January 1914.

By ORDER,

(Sd.) SHIAMJI LAL, *Munsarim,*
Munsif's Court, Fyzabad.

NOTICE.

- (1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.
- (2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.
- (3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say, — You are (or each a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the day of
*Fill in "copy of the plaint" or "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be vide Order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.
Hours of attendance at the office of the Munsif's Court at Fyzabad from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.

Saharanpur District Fair.

The Saharanpur District Fair will take place from March the 3rd to March the 9th, 1914. Exhibits must be in their places not later than February 25th. Exhibition includes Agricultural, Machinery and Industrial Courts, Horse, Cattle and Poultry Shows, Races, Wrestling, etc. etc.

J. R. W. BENNETT, I.C.S.,

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Dehli Directory, 1914.

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Italian claims in Asia Minor.

London, Feb. 4.

Reuter learns that Italy is still negotiating direct with Turkey regarding the retrocession of the Aegean Islands. The present pourparlers relate to the Italian desire to obtain compensatory concessions in the region of Adalia (Asia Minor), where they might conflict with Great Britain's interests and prejudice British rights in view of railway extensions, but the matter is the subject of friendly discussion between Italy and the British company concerned.

Peace Propaganda.

Teheran, Feb. 4.

An Americo-Persian Treaty has been signed under which will be referred to an impartial permanent commission for advice all differences which can not be settled through diplomatic channels. Persia is the first Asiatic country to sign such a convention.

Asiatics in America.

London, Feb. 4.

This cancels all the previously adopted amendments providing for the exclusion of Asiatics and Negroes, except where treaties otherwise stipulate.

The Times, Washington correspondent explains that the removal of the obnoxious amendments to the United States Immigration Bill was partly due to pressure from White House, and partly to the realisation of the dangerous folly of the previous amendments. It is hoped that this will counteract the bad effect which certain speeches in the House of Representatives are reported to have exercised on Japanese public opinion.

Washington, Feb. 5.

The Immigration Bill, providing for a literacy test but without the Asiatic exclusion amendments which were previously eliminated, has passed the House of Representatives.

Agra riot.

Agra, Feb. 3.

The Agra Muharram riot case, which was to be heard by the Joint-Magistrate yesterday, has been postponed till Thursday next when Mr. Alston, barrister of Allahabad, will appear for the Crown. Messrs. Habibullah and Aftab Ahmad Khan, barristers, will appear for the defence.

According to the London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, important proposals for a settlement of the Indian question have been forwarded from India for the consideration of the Government of the Union of South Africa. It is understood, however, that no decision on the general question will be come to until the Natal Commission's report has been considered. The proposals, which take the form of amendments to the existing Immigration Regulations, would, while restricting immigration, enable Indians to enjoy all the privileges of British subjects. It is proposed that English-educated Indians who have adopted the standard of living of

The Week.

Albania.

London, Feb. 4.

The trial at Valona of those implicated in the Turkish *coup d'etat* last month is concluded. Major Bekir Bey has been condemned to death and ten Turkish officers to varying terms of imprisonment, one to fifteen years.

Valona, Feb. 1.

The sentences of the court-martial will be submitted to the Prince of Wied. Meanwhile they will be suspended.

Durazzo, Feb. 1.

An agreement has been reached between the Control Commission in Albania and Essad Pasha, who undertakes to resign within three days. The Commission has authorised him to go to meet the Prince of Wied as a representative of the Albanian people.

Peace in the Balkan

Berlin, Feb. 1.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the visit of M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, has produced a most favourable impression, and the conviction has been strengthened that under his guidance Greece will be actuated by the wish to establish peaceful relations with her neighbours and the Great Powers.

Constantinople, Feb. 2.

Diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were formally resumed to-day when it is believed direct pourparlers were opened regarding the Aegean Islands.

the middle class of the South African European population should be freely allowed to settle in South Africa as long as they do not exceed a certain percentage of the European population, to be determined by the South African Government in consultation with the Imperial and the Indian Governments; any increase of the Indian settlers over the maximum prescribed due to births alone not to be objected to; and all Indian settlers to be allowed all the privileges of the European population. In return for these concessions it is proposed that indentured Indian labour should be freely permitted in South Africa, with sufficient safeguards for the proper treatment of the labourers; indentured Indian labourers not to be allowed to settle in South Africa after the expiration of their terms of service, but in all cases to be sent back to India. Other clauses are: of the Indians qualified to remain in the country under clause 6 of the Regulations, those who have a greater landed or business interest in it have preference over those who have less; and of others, older members over newer ones; any Indian certified by any two European members of the South African Parliament or any two members of the British Parliament or by any European District Collector in India to have adopted the standard of living of middle class Europeans to be considered as having that qualification; the marriage law of South Africa to be amended so as to recognise the validity of Indian monogamous marriages.

Pietermaritzburg, Feb. 2.

At a meeting of 1,500 Indians, held to welcome the Rev. Mr. Andrews, a resolution was passed endorsing the terms of the provisional settlement between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, and repudiating the right of the Natal Congress as a mere handful of individuals to testify before the Indian Commission thereby repudiating Mr. Gandhi.

Capetown, Feb. 2.

Mr. Munnik, a Transvaal member of the Union Senates, has given notice of a motion to the effect that the presence of the large numbers of Indians within the Union is detrimental to the best interests of the country, and the Government is therefore requested to remedy the evil as quickly as possible.

Telegrams from India.

The Indian Telegraph Department has received information from South Africa, that all telegrams from India, to the Union were subject to censorship. It is not known whether this announcement is only a belated message sent in the ordinary course to every country as a result of the proclamation of martial law, which has now been removed, or marks a new departure in connection with the Passive Resistance Movement.

Indians in South Africa.

Durban, Feb. 1

A number of members of the Natal Indian Congress are protesting against the decision of the Congress to give evidence before the Indian Commission. They maintain that 60 per cent of the meeting endorsed Mr. Gandhi's opinion in the matter, but the chairman ruled in favour of the minority and ignored the demand for a division. It is believed that the dispute will deter some Indians from giving evidence.

Durban, Jan. 31.

The first evidence regarding complaints by Indians was given by a witness from Laneray Estate, who alleged that native constables had assaulted Indians who were returning from a strike meeting. Colonel Clarke, Commissioner of Police said he believed that both parties in the case were to blame. He had desired an enquiry to be held at the time, but the Indians declined to give evidence. Mr. Keen, Surgeon Superintendent of Indian Immigrants, said he had noticed a physical and financial improvement in Indians during their stay in Natal, which they themselves admitted.

Delhi, Jan. 31.

With reference to Renter's telegram that the National Indian Congress had decided to offer evidence before the Commission, thus disowning Mr. Gandhi's leadership, Mr. Gokhale cabled to Mr. Gandhi for particulars, and has received the following reply jointly from Mr. Gandhi and the Rev Mr. Andrew, dated Durban, 30th instant.

"Congress meeting numbered little over a hundred people. Opinion sharply divided. Large majority voted against giving evidence. So far three indentured Indians only appeared before Commission. Congress meeting engineered by men who were opposed to passive resistance at the very beginning of the struggle. No importance attached to the meeting locally. General European feeling growing in our favour. An influential member of the Senate paid a personal visit to Gandhi at Phoenix yesterday and was most cordial. Offered all help towards settlement. Wanted by-gones forgotten. Don't be anxious."

The Reverend Mr. Andrews has started a tour in India and will afterwards proceed to Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town to meet Indian communities. He sails for England on February 21st. He regards the agreement reached during his and Mr. Gandhi's stay of a fortnight in Pretoria as satisfactory, and hopes that it will lead to a permanent settlement of Indian grievances. Mr. Andrews was deeply touched by the kindness and assistance of the European community.



Our London Letter.

(FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

London, 16th Jan. 1914.

NEW CONVERTS INTO ISLAM.

Two English ladies have been just converted into Islam by the Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, who is being kept very busy at the Woking Mosque with his spiritual work. Day after day, the Khwaja Sahib is engaged with numerous interviews with persons, who go to see him at no little sacrifice of time and money, some of them undertaking long journeys from different parts of the kingdom in order to meet him, either for the solution of some complicated point in Islamic principles and doctrines, which had been weighing upon their minds or else for the formal adoption of the Moslem faith. Several of these newly-converted Moslems, of course, have been for years privately following the great teachings of the holy Prophet and the rites and principles of Islam, though outwardly they had not formally declared themselves as Moslems. The public announcement of the adoption of Islam by several distinguished personages in this country, it seems, has acted as a stimulus to a good many people, who are now rightly hastening to formally embrace Islam. It is really astonishing to notice the large number of English Moslems, who, though real and earnest Moslems at heart, had not been before identified as such. The Islamic Society has a very large field for spiritual activity before it and I understand that the Managing Committee is paying its most careful attention to this problem. No doubt, the Society is greatly handicapped for want of funds, but an earnest appeal for financial help is being made and it is hoped it will meet with a generous response. The weekly Friday Prayers, held at Lindsey Hall under the auspices of the Islamic Society, are drawing large audiences and the truly international character of the Congregation—the real united Islam—is its most happy feature.

COLOUR AT THE BAR.

A rather unusual dispute in legal circles has led to an offer by Sir John Simon, the Attorney-General, to act as arbitrator. It appears that about a year ago, an Indian barrister, a member of the Inner Temple, had sent in his application for membership of the Bar Mess of the Surrey and South London Sessions Circuit. It is obvious that membership of a mess carries social and other privileges, and already there are several Indian barristers, who are members of similar institutions on other Circuits. In this case, curiously enough, the application was refused.

The applicant took his case before the Bar Council and later endeavoured to interest the present Lord Chief Justice, then Attorney-General, in the matter. The present Attorney General has now offered his services as Mediator.

It is doubtful whether Sir John Simon's offer will be accepted. Some of the barristers seem to resent outside interference on the ground that the mess is only a social club, and that a barrister has no rights of membership any more than he would have in the case of the Carlton or any other club.

On the other hand, it is argued by the Indians that, as only a member of the mess can receive the brief for a Crown prosecution, membership is the right of every barrister on the Circuit. A meeting will shortly be held to consider the Attorney-General's Offer.

THE TURKISH NAVY.

According to the *Daily Telegraph's* Constantinople Correspondent, the Ottoman Ministry of Marine will shortly proceed to radical reforms in connection with the officers of the Navy. Many old officers in the higher ranks will be placed on the retired list, in order to permit the promotion of capable and well-trained young officers. Several foremen from Messrs. Armstrong's yards have already arrived at Constantinople and are in service at the Admiralty, and a number of Superior English Officers will shortly arrive there to strengthen the staff of Admiral Lympus. The battleship "Messoudieh" is to be converted into a training ship, and her two big guns are to be sent over to England for certain alterations by Messrs. Armstrong.

TETE À TETE



The main principle underlying Sir Fazulbhai's resolution, so far as we can understand, is that the services of leaders of the Hindu and Moslem communities in each locality should be utilized, firstly, in all cases of disputes concerning religious

Sir Fazulbhai's Resolution.

or quasi-religious ceremonies for the purposes of arranging the time, place and manner of their observance and preventing violence or riots connected therewith, and secondly, in all cases of doubt concerning the nature of the premises to be acquired, for the purpose of determining whether they are places of Hindu or Moslem worship or not. At present the police are practically the only counsellors consulted by those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in cases of differences between the two communities concerning the observance of their ceremonies, and as a rule the unaided judgment of the officer desiring the acquisition of land determines the character of places of worship. If it is claimed that the officials even now always consult non-official opinion, then we do not see what objection Government could have had in giving to the existing practice the character of an invariable rule of law. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai and the Hon. Mr. Sorendranath Bannerjee desired to make the consultation of non-official opinion something more substantial than a pious hope and aspiration. Taking the two considerations together, the principle underlying the resolution may be said to be a compulsory consultation of non-official opinion. So far as we could judge the non-official members of the Council seemed to favour this unanimously. But the way in which the resolution was framed went some way further than the principle of compulsory consultation. Sir Fazulbhai did not ask the Council merely to recommend to Government the formation of a Committee to prepare a draft scheme of legislation for requiring the officials to consult non-officials in cases of dispute about the observance of religious ceremonies and of doubt about the character of buildings alleged to be places of worship, but also attempted to save the proposed Committee the labour of framing the statutory powers of the Conciliation Boards. We are not in love with vague schemes and must confess that the name of Conciliation Boards, which came to India when it was the fashion in England, after Sir George Asquith's first successes as a conciliator in industrial disputes, to talk of them, did not prove as soothing to us as the word Mesopotamia to a certain old lady. Nevertheless we think it is a mistake to make a scheme too definite in the resolution itself. More definition means increased chances of differences of opinion, and therefore more difficulties if a division is called for. Sir Fazulbhai's resolution itself gives to the Conciliation Boards statutory powers to arbitrate in all cases of differences relating to the observance of ceremonies; to take necessary action for the prevention of violence and riots connected with such differences; and to adjudicate upon the nature of the premises to be acquired which are claimed by Hindus or Mussalmans as places of worship. It is quite possible that a practicable scheme of Conciliation Boards with such statutory powers could be framed. But, on the other hand, it is not quite certain and, under the circumstances the deadweight of these conditions is likely to handicap the Committee charged with the duty of framing a workable scheme.

To our mind it would have been better to leave the Committee perfectly free to propose what statutory powers it should give to Conciliation Boards, while imposing on it the duty of framing a scheme for the creation of such Boards

Better Procedure.

as auxiliaries to the officials now responsible for making arrangements for the peaceful observance of Hindu and Moslem

religious and quasi-religious ceremonies, a scheme which should nevertheless provide that the officials should be required to consult them on all such occasions. As for the adjudication of the nature of premises claimed by people as places of worship, obviously the matter is one in which only members of the Board belonging to the community which claims the premises in question as a place of worship can be entrusted with jurisdiction, and equally obviously here they must act as sole judges and not as mere auxiliaries to officials who may not be of the same faith. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai defined the proposal still further in the course of his excellent speech. He explained that the seats on the Boards should be equally divided among Hindus and Mussalmans; that residence in the locality must be necessary as a qualification of eligibility for election; that the Boards should be permanent organisations with a corporate existence, but the members must change periodically; that, unlike arbitrators, they should have statutory powers to take cognisance of disputes upon information irrespective of the wishes of the parties; that in taking precautionary measures for the prevention of violence and riots the initiative should come from the Boards; and that they should guide the executive with their counsels and share in this matter the responsibility of the executive. These, we take it, are the personal views of Sir Fazulbhai, and he did not wish the Committee which he proposed to be bound by them though they deserve its best consideration. Had he, then, also included some of the details of his resolution in the category of his personal views it would have been equally wise, as it would have deprived the resolution of its cast-iron rigidity. In view of the result of the resolution we think Sir Fazulbhai, or, if necessary, some other hon. member should move for the formation of a Committee requiring it to frame a scheme of Conciliation Boards for the general purpose which we have suggested, while leaving the Committee greater scope for its constructive talents than Sir Fazulbhai's resolution left it. And we do not think it necessary to confine the Committee to members of the Imperial Legislative Council, for the inclusion of some members of Provincial Councils and some distinguished Indians, not necessarily Hindu or Moslem, who are not members of any Legislature, would be a distinct improvement.

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhai Ebrahim on the 4th instant moved in the Imperial Legislative Council a resolution for the appointment of a Committee of the Council, composed of

Conciliation.

Hindu and Mahomedan members for preparing a draft scheme for the formation of Conciliation Boards with statutory powers to arbitrate in cases of differences between the two communities as regards the observance of religious and social ceremonies, to take necessary action for the prevention of violence and riots connected with such observance, and to adjudicate upon the nature of premises proposed to be acquired by public bodies or companies and claimed by either Hindus or Mahomedans as places of worship. Whatever one may think of such a proposal, it cannot be gainsaid that it is one more sign of the times, indicating unmistakably that both communities have had enough of fighting with each other and are desirous of a rapprochement. The hon. mover quoted the authority of the *Imperial Gazetteer* to show that Hindus and Mussalmans have lived peacefully together. "By degrees the fervid enthusiasm of the 'early raiders' was softened down; the two religions learned to live 'side by side.'" He also cited the testimony of Sir John Strachey in proof of the religious tolerance of Moslem rulers. "The Mahomedan sovereigns usually treated their subjects, in matter of religion, 'with great tolerance.'" Considering that the contact of Islam with Hinduisms commenced early in the eighth century, and that after eight hundred years of Moslem rule, we found the Hindu community in a fairly flourishing condition no whit behind the Moslem subjects of the Great Moghal in moral qualities and material possessions, thus indicating better than the mere words of a chronicler an era of substantial equality of rights and privileges, and considering that there exist to day innumerable Hindu temples dating from ancient times untouched by iconoclastic hands, it would have been superfluous for the Hon. Sir Fazulbhai to quote the *Imperial Gazetteer* and Sir John Strachey, had not a school of politicians, masquerading as latter-day historians, considered it a religious duty to give a wrong perspective to every intolerant action of a Moslem King or governor and to misinterpret others and of a wholly different character as intolerant actions. Maulana Shibli, whose just and able interpretation of Aurangzeb's character and administration deserves amplification and an English garb could not tolerate these false charges of intolerance. After painting an exquisite word-picture of the marriage procession of Jodhbai whom Jehangir, then heir to the throne of Akbar, had married in order

to obliterate the differences between rulers and ruled, he scornfully says to the Anglo-Indian "politician-historian" :

دلہن کی بالکی خود اپنی کندھوں پر جولای تھی * وہ شہنشاہ اکبر اور جہانگیر اکبر تھا
ہی میں وہ شہیم انگیزان عطر محبت کی * کہ جن سی بوستان ہند برسوں تک مسطر تھا
نہیں لی دیکھی ساری داستان میں یاد آتا ہے کہ «عالمگیر ہندو کشن تھا، ظالم تھا، سنگوٹھا»

(Those who had carried the bride's palanquin on their shoulders were the Emperor Akbar and Jehangir son of Akbar. Thus was scattered the fragrance of the essence of love on account of which the Garden of India was for years and years afterwards fragrant. But all that you remember out of the entire story is this, that "Alamgir was the destroyer of Hindus, was oppressive, and was cruel") We need not, however, live long in the past, for the present is with us and we must so shape it as to evolve for the future a unity of feeling and purpose unknown even to Akbar.

PARTLY as a result of the Hindu consciousness of newly-acquired power, which made a certain amount of ostentation as natural as it was needless and even capable of producing mischief,

The Peace-Makers.

and partly as a result of the consequent Moslem resentment, and the unjustified Moslem ascription of most of their misfortunes to the deliberate actions of "the rival community," the two communities began to drift apart, and, much as we should like to commend the actions of English officials as the blessed peace-makers, we regret we cannot endorse the testimonial that Sir Reginald Craddock gave on the 4th instant to "every Local Government, Commissioner and District Magistrate" for aiming at "holding the balance even between the conflicting claims of various religious communities." At any rate, whatever the aim of "every Local Government, Commissioner and District Magistrate," we know better than Sir Reginald Craddock what the people themselves have on occasions thought about the inclinations of individual officers. This even Sir Reginald cannot deny that the relations of the two great communities of India have been deplorable during the last quarter of a century. But we have reason to believe that in this case also the darkness is the greatest because it just precedes the dawn. Both communities eagerly await the dawn, for the night has been long and dreary. Whether the sun breaks through the dark clouds sooner or later depends for the most part on the two communities themselves and on the intensity of their desire for the dawn. But it will be nothing short of political prudery if we shrink from saying that British officials are also expected to show greater keenness in desiring an early consummation and more practical good-will towards projects of conciliation. It was, indeed, kind of Major Blakeaway to suggest that a request needs to Government to intervene in the manner proposed in Sir Fazulbhai's resolution cast an undeserved reflection on the two communities as it implied that they were incapable of arriving voluntarily at mutual agreement on disputable questions. And the resolution suffers from the apparent defect of asking Government to appoint a Committee of the Council for devising a scheme of Conciliation Boards when the Councillors could do it for themselves. But without being unkind enough to cast an equally undeserved reflection on the officials by supposing that they believe in the old maxim of "divide and rule," we can say that a participation of Government even in the appointment of a Committee such as the Council is could themselves appoint would give additional proof of the good-will of Government towards the object which every right-thinking man, whether Hindu or Moslem, English or Indian, must have in view.

It would be foolish to pretend that the problem for which the Conciliation Boards and Official Critics.

suggested a method of finding a solution presents no difficulties. It bristles with difficulties at every turn and it would heavily tax the good-will as well as the talents of all that desire a happy solution of the problem. We have ourselves pointed out in a general manner the weakness of the resolution moved in the Council and we do not deny that some of the views expressed by Sir Fazulbhai in the course of his speech are open to criticism. But we must confess we did not think the Government would be so bankrupt in criticism as to press into service such objections as the Hon. the Home Member pointed out in the course of his official pronouncement. That the appointment of a Committee of the Council for drafting a scheme of Conciliation Boards would be unconstitutional; that disputes were not confined to large centres where the hon. Mover sought to establish the Boards; that there was no standard Municipal model on which the Boards could be established; that the hon. Mover did not say what sort of franchise there should be for the election of members of the Board; that where there was great numerical disparity

between the communities the numerical equality of the two in the composition of the Boards would give rise to accusations of ignoring the relative interest of the parties; that disputes were not confined to Hindus and Mussalmans alone; that Boards qualified to deal with observance of religious ceremonies would not necessarily be qualified to deal with the observance of social ceremonies, and *vice versa*; that arbitrators in the Boards would not be wholly disinterested; that the Boards had no executive; that the police and Magistrates could not be divested of their powers with a view to bestow them on the Boards; that Hindus could not pronounce on the sanctity of Moslem places of worship and *vice versa*; that if the heads of communities concerned could arrive at an agreement there was no need of statutory powers, and that if they could not, the statutory powers could not give them the necessary agreement; that in disputes sober and moderate men alone could act as arbitrators, but by election most probably the hot-heads would be selected—this long array of objections can only deceive the unthinking and the indifferent with their apparent strength. In the first place, Sir Fazulbhai was moving a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to frame a scheme, and not moving the adoption of a set and dried scheme itself. Hence it was useless to expect him to give details of the franchise or even to object to the resolution itself on the ground that in his speech he expressed certain personal views about which differences of opinion could legitimately exist. And in the next place, it is absurd to believe that any scheme could ever be evolved for anything in the wide wide world which would present no difficulties. What is certain is that the existing arrangements satisfy neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans as the speeches of non-official members clearly showed, and what was demanded of us at the present moment was not even to compare the present unsatisfactory conditions with the prospective benefits of a conjectural scheme to be framed in future, but merely to judge and determine whether a Committee such as Sir Fazulbhai had proposed could with any hope of advantage and with any confidence be entrusted with the task of framing an alternative scheme. This being so, let us examine a little the objection that the Mover was asking Government to take an unconstitutional step.

We fail to see what is unconstitutional in the appointment by Government of a Committee of Hindus and Mussalmans to frame such a scheme. Have Official Preserves and Non-Official Poachers.

Government no power to appoint Committees for advising them as to the best solution of an important administrative problem? And if they have what is there to prevent their confining the personnel of such a Committee to Hindu and Moslem Members of the Imperial Legislature, although we ourselves are opposed to this suggestion? But the question is obviously not one of the powers of Government which no one knows better than the Hon. the Home Member to be ample for all purposes. The question is whether the Executive Government approves of the desire of "the chosen representatives of the people of India", as His Majesty the Emperor himself called the non-official members of the Council, to share with the Executive the responsibility of administration and the initiative in legislation. The Hon. Member for Commerce showed fairly clearly what the Executive thought of these "encroachments" when Sir Fazulbhai desired that a Committee of the Council should examine the whole subject of the English Mail arrangements, although Mr. Clark did not wish to insist on this aspect of the matter. Sir Reginald Craddock stands on less firm ground, for this is not merely an administrative question but if it had been desired to alter the existing arrangements, it would have necessitated legislation. Nevertheless the Hon. the Home Member was far more insistent than the Hon. Member for Commerce, and if we heard him aright he would deny all initiative in legislation to non-official members. That is obviously unconstitutional, for Private Bills have been brought in before, and will continue to be brought in, and it shows how reasonable non-official members are that before they bring in a Private Bill they desire to take steps to throw out the whole question in a Committee of their own instead of leaving such a difficult and many-sided problem to the unaided judgment of an individual. We trust some non-official member will raise the question of the alleged unconstitutionality and obtain the deliberate judgment of the entire Government of India on this subject.

As regards the other objection raised, let us assure Sir Reginald Craddock that in all matters a beginning has to be made, and, if any scheme of conciliation succeeds in preventing shameful quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans over religious or quasi-religious ceremonies, it will not be merely an ordinary

beginning but the beginning of the end. As regards the composition of the Boards, we can well understand that some wiseacre may talk of "relative interests" of the communities, and that perhaps another wiseacre may refer to "political importance." But a Government which can boast that every District Magistrate aims at holding the balance even could have been trusted to refer such wiseacres to the maxims of common-sense and the every day experience of mankind which give a perfect equality to each party in a dispute. At present Sir Reginald Craddock's objection may possibly be the proverbial red rag to a sufficiently enraged bull. Nevertheless we trust there is enough common-sense in the two communities to abjure all ideas of "relative interests" and "political importance" in connection with matters which if not subjected to arbitration would have to be fought over in law Courts where neither "relative interests" nor "political importance" are recognised. As for the qualification of the Boards to deal with social as well as religious ceremonies, and Hindus determining the character of Moslem places of worship, surely Sir Reginald's objection applies with tenfold force to the eligibility of the European official as the arbitrator in these matters, for he, as a rule, understands neither social nor religious etiquette. Is the Competition Wallah to be regarded as the *Sab-janta Walla* also? Perhaps the redoubtable Mr. Sin would vouchsafe a reply to this. And as for the disinterestedness of arbitrators, it is dangerous to deal frankly with the question after knowing the fate of the *Zamindar* and its criticism of the two pictures of Ajudhia at the Bakar 'Id, in 1912 and in 1913.

With one sentiment of Sir Reginald Craddock however, we can express our entire agreement. It is of no avail to cry Peace where there is no Peace. This advice is needed by the sentimentalist as well as the charlatan, for the sentimentalist stultifies himself by preaching unity when he asserts at the same time that what he would create is already in existence. Such efforts at self-deception and deceiving others we have consistently opposed even at the risk of appearing to revel in existing discord. But we also believe that by familiarising men with the idea of unity we also make them prone to reduce the feelings of discord which they themselves cherish. At any rate a great wave of conciliatory feelings has recently passed over the people, and if Sir Reginald Craddock also whole-heartedly joins in the cry of peace we feel certain there will be peace even if it is not. But surely the argument that if there is agreement between the leaders of the community statutory powers are superfluous and if there is no agreement such powers are of no advantage is one of the spaciousness of which needs no arguments to-day when in New Zealand compulsory conciliation has been tried with success, and in English and Irish industrial disputes every effort short of compulsion is made to bring the disputants together and create peace where peace does not exist. For instance, when we know that there is no agreement between the Orangemen in Ulster and the Irish Nationalist, nor between the English supporters of the two, or it of no avail to try to bring agreement about by a round table Conference of the two of which we have heard so much? The fact is we are apt to magnify small differences from a distance, and it is only by bringing disputants together that we discover how petty they are and how easy is the solution of such exaggerated difficulties.

One word more and we have done. Has not the time come for the officials to discover some other pot than the champions of "sobriety and moderation" and some other bogey than "hot-headed youngsters"? Surely they have now become only too stale, flat and unprofitable. If anybody of people is young in India it is the bureaucracy, which often places its babies and sucklings in charge of whole districts and does not permit any one above the age of 55 to remain in the country, though we must confess heat seems to increase in this case with age, as if a Sinking Fund of bad temper had been established and the annual accumulations were at 55 in excess of the maximum fixed for the boiler. Indian experience shows that the champions of "sobriety and moderation" are the worst bigots, and official pets have only to be named to prove them guilty to the hilt of fomenting quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans, and Sannies and Shiaks. If we seek guidance from English experience, the ages of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill and Mr. F. E. Smith will only prove that howsoever hot-headed youth may be, no outstanding differences can be finally settled unless these real representatives of the people who are keenly interested in their welfare and understand the nature of the differences can agree on some plan of settlement. The "sober and moderate" are only too often synonymous with the "ill informed and the indifferent," and it is of no avail if only they cry peace!

We publish elsewhere a letter (from Mr. Zafar Ali Khan which he has sent to us from London and in which he describes the vigorous of the Indian Press Laws and the efforts he is making in England to have them softened in some measure. The Press Act in its existing shape especially in

The Forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press."

view of the manner of its actual working, has created widespread dissatisfaction in India. Its safe-guards have been declared to be illusory, and unless better provision is made for discriminating between the guilty and the innocent, there will be no reasonable certainty of its judicious application. As ill-luck would have it, several Moslem papers have been dealt heavily by the Press Law and legitimate grievance has come to exist. The case of the *Zamindar* is an exceptionally sad one. We need not pronounce on the merits of the order forfeiting the *Zamindar* Press, but we are sure the Punjab Government is aware by this time that profound sympathy is felt by the Mussalmans for the proprietor who has had to bear misfortunes in rapid succession. The meeting of sympathy held in Delhi on Friday last was a great success in every way. Rs. 500 were subscribed on the spot for the fund that is being raised to resuscitate *Zamindar* and the organisers of the meeting expect to raise Rs. 5,000 from the people of Delhi. It was at the same time resolved to approach the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab with an all-India memorial requesting His Honour to kindly reconsider the order of forfeiture. This is a line of action which we have ourselves followed and we are glad to find that others are equally desirous of following it. As regards the Press Act, we think that, although the education of British public opinion is in all matters a very desirable undertaking, efforts may with greater advantage be made in India also. The case for the necessary amendment of the Act if not its repeal is incontestable, and we are sure the considered judgment of the whole country will weigh greatly with a statesman of the broad minded sympathies of Lord Hardinge. We have not yet lost faith in the Government of India eventually realising the justice of our demand, and in the meantime it is our duty to go on pressing it in a reasonable spirit and without importing unnecessary heat into the controversy.

We have already noticed at some length the secrecy that surrounded the coming of the Ottoman Consul-General to Delhi and the way in which the carpet was smuggled into the mosque. We have also made it clear that the Mussalmans of Delhi felt deep

indignation and disappointment when they learnt that somebody had made them the victims of a practical joke. The whole affair seemed to have been stage-managed from start to finish—only the Deputy Commissioner's chaprassi and the invisible mosque authorities had the stage and the auditorium completely to themselves. Whether such a thorough going measure of secrecy was at all justified in the circumstances it is hardly worth our while to discuss. If the Mussalmans had been allowed to carry out their own arrangements for a public demonstration in honour of the Consul-General and receive the gift of the Caliph with all due ceremony, they would have felt deeply grateful. It is worth remembering, however, that the sympathies of the Indian Moslems for their Turkish brethren or their sentiment of reverence for the Caliph cannot be chilled by cold douches administered in any inopportune manner. Hundreds of the Delhi Moslems went to the railway station as soon as they heard late in the afternoon that the Consul-General was coming. The exact time of his arrival was, however, not known, and many of them not being certain whether he was coming at all, besides being hungry after a long and hot day's waiting, went back disappointed to their homes. When the Consul-General arrived at midnight, there were still a few hundreds of people on the platform to greet him. In the mosque the following day the large congregation of some fifteen thousand people that had assembled for the Jum'a prayers and in evident expectation to see the representative of the Caliph, burnt with eager desire to express their feelings of brotherly love for his nation and their sentiments of respect and reverence for his Sovereign. The Consul-General, however, owing to the extreme delicacy of his official position, naturally wished that there should be no demonstration that might be embarrassing to him. He could not shake hands with every body, but there were still hundreds who pressed forward eagerly to kiss the hem of his garments. There is no danger whatever if these harmless feelings are allowed a natural outlet. In fact a frank and open acceptance of a natural sentiment and even more so its appreciation would endear England to the Moslem masses.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

IV.

To-day we turn to the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council initiated by the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee on the 9th January, on the subject of the Press Act and our explanation for the delay in commenting on the discussion is that the majority of the people the points discussed would have been far from clear if we had not previously discussed the main provisions of the Act as interpreted by so competent an authority as a Bench of the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court.

We have explained in the earlier articles on the Press Act what was claimed for it by the framers of the Press Bill when they enacted it in 1908, and how badly the theory has fared in actual practice, and more particularly we have shown in the last article how devoid of all reality is the reference to the judiciary. It is, however, necessary to begin our review of the Council debate by stating what the resolution of Mr. Bannerjee did not demand before we discuss what it actually demanded, for the omissions of the resolution are even more important than its modest demand.

Now the mainspring of the whole Act is section 4 sub-section (1) which was designed to indicate what constitutes an offence under the Act. It is the publication of words, signs or visible representations of a certain character described in this part of the Act which makes the keeper of a Press liable to forfeit his primary security and his secondary security together with his entire Press. It is such a publication that makes the publisher of a newspaper liable to forfeit his primary and secondary securities. Again, it is such a publication that makes the possessor of a book, newspaper or other document liable to forfeit his book, newspaper or other document, whether he may have only a single copy thereof or a hundred thousand. These are punishments, obviously enough and fairly severe at that, though it was claimed for the Act that it was a *preventive* and not a *punitive* measure. If a man is to be punished for an offence it will be readily conceded that he should know wherein he has offended; but when a measure is enacted to *prevent* offences it is all the more necessary to make it clear wherein lies the offence. This is too obvious to need further insistence, for even a dog-fancier would not punish a puppy without previously making some crude efforts at least to teach it what to do and what to abstain from doing. But here we have not a punitive but a preventive measure, an enactment, which, as the Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavan pointed out, was intended by its sponsors to take the place of public opinion in India and was expected to prove to be a "wholesome and beneficial measure of national education;" and yet even the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court cannot say what kind of publications are offensive under the Act and what inoffensive and innocuous. "The section embraces," in the words of the great Chief Justice of Bengal, "the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other."

Sir Reginald Craddock referring to our Pamphlet Case, takes comfort in expressing the thought, if not in the thought itself, that the learned Chief Justice "committed himself to no specific statement that the interpretation placed upon the document then before the Court by the Government was itself far-fetched or arbitrary." Surely it was of no avail for the Chief Justice to "commit himself to any specific statement" of the character about the particular pamphlet when he had already committed himself to half a dozen statements, each more specific than the other, about the general character of the law describing the offence, which made it an almost hopeless task for the most innocent applicant to prove the negative which the law required him to prove. If every thing is an offence, and no applicant can succeed in having the order of the executive upset by a judiciary left impotent in practice, whether by design or accident, why should the judges waste time ever adjudicating elaborately on the degree of assurance between the polar opposites of the certain and the impossible with which a publication can be called offensive according to the Act? But the Chief Justice expressed his opinion about the pamphlet quite clearly for all the world to see—except those, of course, of whom it is said: "None are so blind as those who will not see"—that the order of forfeiture was arbitrary and far-fetched. "The pamphlet," said the Chief Justice, "would doubtless bring into hatred the un-Christian Christians whose deeds of atrocity are described. The theory presented is that the reflection of this hatred might fall, not indeed on the Government, but on His Majesty's Christian or English subjects in British India. If this is the Government's view, with all the information at its disposal, the Court, no more informed than the man in the street, cannot (in my opinion) affirm this could not be so, and affirm it with a degree of assurance that would entitle it to set aside a measure of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved." This

judgment has to be taken in conjunction with Sir Lawrence pointing out of the absurd anomaly which in his opinion "leads to a curious result." It is the omission (probably due to "an oversight as the Chief Justice says,") of the Explanations to section 158A of the Indian Penal Code, though the Explanations to section 124A have been incorporated in the Press Act. The result is that if certain writings are alleged "to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government by law established in British India," or "to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government," it may be urged in the defence of such writings that they were only "comments expressing disapproval of the measure of Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection," and therefore "do not come within the scope" of the law describing the offence; but if they are alleged to bring into hatred or contempt only a "class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India," it is of no avail to urge in a Press Act case, though it is a satisfactory explanation in a case under the Indian Penal Code that the writing "point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects" and thus "it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section." Now the learned Advocate-General had already stated in Court that "he attributes no criminal offence" to us and in the words of the judgment "he was even willing to concede and believe" we were "acting in the highest interest of humanity and civilization." Bearing in mind these considerations the Hon. the Chief Justice wrote in his judgment that "had the Press Act incorporated the explanation to section 158A, it has that to section 124A, we might perhaps have made a very strong case in view of the Advocate-General's admission as to the character of the pamphlet and our purpose and intentions." All this can leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that but for the all-comprehensive words of grounds 4 sub-section (1) and the absence of a statement of the grounds of the Government's opinion we should have not only retained our character but also regained our book. If this does not satisfy Sir Reginald Craddock the fault is not that of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, whose remarkably restrained expression of opinion is in such glaring contrast to the blunt and downright utterances of those who never let slip an opportunity of running down the judiciary whenever it shows its independence. It is true that one of the judges, Sir Harry Stephen, very hesitatingly characterized the gradient from "a hatred of the Allies" to "a hatred of the co-religionists of the Allies" as "but a short step." But is it fair to lace the judgment of Sir Harry Stephen, by detaching this sentence from the one immediately following it and from another with which he commenced his adjudication on the facts of the case? Did not Sir Harry Stephen begin by saying: "Under the circumstances I have no doubt that any opinion I may express will be received by others with the respect that is due to the office I have the honour to hold, but it will be impossible for me to share in this feeling?" And did he not conclude in the same spirit when he said he had no doubts about the distance between the two feelings, "a hatred of the Allies" and "a hatred of the co-religionists of the Allies", but that "the absence of doubt is probably due to the absence of evidence, and cannot be taken as going far towards showing that the opinion is correct."

But it is not our purpose here to play the understudy to that brilliant advocate, Mr. Eardley Norton, who fought for us so valiantly, so eloquently and so generously, and to argue the Pamphlet Case over again. The Hon. Dr. Kenrick will forgive us if we express the universal opinion of the Calcutta Bar that he came off a distant second best in that forensic contest, and the Hon. the Home Member would perhaps disdain even a comparison with mere advocates of the Calcutta High Court instead of minding the opinion that his own arguments against the pamphlet in the Council debate are merely an indistinct echo of the learned Advocate-General's. Our purpose was to show that in the opinion of those competent to interpret the law, the words of the section describing the offence are so wide that practically nothing can escape them. In other words, no one is in a position to know whether anything that he has published in his Press or in his newspaper or that any other person has published in a book or newspaper or other document in his possession is offensive or not, until, of course, a declaration of forfeiture is published in the official Gazette. The first condition of all penal legislation is that it should be certain and clear. That condition the Press Act with the all-embracing provisions of section 4 sub-section (1) on the showing of the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court does not fulfil. That being the case, we do not see why any such law as the Press Act was ever enacted. Government could have announced in the twentieth century their reversion to the well-known maxim in the Institutes of Emperor Justinian that the will of the ruler has the force of law. Why did the late Sir Herbert Risley offer a long and elaborate explanation of the Bill and its urgent need? Why did Mr. S. P. Sinha, besides the great assurance of his own loyalty at another's offering, give the assurances and pledges that have now

proved so inconvenient? Why were three whole days wasted as an interval between the presentation and the passage of the Bill? And why were so many non-official members, including the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, made to generate 'gas'? A plain blunt announcement that, as in the case of deportations under Regulation III of 1818, Local Governments perched on Himalayan heights would fling bolts from the blue from which nobody who incurred the wrath of the gods would be immune, and against which no appeal to any other power would lie, would have spared all the fever and the fret in 1908, all those wranglings in 1913 about mandatory conditions and absence of jurisdiction, and all the idle talk now about offending words or articles or pictures etc. Orientals are generally condemned as fatalists, and had the adoption of Justinian's legal maxim been then announced, whosoever was stricken, surrendering himself to a grim and inexorable fate after, would have quietly lain himself to die. No meetings of protest, no questions asked or resolutions moved in Council. No, not even a groan as the *Tauhid* died and the *Zumindar* breathed its last.

But if Government is ashamed of retrogression till it crawled on all fours, then we are entitled to ask that something more should be provided by way of a safeguard than the mere assurance that the Heads of Local Governments are angels that cannot sin even if they would and that they breathe the pure air of a world entirely different from our own where neither the fumes of passion, nor of prejudice nor of pride and prestige taint the atmosphere. The mists that enveloped the gods on Olympus are fast disappearing, and if the gaze of the worshippers below is directed too much towards them, the fear is that they may sink into commonplace mortals, in some cases possibly quite as vulgar and petty at heart, in spite of differences of surroundings, as the devotees themselves. Too much insistence on their divinity may not prove the height of wisdom, for it is just possible that divinity may disappear never to return again, and even ordinary humanity may come to be denied or at least doubted.

So much for the Hon. the Home Members' well meant assurance that "the Acts in the Statute-Book are full of large powers reserved to Local Governments, and it is always assumed that the Local Governments is a responsible body who will exercise those powers with reason and discretion." We have already seen that the reference to the judiciary has at present no reality, and therefore it is equally futile to assure us that "no Local Government is going to publish abroad, or take action which may come before the public or the High Court which is likely to show that it has acted in a very foolish and irresponsible manner." In fact, we propose to show in another article in this series how little these considerations have weighed with the all-wise and responsible Local Governments, and when the facts of the *Badr* case are published the Hon. the Home Member may perhaps desire to modify his assurance. The fact is that, after Sir Lawrence Jenkins's judgment even more than before, Local Governments feel so secure of an uninterrupted autocracy responsible to none but to their own good conscience as to give rise to grave apprehension. It may be that unless the law is modified they may degenerate into petty despotisms run by Under-Secretaries assisted by the original translators of the C. I. D., a couple of titled "loyalists" and the "smart" Sub-Inspector of Police. If the reference to the judiciary is at least sometimes a necessary check, as even the Hon. the present Home Member must confess, then what needs attention above all else is section 4 sub-section (1) and, para-logical as it may appear, we have to commence our comments on the debate of 9th January by regretting that the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee's resolution left this part of the Act altogether untouched. We reserve for another occasion a discussion of the alterations that must be made before the Act can be considered even presentable, and it should suffice to state here that no scheme of modification can be deemed even modestly good unless section 4 sub-section (1) is materially amended.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

VI.

If one could indulge in the dangerous pastime of generalisation without unduly offending one's intellectual sensibilities, it would be only to say that all generalisation is dangerous. This may or may not be the sort of truism that speedily pass through the popular mind and become current coin. But it is all the same the one great fact of intimate experience that meets the humble plodder after Truth everywhere as he comes across error, ugliness and absurdity in human affairs. We need not refer to history, on whose pages the truth of this observation is writ very large, to inquire how some explosive half-truth disguised as a great religious doctrine or philosophical principle has caught on like a paraffin fire and played havoc with the fortunes of man. We would only take an example of contemporary experience which would amply prove how far this insatiable intellectual vice can become a great power for evil in the lives of nations and communities. The relations between the East and the West have an immemorial history. There is nothing so remarkable in the current modes of thought which govern the existing relations between them as the contents of the terms known as "the East" and "the West." They no

longer represent the two divisions of the earth originally known to Geography, they are used to mark the gulf of spirit that is supposed to divide the races of mankind inhabiting Europe and Asia. In "the East" or "the Orient" is lumped together at one sweep a whole series of impressions, feelings and judgments that an average European has inherited or acquired about the psychology, character, temperament, mentality and aptitude of the Asiatic, in short, about his whole nature and destiny as man. The mental attitude of the European has been formed in a large measure by the stock generalities which permeate the very air he breathes. These are his indispensable aids and short-cuts to thought, as necessary, in fact, for the sluggish movements of his mind as a crutch to the cripple. They have been devised and fashioned for his use by a large army of industrious triflers—the so-called "experts" who live to prove the paradox that the part is larger than the whole. "The primitive mind with its untutored instincts and child-like curiosity peopled the world with spirits, which were at least human in their likes and dislikes. The modern pseudo-scientist has created a new mythology, and made the universe the sport of new gods—the ruthless, implacable "Laws" and "Principles" whose name is legion. "The East" is one of the myths of the pseudo-science of Europe, one of those breathless and sweeping generalisations, with a host of corollaries, which crib, cabin and confine human spirit and throw a dark and dismal shadow across history. "The East is unchanging and—unchangeable." "The East is East etc. etc." These are a few facets of the Truth whose image is being unveiled in the politico-scientific laboratories of Europe. Democracy and parliament and other social and political institutions that can only flourish in a Western climate, are of course unthinkable in the East. This may be true or false—at least there are no sufficient data to form a judgment, in spite of the European verdicts on the constitutional experiments in Turkey, Persia and China. But even granting that it is true, that the nations in the East cannot imitate Western political institutions with success, the circumstance can have no higher significance than that the lines of human development are chiefly determined by heredity and environment. And Western wisdom has itself pronounced that the influences transmitted by heredity can be modified and that environment is subject to constant change. And yet the mere fact, that in some of its visible social and political aspects Asia differs from Europe, has been flung as an eternal reproach on the peoples of the East. It constitutes their badge of inferiority, the basis of their social disinheritance, the sentence of their political death.

Are the peoples of Asia, after all, so irrevocably and absolutely damned? The question is absurd, but even absurd questions sometimes become menacing problems in the lives of communities. Woman is still suffering from the effects of a man-made social philosophy, and the peoples of Asia are similarly in danger of falling into self-contempt under the spell of the pseudo-scientific dogmas of Europe. Measured by the tests of political power and material affluence the European communities are undoubtedly in the van of progress, and the Eastern races occupy a far lower position. That is no reason, however, why the latter should lose all self-respect or consider themselves eternally stamped with failure and incapacity. They have not followed the line of political development traced by Europe, and this may be taken to be their most obvious failing or misfortune. The causes that account for this are not a part of their character and psychology, but are mere accidents of history. The European races owe their marvellous political consciousness and cohesion to the fact that the earliest experiments in the constitution of the State took their origin among small communities confined within narrow geographical limits. These experiments fixed the type and the ideal for all subsequent ages. Through changes, and revolutions and racial entanglements the ideal endured. The experience of the early races trained in civic duty and active social purpose became a powerful inspiration, and the State with but temporary lapses embodied a conscious or unconscious effort on the part of the people to conform to the original type. Political activity became part of the general habit of the individual. The modern European has naturally inherited the habit in full measure. In the East, on the other hand, the development of the State has been wholly different in character. Asia not only comprises a large portion of the earth's surface, but is itself divided into vast stretches of plains, with fertile soil and genial climate, capable of rearing and maintaining huge populations. These facts—mere geographical accidents, so to speak—have had a profound influence on the political development of the Asiatic races. Vast communities spread over enormous areas and exposed to easy attack and pillage, need strong military forces under the absolute control of capable and trusted leaders. The system contains ample germs for the final growth of autocracy and dictatorship. Successful military rulers, fired with ambition and finding few physical obstacles to the mobility of their armies, overran vast territories and founded dynastic empires. The political history of Asia has been but a sterile repetition of this, of great empires rising and falling with the rise and fall of great military adventurers. Under the weight of sheer vastness of effort and socio-political experiments on an enormous scale the political instincts of the peoples were crushed almost to death. They

gradually lost the sense of political responsibility and became, what has been truly said, State-blind. Their spirit became imprisoned within them and sought consolation in intense religious life. The loss of political individuality ceased to be felt when the mind found new values of life and the heart became attuned to the new voices from beyond the grave. Race, nationality, country—all these ceased to have any meaning. Religion became the supreme test of social unity and the foundation of all social life.

These observations form the necessary setting of the most anxious problem that modern India has got to face. Those who talk, sometimes with glib assurance, of the evolution of an Indian nationality forget the magnitude of the process it involves. It means nothing less than that diverse communities, that have been State-blind for centuries, that have owned no master but religion, that have felt no loyalty as exacting as their devotion to their creeds, that have measured their social duty and purpose in terms of the ideals of their faiths, should transfer their allegiance, loyalty and devotion, at least in part, to another abstraction known as "Motherland" and recast their social values in the light of this new secular enthusiasm. The demand, no doubt noble in intent, involves a tremendous change in mental outlook and social temperament. There are only two ways in which it can be met. Either religion itself should furnish the basis of co-operation among the different communities for all secular purposes, or as a supreme motive of conduct and endeavour it should give place to Nationalism. Thanks to the influences and teachings of the West, the demand is growing insistent in India and it shall have to be met in one way or the other. The scope of individual aim and desires is expanding and the pall of inertia is lifting from the spirit of the people. Mr. H. G. Wells in his new story, "The World Set Free," which is continued in the January *English Review*, describes the "New spirit" of the year 1970 in the following passage which bears some resemblance to the new spirit of the India of to-day:—

There was already dawning the light of a new era. The spirit of humanity was escaping, even then it was escaping, from its extreme imprisonment in individuals. Salvation from the bitter intensities of self, which had been a conscious religious end for thousands of years, which men had sought in mortification, in wilderness, in meditation and by innumerable strange paths, was coming at last with the effect of naturalness into the talk of men, into the books they read, into their unconscious gesture, into their newspapers and daily purposes and every-day acts. The broad horizons, the magic possibilities that the spirit of the secker had revealed to them were charming them out of those ancient and instinctive pre-occupations from which the very threat of hell and torment had failed to drive them.

This emancipation of the human spirit from the thralldom of the rusting traditions of old, which Mr. Wells forecasts with such vividness, is in a not altogether dissimilar sense taking place in India even now. Political consciousness is reviving, people are beginning to think more and more of their present limitations and future possibilities, self is emerging from its retirement within a rarified religious emotionalism and recovering the old human confidence in its powers to create the social and political environment which should breathe the spirit of the ideals that feed pure religious instincts. In a state of absolute political coma the individual found the freedom of his spirit only in religion. But it was not a complete religious life that he could live. All religion postulates social duty and a deliberate effort to organise the wills of individuals into that powerful and effective instrument known as the State. Political despotism in the East, however, maimed and dwarfed the social and political faculties of the individual, and while on the one hand the religious life of communities became impoverished, on the other hand the religious faith of the individual turned upon itself and grew more intensified within him. And now that the breath of freedom has blown into the lives of ancient communities and individuality is beginning to have ampler scope, religion is entering on its fuller sphere of influence and beginning to inspire men with fresh conceptions of social duty and endeavour. In India the process has gone on at a rapid pace. Those who imagined that Western ideas would act like a bomb shell amidst the spiritual lives of the Indian communities and ancient creeds would crumble into dust, had no historical sense and were ignorant of the great truth that it was only religion that had kept the Indian society from disintegration in spite of the utter paralysis that had struck down its political organs. And now that its political organs are stirring into fresh life, religious force is becoming correspondingly active and strong and regaining its natural influence over society and politics. This is a fact of the deepest significance in the life of modern India. An intense spirit of religious reform and revivalism broke forth some decades ago and its force has not yet spent itself. The assault of latter-day agnosticism has made no impression on the citadel of belief in India. This should, we think, dispose of the contention that Indian Nationalism would be a development of free-thinking and would derive its strength mainly from the confusion, decay and death of the religious beliefs amongst the Indian people. According to all present indications, the only kind of Nationalism that India can have would be a natural growth out of her religious consciousness. The Indian Nationality would be a synthesis of the various religious communities that would unite together and

act for secular ends. Patriotism would be a part of one's loyalty to one's faith and not a betrayal and an infidelity.

Such, in brief, is the forecast about the future that the present-day tendencies in India would seem to suggest. Indian Nationalism would be a spurious thing if it does not spring from the faiths of the people. The efforts of the best minds of India are being resolutely directed to the building up of a united Indian nationality. This end has been kept consciously in view ever since Western education first led the educated Indians to dream about the future of their country. But the aim has not yet come appreciably nearer to being realised. As a matter of fact, the very framing of the ideal of a united nationality has evoked race antagonisms and the most pronounced types of communal patriotism. In the circumstances such developments were natural. The cry of Nationalism was accompanied with still louder cries about democratic institutions and representative self-government. The inspiration that worked behind them had clearly come from the teachings and examples of the West. The educated Indian, who in his newly recovered political consciousness began to enthuse about the political and social methods and ideals of Europe, unconsciously scared the communities that were numerically weak and offended ancient loyalties of the mass of the people which tugged with remarkable force at the roots of immemorial instincts. The result has been that, though the ideal of Indian unity has continued to appeal with growing force to educated India, the type of Nationalism first preached from the Indian political platforms has given birth to various doubts, misgivings and conflicts. A Mussalman felt as if he were asked to transfer his allegiance from Islam to "Nationalism" and "Motherland." Even the old, conservative Hindu, to whom the Bharat of the Vedas was not an unknown deity, shrank from the touch of such an iconoclast as Democracy and was afraid of admitting the new political gods of the West to his Pantheon. Politicians, that generally use words without wisdom, continued to harp on "Nationalism," and in the meantime their own acts led to the growth of an enormous class of educated men in different communities who dominate the political situation in India and can best be described as communal patriots. The ideal of Indian nationality has undoubtedly grown in attraction, but the Nationalism of the professional politician has alternately challenged and repulsed. As long as Indian Nationalism remains a doctrinaire conception, a measure of stop-gaps and patches, a mere intellectual illusion born of fatuous dreaming in the noon-day sun of Western glory, it would never go to the hearts of the people and receive their life-long service and devotion. Indian Nationalism cannot flourish as an exotic growth. It must derive its seed from the ethos of the people, and find its natural habitat in the spiritual soil of India.

The Hindu-Moslem problem, which in the main lies at the root of Indian unity, is nothing but the doubts and bitternesses engendered on both sides by foolish and fruitless attempts to impose a spurious type of Nationalism on a people whose religious consciousness has yet lost nothing of its primeval intensity. We would not touch on the small and trivial every-day acts in which communal distrust and petulance is expressed on either side with varying degrees of virulence. The problem in its broader aspects needs concentrated attention as its root causes are not very widely grasped and are liable to be obscured in the petty antagonisms of the day. It is no use insisting that the cause of Indian unity is sacred and great. Educated Indians, both Hindu and Mussalman, have no difference of attitude on this score. The real force that has created the gulf and still keeps the two communities apart has come from an incessant and hollow preaching of the type of Nationalism to which we have already referred a good deal. We do not think a conscious deception is being practised by astute politicians for small communal advantage. It is all due to a terrible intellectual confusion that has been responsible for many of the most awful miscarriages of aim in history. It is manifest, however, that growing political experience is producing sanity and proportion in the ideas of all earnest and intelligent men and all practical schemes about the future of India have as their postulates the central, unavoidable facts that neither the Mussalmans nor the Hindus can be suppressed and that both shall have to make a common cause for a common future. The basis of co-operation would be found in communal patriotism itself. Religion would supply the motive for as long a time as the eye can pierce. The common secular ends of humanity would be served through the purest inspiration of tolerant faiths. The Hindu-Moslem problem would be solved when the communal patriot develops this temper, when he makes his religious creed not a perpetual exercise in political hide-and-seek, but a beneficent influence which would address itself to social tasks and give the people purer lives, cleaner purpose and broader horizons. The deep forces of life are themselves driving with unerring certainty to the inevitable end. Only the little man with his aggressive ego should refrain from thrusting his pretentious finger across their path. With education, stress of circumstance and above all with a little human charity the most anxious problem of modern India would be solved. The Indian unity is bound to come sooner or later. It only depends on the Hindus and the Mussalmans themselves whether it will come sooner or later.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMRADE, DELHI.

SIR—Reuter cabled the news of the forfeiture of the *Zamindar Press* on the 14th January and described the suppression as that of a paper which had the widest circulation of any Hindustani organ in India, and the recognised exponent of orthodox Pan-Islamism. Reuter's words probably mirror the attitude of the authorities with regard to the latest step they have taken. Up to this time I do not know why the forfeiture has been ordered by the Punjab Government although I have made two telegraphic enquiries from my people; but Reuter's words furnish the reply. The Press was forfeited because it printed a paper which was Pan-Islamic. Alas! the combined efforts of the Moslems in India to disabuse the mind of the authorities as to any sinister construction that might be put upon the word Pan-Islamism have failed in their effect and we see that the Moslem Press is being annihilated piecemeal. But I do not despair even yet. It is not for a Moslem to say "die". I am confident that the black shadow of official mistrust which hangs over the heads of the Indian Moslems will pass away very soon; only we must persevere in our attempts to make our position clear and try to convince the British public, or such sections of it as are not imprevions to the appeals of righteousness and justice, that we are the same old Moslems of two years ago who were prepared to lay down our very lives for upholding the prestige of Britain in every part of the world.

After the last fatal blow that has been dealt at the *Zamindar* I am afraid that the *Comrade*, the *Hamdard* and *Al-Hilal* are the only independent Moslem papers left in India to carry on the vigorous policy of Muslim development under the British flag and if—though Heaven forbid!—the same treatment is meted out to them as in the case of the *Zamindar*, the newly awakened Press life in Moslem India will revert to the early tattyism and sycophancy. It is time therefore that the Moslem public made one united effort to shake off the fearsome chain of bondage which is encircling them, and regain the liberty of which they have been so unjustly deprived. I do not know what effect the forfeiture of the *Zamindar Press* and a host of others has produced on the minds of my compatriots, although I am sure that it must be overwhelming in its indignant amazement and anguish. But it is no time for indignation, amazement, or anguish. Something must be done to bring about the undoing of what has been done. Meetings expressing grief and sympathy I am sure, must have been held throughout India, but no body knows anything about them in this country although there are people here who have a warm corner in their hearts for India and everything connected with it.

Like a mote dancing in the Imperial sunbeam, I have been doing what little lay in my power to stir up public opinion in England in the matter of the Press Act ever since my arrival here. I am so fortunate as to have the sympathy of two of the leading newspapers of England, the *Daily News* and *Leader* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The former has been publishing a number "of letters contributed by me on the various cases of flagrant injustice which Muslim editors have recently suffered under the Press Act."

I have also received letters of sympathy from many influential public men. Mr. John Dillon, M. P., writing from Dublin, says:—"You can count on my sympathy and my support in the House of Commons if the question of the Press Act in India is raised. I consider the treatment of the Mohamedan Press is most unjust and calculated to seriously injure the position of the British Government in India."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P. writes: "I am very much concerned about the suppression of the freedom of the Press alike in India and in Egypt. If that sort of thing is to be tolerated in the case of subject races it will soon extend to working class movements. What is now happening in South Africa is its logical outcome. I shall willingly aid in any action which may be taken in the House of Commons as I am sure would the Labour Party as a whole if approached."

Mr. Josiah Wedgewood, M. P. writes: "You have my entire sympathy. I am entirely opposed to the Press Laws and the rest of the repressive Acts, and you may count on any service that I can usefully render in Parliament."

Mr. Herbert Burrows, an eminent Socialist, in the course of a long letter says:—"With regard to your own case it seems to me that the best course open to you is to have it raised in Parliament, not in a perfunctory manner by a mere question or two but by an adequate debate if at all possible."

Mr. Phillip Snowden, M. P. writes a very sympathetic letter and says he will join in any Parliamentary protest.

Professor Brown, writing from Cambridge, says:—"It appears to me first of all necessary to provide a translation of the passage or passages to which the Government took objection and then to make the fact known if possible through one of the few remaining independent liberal papers in this country, for example the *Nation* or the *Manchester Guardian*."

It is an irony for which the Moslem London League alone could have been responsible, that as soon as the news of the suppression of the *Zamindar Press* was flashed to this country the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was the first to sympathise with me and to invite me to a meeting to enable me to make a statement. I explained my case and also the cases of other Moslem papers and Printing Presses on whom the authorities have laid a heavy hand. Sir Henry Cotton and a number of other eminent English sympathisers decided that a manifesto describing the serious situation created by the arbitrary conduct of the Indian officials in regard to the Press Act must be drawn up and issued to the Press. The manifesto has been prepared and is being signed by a large number of eminent men. I am confident that a debate will be raised in Parliament when it meets next month, and that the whole question of the Press Act will be threshed out.

It will be evident from all this that there is a body of sympathisers here who regard the fearful activities of the Indian Press Laws with disapproval, and I only hope that my countrymen will let these sympathisers know by telegraphic messages the intense dissatisfaction that prevails in India over the Press question. These messages can be sent either to myself, to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress or to the individual Members of Parliament I have mentioned. I am sure that if men like Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Keir Hardie receive copies of the resolutions passed by various bodies of India protesting against the Press Act, something will be done in this country to stay its murderous activities.

A section of the English Press is sympathetic, a body of English men have begun to take interest in the just demands of the Indians, especially of the persecuted Moslems, and it now rests with the Indians alone to approach the newly awakened forces of sympathy in this country in a proper manner.

With regard to the *Zamindar*, I am sure the forfeiture of its Press will not prove fatal to its existence. It survived two very heavy securities, both of which were subscribed by the united enthusiasm of a newly awakened national spirit. I feel convinced that the situation created by the forfeiture of the *Zamindar Press* will be met in the same heroic and self-sacrificing spirit. Everybody except a section of the officials who depend for their information upon the grovelling toadies and title-hunters who are the curse of our national life, knows that the free Moslem Press stands ultimately for the supremacy of Britain in India. Everybody is well aware, excepting these officials and their myriads, that our criticism on some of their actions, however bold and uncompromising, has for its eventual aim the stability and long life of British rule. It is justice tempered with sympathy that will secure India to England for an indefinite period, and not the doings of the bureaucrats who think that British rule can be prolonged by the strangling of the Press. I am trying to bring home these naked truths to the British Public and I want the hearty co-operation of my beloved compatriots in this Herculean task.

13, CROSFIELD ROAD,
LONDON N. W.
SWISS COTTAGE,
January 23rd, 1914.

ZAFAR ALI KHAN,
EDITOR OF THE *Zamindar*.

The Past Year.

We take the following extracts from an article in the *Times*:-

During the last twenty-four hours thousands of persons have been pondering over the incidents of their lives in the year which has just ended. And if they find it hard and puzzling to discern unity in all that has befallen them, how much more difficult to discover it in the history of a year crowded with events and conflicting influences, with many currents and cross-currents, in the lives, not of individuals, but of many and diverse communities. In what seems as it emerges from the loom only a tangle of threads: there may be a pattern. We stand too near to perceive it; the scheme and design will be apparent only to eyes farther off and better placed than ours. But to those who read the chronicle of 1913, as told in our columns to-day, some things will be clear. It has been a year of activity and change at home and abroad, the breaking up of much and the letting loose of new forces. Some would describe it as "the year of great unrest"—unrest in many forms and places; desire for new things without much thought as to what they might be; eagerness for something better, or at least for something different; anarchic impatience of restraints of all kinds; life speeded up, and the motor and the aeroplane the symbols of a hurrying and audacious age. In the language of the old chroniclers, "In this time were great changes, and men spoke of more to follow." There seems to have come the fulfilment of the words of the prophet, "The chariots shall rage in the streets. . . . They shall seem like torches; they shall run like the lightnings." Unrest, and much of it, there has been. But no one phrase is final or completely exhaustive; there are elements in the events of the year which elude any formula. If there has been barren unrest, there has also been growth: for fall again into the language of the old chroniclers, "In these days was much sowing of seeds which grew into goodly trees."

WAR AND PEACE.

Abroad there have been wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. The year before the long pent-up smouldering fires in the Balkan Peninsula had burst into flames, and the Concert of European Powers was endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration or to prevent its spread. There were failures and disappointments; the old weapons of Turkish diplomacy, delay and evasion, proving more effective than their arms. But at last, owing largely to the confidence universally reposed in Sir Edward Grey, the Treaty of London was signed. If it was shortlived, at all events a war which in other times might have drawn in all Europe, and called into activity the vast armaments everywhere prepared, was localized; the Concert of Europe, with all its limitations, had proved to be more than an imposing phrase. Then came, except to those observers, a great surprise. Kept together by their hatred of Turkey and their common fears, the Allies quarrelled in the hour of victory over the division of the territorial spoil; and there broke out a second Balkan war, waged with even greater fury than the first, with Serbia and Greece on the one side and with Bulgaria on the other—a war from which Bulgaria emerged with the loss of much of what it had gained, and in which Turkey recovered not a little of what it had lost. It was a war marked by singular barbarity, and a reversion to cruelties of a kind which it was thought civilization had expelled. It was one of the strange pieces of irony of the history of the time—though to some it might seem most fitting—that the year which saw the opening of the Palace of Peace at The Hague saw also a struggle in which the laws of war, all the *teperamenta belli*, were thrown aside, and in which the wildest, primitive passions had full sway. The Palace of Peace may be said to have opened with the accompaniment of cannonades and the clash of arms, with every Power armed or arming as never before. It was a year of rebukes and disappointments to diplomacy; the Great Powers repeatedly failed to obtain assent to their counsels, or to keep under restraint racial and dynastic ambitions and long-stored hatred. Both were illustrated the limitations of the influence of the Concert Europe. But there appeared, and there remain on the horizon, some hopeful signs. Not to speak of the creation by the Great Powers, in spite of many difficulties, of the new kingdom of Albania, we have witnessed in times of strain and tension the earnest desire of those Powers, it may be from no higher motive than self-interest, to keep the ring fairly and to narrow the sphere of hostilities. We may surely, too, count among the securities for peace the existence of a better understanding between England and Germany, and the enhanced influence of the former in the councils of Europe.

In Mexico there has been more than unrest; there has been a return to the miserable turmoil, savagery, and clash of personal ambitions which long formed the round of the so-called politics of some South American states. The iron hand of Diaz withdrawn, there began the old confusion and conflicts of military leaders; and the advent to power of the soldier who, for the time at least, is at the top was stained by the execution or, in less technical language, the murder of a rival. For a country which claimed, and, as many years of peace and prosperity seemed to show, rightly, to have emerged from the revolutionary stage and to have taken its place among the

stable communities of the world, the New Year opens with grave uncertainties, with anarchy in some of its provinces, and with a condition of strain and tension between it and its powerful neighbour.

In China, too, there is the end of an old regime, with much uncertainty as to what will ultimately take its place. Those who expected that the Republic and Parliamentary government were at once to become realities were quickly undeceived. New ideas and phrases freely borrowed from Western political systems have been imported. But Yuan Shih-kai's purging measure applied to the exotic Parliament, followed by a decree suspending its sittings indefinitely and the establishment of an administrative Conference in which he was supreme, showed that, new forms notwithstanding, a strong reaction had set in, that monarchical ideas still prevailed, and that the aspirations of young China were not to be realized.

To take a wider survey of this mood of unrest during the last year in political and social movements: it is, may be, with some nothing more than envy and egotism; the anger and impatience of those who live solely in "a world of claims"; the demagogue's eternal harping upon rights with entire oblivion of duties. But we shall not be quite fair to those who press for changes, of what kind they are not very sure, if we do not credit some of them with an increased or awakened sense of justice—a desire, genuine though very crude, vague and fluid, to make the world better than it is. Even in some of those new demands are perhaps elements of safety. In the doctrine, now so much preached by statesmen, of "opportunities to the fit," in the contention that secondary education should be so remodelled as to give every one a chance of making the best use of his powers, in a recognition of the great inequalities of human faculties and of the claims of the individual, a denial of the assumption upon which rest all crude forms of Socialism. At worst, and in its violent extremes, this unrest means anarchy; and the spirit of anarchy is the irreconcilable foe of Socialism, even if an armistice between them be, for a time, patched up.

The spirit of unrest extends to literature, unworthy of its name if not expressive of the dominant moods of the time; to music, to painting, and to every art in which there is vitality it shows itself in diverse ways. The pessimist might compile a long catalogue of excesses, freaks, and vagaries; of crude experiments, vaunted as flights of original genius; of a multitude of clever imitative efforts; of music and painting quitting their old spheres and making incursions into those of other arts; of mechanical paradox mongering; and of strivings in many forms to make mere lawlessness pass for originality. But the catalogue would be incomplete and misleading if it did not take full note of the presence of a spirit also of sincerity and courage, a readiness to accept the message, whatever it might be of reality, a love of old models, not because they are old, but because they anticipated enduring truths. And in the philosophic teaching of 1913, of which literature and art are often the unconscious exponents, we are told that there is the same spirit; one alike teachable and inquiring; "an insatiable desire for reality"; eagerness for something better than heaping fact upon fact; a desire to pick out of the discords and dissonances of life some true harmony.

THE VERDICT OF TIME.

What will prove to be the most memorable event of 1913? Some will find it in the wars and convulsions abroad, or in the political incidents at home—the action of the House of Lords towards the Home Rule Bill, or in the formation of the organization of Ulster Unionists. Others will think of the unrest in India or of the prosperity and ever-widening fortunes of the Canadian Dominion. We can conceive others preceiving unique significance—for evil—in the operations of the militant suffragists; operations not unconnected, it may be thought, with falling marriage and birth rates and habits unfavourable to home life. Some will think of the latest triumphs of engineering skill and enterprise; the newest feats of wireless telegraphy, the wonders of aviation, and the breaking of the barrier between two oceans by a button pressed at Washington. These are marvels. But then our engineers are so often surprising us with their new conquests. Perhaps more enduringly memorable than these victories over the powers of nature is the story which came to us last year of what seemed a defeat by Nature of the too bold invaders of her last citadel, the forcers of her long-kept secret, but which, reading the journal of Scott we now know was a triumph and a matchless memory for the race. When all the cunning apparatus, of which we are justly proud, is scrapped and the present feats of engineering are outdone; when the craft and flattery of the demagogue and the feeble and spasmodic violence of the militant malcontents among women are forgotten, the story how Scott and his comrades met death with serenity and fortitude will be told. If it be true, as Goethe has somewhere said, that the chief use of history is to awaken enthusiasm, to make great deeds give birth to new, what page more potent and inspiring than that which they have written? What record so irrevocably graven on the memory of the nation?

India and South Africa.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M. P.

THE treatment recently given to Indians by the Government of South Africa has both naturally and properly roused great resentment in India. That resentment has found expression in several different ways, but in none more striking than the action taken by the Viceroy. For the first time under modern political conditions, so far as I can recall, the representative of the King in India has made a direct protest to a self-governing State. In time to come this may have far greater consequences than any one dreams of at present, but whatever judgment may be passed upon it, the cause of it undoubtedly demanded swift and definite notice.

I have heard the action of the Viceroy contrasted with that of the Imperial Government, much to the detriment of the latter; but those whom I have heard making the criticism seemed to be hardly aware of the conditions of self-government in our Colonial Dominions. The history of the evolution of that government is one of conflict between the colonial people and the Home-government, generally described as "Downing Street." Downing Street was not so wise as it might have been in these conflicts, with the result that, not only did Downing Street lose its authority, but the colonies acquired a tradition never to submit to imperial control in their domestic affairs. I have been in every self-governing colony we have; I have talked to every one of their Prime Ministers of varying political creeds and parties. I have found that on nothing are they so unanimous and so emphatic as in their resentment against everything suggestive of interference from Downing Street. Such an interference would fuse all colonial parties into one national party of opposition. In 1906 I was mainly instrumental in getting Lord Elgin to ask the Government of Natal to explain why three natives were condemned to be shot by court martial. Within twenty-four hours protests came over the cables from Australia and Canada, and New Zealand was willing to join in, had there been need. Last year owing largely to a blunder made by Mr. Winston Churchill which enabled people to say that he was interfering in Canadian affairs, the Canadian naval project had to be withdrawn. This suspicious and jealous frame of mind on the part of the self-governing dominions must be taken as an axiom and laid down as one of the foundation-stones in our system of imperial government by any one who studies the working of that government.

When a colony is getting its constitution, it has to come to us at home for it. The new constitution is put into the form of a Bill which goes through all the ordinary processes of legislation under our Parliamentary rules. For instance, when the constitution for United South Africa was before us, several of us moved amendment after amendment with a view to preventing such conduct as that which is now stirring India. We knew that their conflict was bound to come, we were afraid—those of us who knew South Africa—that when it did come, it would be in a very grievous form. But all parties united to defeat us. Liberals, Irish Nationalists, Conservatives went into the lobbies against us, and the power to treat Indians as something much less than citizens of the Empire was not taken away. Therefore however objectionable it may now be, the South African Government is acting within its constitutional rights in every thing it has done since Mr. Gandhi began the passive resistance movement. If the Home Government were to issue any mandate it would be rebuffed: Canada, Australia, New Zealand would protest, as well as South Africa and the last state would be worse than the first.

Let me make it quite clear that the impotence of the Home Government is not because the oppressed people are Indians. We should be in the same fix if they were Scotsmen or Irishmen. That has actually happened both in Australia and Canada. In this respect the difficulty is not one of race, but of political authority. Downing Street is far less powerful in protecting the rights of citizens of the Empire within the self-governing sections of the Empire than within foreign states. If we had made South Africa independent when it united we should have been in a far better position to protect Indians there than we are to-day. This sounds a great absurdity but it is a manifest truth.

The Home Government can only make friendly representations to South Africa, and in making them it has got to be exceedingly careful how it expresses them. I am sure it will be found that such representations have been made, even if Renter has not been cabling them out here. In the nature of things they must be private whilst the crisis lasts.

The *St. Stephen's College Magazine* is not a political organ or I might discuss how this dead-lock in imperial government is to be got over. There is no provision made for it in our imperial machinery. If we are to educate our subject peoples and open their eyes to the width of the world and their minds to its attractions, obviously the South African problem is to come up again and again in other Dominions. But I must content myself here with doing the simple thing I set out to do. I want to impress upon those who feel the South African humiliation most keenly, that if the Home Government

has appeared to be silent the explanation is not that it is indifferent, but that the Imperial constitution is such that nothing but disaster could have followed if mandatory despatches had been sent from London to Cape Town. We cannot let matters rest where they are, but so long as they are where they are, only wanton mischief-making and unfortunate misunderstanding can blame the Home Government for not doing what it could not do, or can assume that Downing Street is sinfully passive because it has not yet published its despatches.

'The Romance of India.'

Of course, it is distressing that between three and four hundred English performers, dancers, supers, stage-carpenters, and the rest should rehearse for some weeks, only to be thrown out of employment at the end, and just at the season when naturally they would be making most in their line of business. It is a pitiful case. Pitiful also is the case of those eleven Asiatics who were to have joined in illustrating the darkness of their continent in the Earl's Court show. It is true that a paternal India Office has assigned them lodgings in some institution for Lascar sailors derelict in the East End, but up to the time of writing the Hindus among them, fellow-subjects of our Empire, have strongly objected to being herded with the progeny of nations not so blest as we, and their case remains pitiful. Nevertheless, for the immediate occasion of all this misery our whole Empire should combine in offering its heart-felt thanks. Let each fellow-subject follow the example of Queen Mary, Queen Alexandra, and Lord Curzon in contributing all that he or she can afford towards the relief of such distress. It would be cheap at the price if the India Office, the Treasury, or the British nation as a whole, endowed each of those performers, dancers, supers, stage-carpenters, and wandering Asiatics with a munificence in life-pensions such as is lavished upon our most victorious generals. For they suffer for our salvation. Their destitution is our defence.

Consider what sort of a show the Syndicate proposed to present before the population of London and the Indian citizens resident among us. The immemorial history of India was to be gathered up into some half-dozen tableaux. These tableaux represented typical or 'epoch-making' scenes in the introduction of European influence. According to the preliminary notices published in the *Times* European influence, in the original version of the show, was typified by 'The Spirit of Light', and India herself by 'The Spirit of Darkness.' We gather that the first scene, illustrating the triumph of European Light over India's Darkness, was to show the arrival of Alexander's army in the midst of the worship of Juggernaut, whose helpless victims were being dragged beneath the wheels of that Juggernaut Car, which has since done so much service in British rhetoric and journalism. It did not matter to the Syndicate that Alexander never penetrated beyond the Indus, whereas Juggernaut's temple is at Puri, at least a thousand miles distant, on the Bay of Bengal. We must not be scrupulous about history in an Earl's Court historical pageant, and who shall set the gross limits of space upon the European Spirit of Light contending against the Spirit of India's Darkness? This 'epoch-making' event (miraculous we may call it in the strictest sense) was to be followed by similar episodes—a human sacrifice to Siva (interrupted, we suppose, by some other timely arrival from Europe); the Suttee, or burning of a widow upon her husband's funeral pyre (interrupted, we are informed, by the appearance of Vasco da Gama, expressly despatched from Portugal by the Spirit of Light); the Black Hole of Calcutta (Darkness visible and unilluminated); the Battle of Plassey (Darkness dissipated by Clive with two thousand men); the Siege of Lucknow (arrival of Light to bagpipe accompaniment); and a triumphant finale, representing the apotheosis of British Conquest in the figure of Holy Light, offspring of Heaven, first-born.

That, as we understand, was the nature of the show's original design, and if the reports were true nothing in the unhappy annals of British self-complacency was ever more impudent and insensitive. Indians in London held a private meeting of protest in Cromwell Road, and Sir George Birdwood presided—not the last, we may hope, of that gallant veteran's services to India. It was doubted if a licence was necessary for the performance was wordless, no explanation being needed to point so obvious a moral as the triumph of British enlightenment. But for once the Lord Chamberlain proved his office useful; he appears to have forbidden the show to proceed without the sanction of the India Office. Within limits, the India Office also played a serviceable part. It strove to mitigate the loathsome insult to the Indian peoples. It rejected the original design, and then the first revision. In the third form, unhappily yielding, it allowed the thing to pass, and the Lord Chamberlain gave it his sanction. Apparently, in this final form, the Suttee, as well as Plassey and Lucknow, remained, but the Juggernaut Car, the Siva sacrifice, and the Black Hole were cut out, the Spirits of Light

and Darkness being also transfigured into the Spirits of Peace and War. Europe was typified by Peace, India by War. Think of European history; think of the state of Europe at this moment; and then think of the Indian peoples, probably the most peaceful and docile races that ever existed—races whose chief reproach in English mouths, from the time of Macaulay's foul libel upon the people of Bengal downwards, has been their unwillingness to fight! How grotesque the absurdity! So grotesque that we almost regret the Syndicate's financial collapse which has deprived us of the spectacle of Babus, posing for Gods of War, and of Alexander, Clive, and Colin Campbell under the similitude of doves.

But the Syndicate has collapsed, and its collapse is a mercy for the Empire. That is why we urge that all possible assistance should be given to those whom this failure has thrown out of work for the winter. Their destitution, as we said, has been our defence. If the Earl's Court pageant of Indian subjection and British conceit had been produced, even in its amended form, we can hardly imagine anything more provocative and ill-timed. It would have surpassed the mixture of platitude and provocation recently inflicted upon us in the four *Times* articles, called 'The Indian Peril.' Probably everyone who cares to read sappy articles in the *Times* has knowledge and judgment enough to balance his indiscretion. But the Earl's Court show would have been displayed to crowds whose only knowledge was derived from tales of the Mutiny, or from hymns about India's coral strand, where only man is vile and the leathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone, drives hooks into his flesh, grows his nails through his palms, crushes people under idols, and burns widows alive. These touching beliefs of the Sunday School would only have been confirmed. Childhood's picture of Indians would have been visibly restored. Spectators would again have contemplated 'natives' as enormous lumps of dusky beings, masses of congealed darkness, broken only by the gleam of knives and the red blood of murderous fanaticism, or enlightened only here and there by a beneficent Government and the missionary's ray.

The first essential for decent relations between ourselves and Indians is a reality of amnesty and oblivion. Such an Act may have been passed long ago. Certainly, Queen Victoria by her Proclamation of 1858 (perhaps the finest of her personal achievements) intended to promote the reality. But her aim has never been accomplished. Most Indians themselves are singularly forgiving and oblivious of the past. They have kept few annals and written hardly any history. The ages of their existence have remained almost as unrecorded by them as the ages of the earth before man's appearance. Why should the soul trouble about times and dates and the succession of mere events when the white radiance of eternity is hers? A pleasant turn of phrase, an act of common courtesy, would erase from almost any Indian mind the horror of our vengeance upon the mutineers. But with our own people the case is different. We grant no amnesty, no oblivion of the past. Every relic of horror is cherished; every tale of butchery is gloated over; no British tourist can touch India without nursing his animosity at the Cawnpore Well, or strengthening his contempt among the carefully preserved remains of Lucknow Fort? and in the midst of his labours a Viceroy makes time to scrape together memorials of the Black Hole's victims, and to interest himself in conjecturing the precise locality of their pit. All this mournful refusal to forget—this blood-thirsty clinging to the memories of toils—the Earl's Court show seemed designed to emphasize and extend. If we refuse oblivion, we may teach the Indians also to remember, until their memory equals in precision the old Irish remembrance of wrong; nor could the bitterness revived by such an exhibition have been modified by the final scene, in which we were promised an allegorical display symbolizing 'the absolute harmony and unity that exists between Great Britain and India.' If only such an allegory could be true! But the designer of the pageant, whose words these are, appears to be almost the one man who might really have read those articles upon 'The Indian Peril' with information and profit.

We cannot altogether be quit of the past, but, so far as in us lies, let us shake ourselves free from its distorting trammels. The Romance of India does not lie behind us, but before. Useless is the attempt to maintain a stable and static equilibrium under which a paternal and well-intentioned bureaucracy will go on for ever nursing, tending, feeding, punishing, rewarding, and cleaning up the 300 millions of India as if they were spaniels in the squire's kennels. India shares the flux of all the universe. In the last thirty years her change has been peculiarly rapid, and it is felt among the willing, patient, uneducated millions of cultivators upon whom we are invited to concentrate our fatherly attentions, almost as much as among the few thousands of 'literate' whose 'superficial veneer of Western education' stirs the wrath and apprehension of kindly old officials, worn-out with years of patronizing service. 'Self-reliance, not mendicancy,' has for years now been the guiding motto of Indians, who fully recognize the many advantages conferred by a short century of general British direction, but who

regard any material gain in irrigation, railways, or commerce as a poor set-off against that 'moral poverty' (to use Dadabhai Naoroji's phrase), which is the curse of all subject or parasitic peoples. That call to self-reliance is the surest sign of present change, and it alarms none but those who by long habit worship the idols of the bureau and regard the ignorant 'natives' as tender sheep but the educated as wolves beyond the shepherd's pale. There is no need to wonder at the difficulties of change, or to stand appalled at their aspect. It is vain to cling to an imagined state of eternal and despotic tranquility, tempered by academic discussions in legislative councils. The era of permanence never arrives, and only ignorance now imagines the East as plunged immovably in thought. Dangers and difficulties must be welcomed as signs of life, due in part to the very system that many seek to preserve, and the Romance of future India, as of all history, lies in confronting them. But the impertinence of identifying ourselves with the Spirit of Light and India with the Spirit of Darkness brings us no nearer either to Romance or solution.—*The Nation*.

Three Weeks in the Balkans.

BEFORE we can realise the present condition of affairs in the Balkan Peninsula it is essential that we should have a geographical knowledge of the various States of which that peninsula is composed and some idea as to the ethnological conditions now prevailing there. The boundaries of States are generally fixed by geographical configurations, such as ranges of mountains, great rivers, etc. Now, the various races who inhabit the Balkan States have been at each other's throats for the last thousand years; they are thus hereditary and in many cases irreconcilable foes. Taking the geography of this country we will begin with Rumania; her territories extend from the plains of Russia to the River Danube, a flat, low-lying land with extraordinarily rich and fertile soil. Bulgaria lies between the Danube and the Balkan Estranja Mountains in the south, and contains two parallel but lesser mountain ranges running east and west, the lands which lie between these being again very productive. Her eastern boundary is the Black Sea and the western another mountain range running north and south, the Stara Planina, which range forms the eastern boundary of Serbia, an exceedingly mountainous country. Serbia is bounded on the north by the Danube, and her southern boundary extends as far as the newly delimited Greek frontiers, and includes the city of Monastir. To the west lie Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia, a complete tangle of wild mountains. Greece in the south has extended her borders along the Aegean Sea, taking in Kavala and Salonika; now two of her most important ports. Lastly we have Turkey, now confined within the plains of Thrace, with the River Maritza as her western boundary and Constantinople on the east, as her great port, and still the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

After this brief survey of the geography of the country we must consider it ethnologically. The conflict here is tremendous, and it is still farther embittered by religious differences. The Rumanians are a Latin race, whose ancestors composed the Dacian legions of the Roman Empire. Generally speaking, they are members either of the Orthodox Greek Church, or of one of its branches, with a considerable number of Roman Catholics. The Servians are a Slavonic race; they entered Serbia in the seventh century and belong to the Orthodox faith. They were originally tributaries of the Byzantine Empire, but made themselves independent and formed the Kingdom of Serbia, which included all Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, Bulgaria, and North Greece in 1830. They were then an important nation, with dreams of empire, and these dreams have not departed from them. Albania, with its network of high mountains, has a population, half Roman Catholic and half Mussalman. They are a warlike race, incessantly fighting amongst themselves or with Serbia. The Greeks, a nation of traders and seafarers, belong to the Orthodox church, or to give it its full title "The Holy Oriental Orthodox Apostolic Church," generally called the "Greek Church." Turkey-in-Europe (what is left of it) is inhabited almost exclusively by Mussalmans, with a sprinkling of Greeks and Armenians. The latter have been Christians since the third century and the tenets of their faith differ but slightly from those of the Orthodox Church. Bosnia and Herzegovina I mention last as they now form part of the Austrian Empire. They are peopled by a race Slav in their origin, but containing elements of the races and creeds of all the countries I have previously mentioned.

Up to the recent war the Turks held the balance of power in the Balkan Peninsula. Their influence may not have always been rightly exercised, but they in a great measure prevented conflicts amongst the other States. These latter were agreed in their hatred of Turkey and, as we know, only combined in order to attack her, and the success they had was amazing. But no sooner was the weight of Turkey removed, than again broke out the bitter hatreds

and rivalries of those States; and the ferocity of the second war, in which the Servians and the Greeks joined hands in the attempt to annihilate the Bulgarians, beggars all description. No one knows much about the actual fighting, but the fact that both sides made very few prisoners is sufficiently significant.

I now come to the more interesting part of my notes, *viz.* a brief account of my visits to the area of the heaviest fighting from the lines of Tchatalja, twenty miles from Constantinople, up to Adrianople, and including the battle grounds of Lulea Burgas and Kirk Kilisse. I should explain that the reason I was favoured with this unique opportunity of seeing the Turkish defences in detail was due to the fact that I was travelling with our own Director of Military operations. As a nation, the English are far from popular in Turkey at this moment; but the individual Englishman (especially if he is an officer, for the Turks are a military nation) is treated with courtesy and consideration. The whole of Eastern Thrace has a great likeness to Salisbury Plain, with a country like the Wiltshire Downs rolling away towards the Tchatalja end of the Peninsula. Almost all the earlier accounts of the engagements in these parts contained more fiction than truth. The days of great war correspondents are practically over. Now that news can travel thousands of miles in an hour, no general commanding operations in the field can afford to run the risk of having his movements prematurely disclosed by an over-zealous newspaper man yearning to make a "scoop" for his own particular journal.

The lines of Tchatalja are over twenty miles in length, the right flank of the Turkish army rested on the Black Sea at Derkos, and the left flank on the Sea of Marmora. The plain of rifle-fire is ideal, a gently sloping glacis for about 700 yards, and in front of this a marsh, which can be crossed in only a few places, and these vary considerably, according to the season of the year. The Bulgarians made three attacks on these lines; the first attack was directed against the right flank of the Turks at Derkos; the second against the centre; and the third against the extreme left flank. All three operations failed, though of the first and third it should be said that they were not attacks in force. But in the attack delivered against the Turkish centre, the Bulgarians sustained a most serious reverse. The shelter trenches, and still more the number of graves, tell a tale which none can dispute; and I know that I am not far off the mark, when I say that in their attack on the centre alone, the Bulgarians lost about 6000 men. The Turks had three weeks after the battle of Lulea Burgas in which to dig their defences, and very good use they made of their time. Not a rabbit, far less a man, could attempt to move on to the marsh, without coming under a cross-fire from the Turkish trenches. Indeed so strong is this natural position, that I doubt its ever being taken, except with regular siege operations. During the actual fighting at Tchatalja the Turks did not lose 500 men. But at least 7000 cholera victims were buried in the camp at Hardemkeui.

It was at Lulea Burgas that the only really big action of the war was fought, and there has been an immense amount of exaggeration as to the numbers engaged and the losses incurred by both sides, even in this fight. The Turkish Army here did not exceed 60,000 men; they occupied a low ridge extending from Bunahissar on the right to the station of Lulea Burgas on the left. The Bulgarians on their side had eight divisions in action. As various brigades and regiments had been detached for work round Adrianople, it is very difficult indeed to make an approximate estimate of the Bulgarian numbers, but as in Bulgaria each division is unusually strong, it seems probable that their army considerably outnumbered that of the Turks here. For two days Abouk Pasha on the left and Mahmed Mukhita Pasha at Bunahissar on the right, more than held their own; in fact Mukhita Pasha made a counter-attack, which at one moment came very near to success. At the end of the second day's fighting the Turkish centre at Tchekessken were hard pressed, and the 10th Bulgarian Division after a flanking movement began to make its presence felt on the Turkish left. At this critical juncture both food and ammunition failed the Turks; some of the batteries had not a single round left them and the men had been fighting for two days on the scantiest of rations, probably not more than a loaf a-piece. The Bulgarian artillery fire was always superior to that of the Turks, and in this instance the latter had badly constructed trenches, lacking the necessary head-cover to protect the men from shrapnel, so that it is not surprising that a general retreat took place.

I should like to say here that though the whole country is an ideal one for using cavalry, neither in this battle, nor on any other occasion during the war, did the cavalry of either side make even an appearance in an actual fight. Where they might have been of great value the horses were useless from previous overwork. From information given me by one of the generals in command I gathered that the Turkish losses in the actual fight of Lulea Burgas did not exceed 12,000, and probably the Bulgarian losses were about the same. When we consider what the losses were in one general action during the Russo-Japanese or the Franco-

German War, the battle of Lulea Burgas was a very different affair from the lurid and fanciful accounts given us by "Our Own Correspondent."

The journalistic "Story" of the Kirk Kilisse action is even more inaccurate than that of Lulea Burgas. We were led to believe that whole armies were engaged on both sides at Seloli and Eski Podos, whereas, in truth, the lines covering Kirk Kilisse were very weakly held by the Turks, and all the fighting that took place was but a series of delaying actions—merely outpost affairs to cover their concentration at Lulea Burgas. The actual occupation of Kirk Kilisse gave the Bulgarians a strategic advantage over the Turks as it effectually cut off Adrianople. The town of Adrianople is situated at the junction of three rivers, the Maritza, Tundja, and Ardar. In the twelfth century it was the residence of the Turkish sovereigns and its principal feature is its magnificent mosque, one of the finest in the world, of which the minarets can be seen twenty miles away. The perimeter of the fortifications is about twenty-seven miles and the outer lines must have extended for about thirty-five miles. It is probably owing to this fact that so very little damage was done in the town during the bombardment, one shell only hitting the mosque, though all the Bulgarian guns had got the range of the minarets. I cannot of course enter into details as to the fortifications and their guns; though the officials, with extraordinary courtesy, permitted us to visit and examine anything we wished, even including the new works now under construction. The Bulgarians were unable to make any impression on the western or southern sides during the siege, advances there being easily repulsed. Their main attack was delivered from the north-east, certainly the weakest spot, and it was there that they were eventually successful. Though the forts at this point occupy commanding positions and are also strong, there was a good deal of "dead ground" in front not commanded by their own fire. The Bulgarians knew this and took full advantage of the knowledge. About 168 heavy guns played incessantly on this quarter and there is not a square yard of ground for many acres which has not been torn and rent by exploding shells. The trenches, with their inadequate head cover, must have been a hell upon earth during the bombardment. The wire entanglements, where the shells had burst amongst them, were more hopelessly twisted up than before. When the final and real attack came it was the fall of the outer lines, held by infantry alone, which was the cause of the collapse of the whole line of defence; though probably the shortage of provisions was a not unimportant factor in the decision of Adrianople's defender, the gallant Shukkeri Pasha, to hoist the white flag.

Before closing this brief account of my "Lighting Trip" in the Balkans, I should like to give my personal impressions as to the condition of the country generally. Many accounts have been written of the inhuman way in which the Bulgarians treated the Turks, when the latter were prisoners on the island outside Adrianople after its capture. I was informed by absolutely reliable eye-witnesses that there is not one grain of truth in these statements. War must always bring misery and horrors in its train, and a mass of half-starving prisoners were confined on the island; many of them were ill and some of them were dying, but from the first day the Bulgarians made every endeavour to feed them, and they had a loaf of bread a-piece and this ration was increased and improved upon day by day, as much as was possible. As regards the country itself I fear the Bulgarians cannot be acquitted of many acts of both brutality and wanton destruction. The whole of this part of Thrace, before the war, was dotted with flourishing villages, mostly inhabited by Turks. And what is the state of this country now? I travelled several hundred miles through it, and I am not exaggerating when I say that every village I saw had been completely gutted by fire, and contained not a single living thing; not so much as a starved kitten. The women and children had disappeared, Heaven alone knows where; the whole countryside was deserted. The Bulgarians say, "These abominations were not committed by our regular troops; they were the work of the camp followers (*committajes*)."

But this is no excuse, as the Bulgarians used these irregular bands in their actions and even assigned to them a regular place in all their field operations. The Turkish troops displayed quite remarkable forbearance when we consider that many of them on returning to their native villages found their houses destroyed and their families gone, in most cases probably dead. In the town of Kirk Kilisse itself, about 650 Turkish houses were destroyed, only those remaining which had the sign of the Cross on their doors. After its reoccupation by the Turks I spent a whole afternoon exploring the town. I was greatly interested to see that not a single house marked with a Cross had been damaged, though there were 20,000 Turkish soldiers in the place; and these men cannot have been indifferent to the fact that the property of their co-religionists had been wantonly destroyed by Christian troops.

From the foregoing statements, the truth of which I can vouch for, we can draw only one conclusion, that Christianity has had very little civilising influence on the Bulgarians. To those at home who cry aloud of the awful brutality with which the Mussalman treats his Christian neighbour and who demand that he should be punished for it, I would recommend that they make a short visit to the places I have mentioned. They would then be forced to acknowledge that the charges of unnecessary cruelty and wanton destruction lie more heavily against the Christian soldiers in this war, at any rate, than they do against the Mussalman.

It is peculiarly ill-judged of Englishmen to permit the publication of such grave calumnies against the Turks, for these false reports must arouse much ill-feeling in the minds of the Mohammedans in India, who are among the most loyal subjects of the Crown.

CHARLES R. HUNTER,
in the "National Review".

The Poets' Dilemma.

WHENEVER poetry has a long tradition behind it, it tends to use a specialized, and so an impoverished vocabulary, and the readers of poetry, used to this vocabulary grow fastidious about words and their associations. They expect the language of poetry to be poetic, and the spell of it is broken for them by any word which has prosaic associations. Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie in the lecture upon Poetry and Common Speech, which he delivered the other day, said that the Elizabethan poets found their material, not in a language already broken in by literature, but in the language of people talking; and no doubt the Elizabethan public were far less fastidious about words in poetry than we are, far less sensitive to their prosaic associations. The ideal condition of language for a poet is when words have neither prosaic nor poetic associations, when there are no words, like glamour, which are too poetical, and none like tuberculosis, which are too scientifically technical, to be used in poetry. In such a happy state the poet can give poetic power to all words by means of their relation to each other in his rhythm and phrasing; and none of them will assert itself or impose its own association on the whole sentence. But this happy state does not exist now. Words themselves have got their characters, good or bad, from the use that has been made of them in the past; and a word that has the best of characters in the world of Science may have none at all in the world of poetry. We have to do a great many more things with language than the Elizabethans had, and in consequence language has specialized itself so that different jargons are used in different activities. There is a scientific jargon, and a philosophical, and a commercial; and there is always a danger that poetry will fall into a poetic jargon from the poet's natural desire to make his art as easy to himself as he can.

The worst of our language, for poetic purposes, is that it has become too much intellectualized, too full of words that express, often vaguely enough, certain general conceptions, with which all our minds have a second-hand familiarity. A vast deal of thinking has been done in the last 300 years, and it has made its mark upon the language which is now full of words that are a kind of shorthand of thought. We mean words such as relative and absolute, positive and negative, general and particular, subject and object, words which everybody uses, but often with only a vague notion of their intellectual history or of the meaning that was first given to them by exact thinkers. In fact, the intellectual ambitions of men have outrun their capacity, so that we are more familiar with words that express ideas than with the ideas themselves. The result is a veracular peculiarly unfitted to the purposes of poetry. Poetry, however much it may deal with ideas, is mainly concerned with the emotions aroused by them. The idea itself must be something that surprises the poet with all the sharpness of an event or a passion; it must be something that happens to his mind; and there is no surprise, no sharpness, in this intellectualized language of ours which makes every idea seem both stale and vague and which imparts the same staleness and vagueness even to concrete things. That, no doubt, was the reason why Wordsworth tried to use the language of peasants in his poetry. He wanted to escape from the intellectualized language of his time, and the poetry of the eighteenth century seems to us prosaic because it is full of stale thought rather than of fresh experience.

Thus there is always a temptation to the modern poet not to think much lest he should fall into this intellectualized language. And if he is not to specialize too much as a poet, there is a double burden laid upon him of exact thinking and fresh experience. It is only by exact thinking that he can escape from our intellectualized language and find words of his own for thoughts that are his own. Without this effort of thought he will always be in danger of writing poetry that has been written better before, for the main events of life,

with which poetry is concerned, are the same in all ages. It is the change of thought towards them that makes the change of feeling by which the genuine poetry of one age is distinguished from that of another. But this change of thought for the poet, must be a change in his own thought, not a more passive submission to the intellectual influence of his time. Such a passive submission will not affect his poetry at all except to weaken it with intellectualized language, such as we find in the worst of Mrs. Browning or Clough. The poet nowadays cannot escape from ideas, unless he has less intellectual curiosity than the ordinary man; and if he keeps them out of his poetry, he will keep a great part of his mind out of it and make it merely a pretty artistic game. This difficulty with language, therefore, is really a difficulty with thought. The poet must not give himself up to thought so much that he turns from a poet into a philosopher; but he must think enough to make all his ideas his own property: for only so will he be able to express them with the poet's eagerness of discovery. His task is more difficult than it has been in the past, but it is also more glorious. It is his to make thought as quick as passion, or rather to fuse them both in a language enriched by both.—The Times

Woman and Morality.

WHAT progress are we making towards an age when reason and ethical considerations will replace physical force as the ultimate decisive factor in the relations either of nations or of individuals? Evidence on this point, despite the optimism of humanitarians, is decidedly conflicting. I propose to deal only with one aspect of the question, but one from which, nevertheless, it must be viewed before it is possible to arrive at any conclusion.

Although anthropologists may not agree as to the causes for the evolution of human character, I fancy none of them would dispute the fact that primitive or savage man was actuated by simple desires and wishes, and that his mental processes went little further than was necessary to contrive for the satisfaction of his various physical needs. No consideration for the needs or wishes of others would enter into his calculations at this early stage. Savage woman, on the contrary, in her maternal capacity, must have exercised self-denial and shown maternal devotion at a very early period in the evolution of the human mind. She was handicapped in the work of looking after oneself (which was the occupation of primitive man) by this maternal function, and that fact has never ceased to operate in making her, for purposes of social organisation, inferior to man. Undoubtedly primitive man (like the still existing races known to us as primitive, though in reality far from being so) took advantage of a partner physically weaker than himself to load on her all menial tasks. Thus the Australian gin trots after her lord on their migrations, bearing the household goods or the spoils of the chase, and the African wife hoes the mealie patch while her master sits in the sun and smokes. But the beginning of ethical perceptions must have taken place very early in the relationship of man and woman, when a desire on the part of one to please the other laid the foundation-stone of a future edifice of moral controls and altruistic ideals. As man advanced in intelligence he could not be satisfied without a form of companionship compatible only with mutual affection. He could no longer take what he wanted by force but must sue for it as a gift. Here was woman's weapon, and it is one which she has been steadily strengthening all down through the ages. Here, again, is the germ of the ethical conception that not merely physical strength, but reason and principle, should be the decisive factor not only in human but in national relations.

It is impossible to exaggerate the moral influence exercised on man by his constant and inevitable association with a being physically weaker than himself. It is true this physical inferiority is only relative and that in many climes and ages woman bears a full share of the burden of physical labour; but the sentiment of civilized man is increasingly opposed to such a state of affairs, and as a matter of fact woman everywhere, and in all ages, has been exempted from the more dangerous and strenuous forms of State service. The inevitable result of her disabilities has been to place man in a position of social dominance, and to assign to her a subordinate place in the scheme of State organisation.

The claim for the final and formal removal of all traces of this subordination of women rests, therefore, on the assumption that the factor to which men owe their social domination—superior physical force—is no longer supreme. It is asserted that reason and spiritual force are gaining such ascendancy over the minds of men that it is not essential that the ruling element should also be the (physically) strongest element. Could we give unqualified assent to this proposition we should certainly feel that we were well on the way towards the settlement by peaceful methods of every kind of contested point. The moment is not, however, a very auspicious one for such an assertion. It must not be supposed, moreover, that the claim

for feminine 'equality' is invariably based on the sweet-reasonableness of modern man. On the contrary, a female school of thought is growing up which asserts that women are perfectly and inherently able to take and hold that position by their own efforts.

It is, in fact, a feature of modern feminism that, so far from recognising that woman's social and political subordination is due to nature, the protagonists of 'equality' assert that the female of the species has often enjoyed actual supremacy, and that her 'natural' position was wrested from her by man. The high priestess of this doctrine is Mrs. C. Perkins Gilman, whose book, *The Awakening of Woman*, first published in the United States in 1887, is still the inspiration and authority for English feminist philosophy. Following her example a host of other writers derive courage in their fight for 'equality' with man from the reflection that the female cirriped carries her little husbands about and uses or discards them, or that some spider-brides make a marriage feast off their mates. A more rational deduction would appear to be that the higher one goes in the scale of animal life, and in the range of civilisation, the more marked is the physical difference which, for certain social functions, gives the male superiority over the female. Feminists who are unable to deny this assert that it is due to male preference for a dependent and clinging type of female—in short, to selection. There is considerable truth in this view, but since masculine nature is not likely to undergo any radical change in this respect it is difficult to see how these conditions are to be altered.

The believers in a 'natural equality,' however, do not hesitate to assert that the female of the human race, in the earlier stages of civilisation, was able to enforce a superiority akin to that of the cirriped. Mrs. Walter Gallichan, in her book, *The Truth about Woman*, sets forth the theory of an age of 'mother-right,' of which she professes to find traces in many parts of the world, and which preceded the organisation of society on its present lines, where man is the head of the family. A Scottish lady Miss Lumsden, L. L.D., who is described in the Press as a distinguished member of the teaching profession, recently dealt with this subject before a gathering of University women. She is reported to have described 'matriarchy, or mother-right,' as 'an old custom which prevailed among most of the primitive races in the world,' and which, according to her, not only invested woman with the headship of the family and the possession of the family property, but gave her special sanctity in the eyes of man, such as is typified in the 'worship of Astarte in Asia Minor' and of Demeter in Greece. 'Woman,' said Miss Lumsden, 'was regarded with awe and wonder, as typifying the mystery of life,' and was therefore 'surrounded with devotion and importance.' 'Male headship' is said to have arisen in Greece, where women were 'cast down to the lowest depths of degradation.' The obvious moral or intention running through all these assertions is that it is man, or the social system built up by him, which has dethroned woman from a position of equality, if not supremacy, intended for her by nature. I have selected three flagrant and public examples of the form in which the important subject of sex relations is now being presented to our young women, but it must be remembered that for one such 'lesson' which finds its way into print a thousand, even more garbled, must be delivered. Out of such materials a 'woman's creed' is being shaped.

It is not possible within the limits of an article to criticise these theories in any detail. Briefly, there is no reasonable evidence or proof that the system of matriarchy ever existed on a large scale, or had any part in the early culture of the Mediterranean basin from which our own is derived. The evidence is carefully weighed by Westernmark, and is shown to be contradictory and inconclusive. The most that can be said is that in some regions, and in some stages of civilisation (not necessarily primitive), succession is reckoned through a sister's son (a son, he it noted, not a daughter), and genealogies are traced through mothers. This is the 'matriarchy' of serious anthropologists, and they are not agreed as to its origin. Marriage customs whereby a man entered his wife's clan or family, either permanently or for a time, have no necessary connexion with matriarchy, nor do they support the view that property was vested in the wife, but rather in her father or some male relation who was head of the family or clan. As for the worship of female goddesses, far from being associated with 'awe and wonder,' or 'devotion and importance,' these may have originated with the innocent desire of savages to propitiate the deity of fecundity, but they are known in history as rituals of sexuality of the most depraved and revolting character, and it appears almost impossible that any educated woman should mention them in connexion with veneration or respect for womanhood. It was of the worship of Ishtar, who is probably the goddess referred to by Miss Lumsden as 'Astarte in Asia Minor' (though Ishtar was chiefly worshipped in Babylon, which is not in Asia Minor), that Jeremiah wrote when he said of Israel 'She hath gone upon every high mountain and under every green tree and hath there played the harlot.' In Babylon every girl had to sacrifice her purity to the goddess, and Latin writers from earliest times are full of contempt for the obscenities and excesses of these worships. What

can be said for the point of view of a University woman who holds up the civilisation of Babylon or Egypt as superior to that of Greece?

These sociological perversions may not appear to be of any great importance, but if it matters at all what we believe it must matter that young women are being taught, all over the country, the false doctrine that man has usurped a place in society which belongs by right to woman. A false creed, upheld by spurious history and still more spurious morality, can do an infinity of harm, and when this creed has as its central postulate a wholly untenable theory of the relations of the sexes its ill effects are likely to be cumulative and far-reaching.

From the beginning of the modern suffrage movement stress was laid in a variety of ways on this theory of the usurpation by man of female rights, as for instance in the effort, not even now abandoned, to prove that women had at one time exercised the franchise. The logical result of this attitude is the attempt of women to meet force by force, so woefully exemplified in militantism. The claim of woman must really rest—it is the one logical foundation—on the growth of ethical controls in man, which will induce him to give her freely what she could never take. To ask for such a gift while calling man 'usurper' and other bad names seems tactless, to use a mild expression. Similarly those women who proclaim their desire for nothing more nor less than 'equality' are literally 'reckoning without their host.' There seems to be a sort of inherent affinity between anarchism and feminism. Both suggest the abolition of rules which in the long run protect the weak. In an anarchist state the strongest and most unscrupulous man would soon be king. In a feminist state woman, deprived of the advantages of sex-discrimination in intercourse with man, would still be handicapped in the struggle for life by nature, and would go to the wall.

There are indications in our own country that she is already progressing on this downward path. Ten years ago the tradition still obtained in public life that woman, as a sort of honoured visitor to that sphere, must be accorded a more respectful treatment than need be given to any man. A chairman never had any doubt, when introducing a woman speaker, that her reception would be in accordance with the traditions of the best element in that audience. The psychology of an audience is interesting and subtle, as every speaker knows. The same was true of crowds. Until recent years a woman could almost invariably count on the prevalence of that element which will not tolerate the ill-treatment of women or cripples. But all this is changed. Women are no longer visitors—they have come to stay; and in the matter of public meetings they represent to the man in the street an element which demands to play the game without observing the rules. The treatment accorded to them has therefore lost all trace of sex-discrimination. I saw my first suffragette scrimmage in 1907, and it made me physically sick. I saw the last a few days ago, when several women were ejected from a meeting in Edinburgh, and one of them hit the hand of her ejector (who has since been seriously ill with blood poisoning). On this last occasion I felt no emotion save annoyance. But if I am right in my diagnosis of the nature and origin of ethical and moral progress, the contrast between my state of mind on these two occasions constitutes a moral retrogression. Few people will doubt that this is the case, and that the necessity imposed on men of actually fighting with women has led to a resurgence in both of characteristics which we hoped had been buried under an accumulation of moral controls. The result may be seen in the records of suffrage meetings held by non-militants (many of which have been broken up and the speakers roughly handled, although they were being held in a perfectly orderly and constitutional way), and in the accounts of recent by-elections. At one by-election in October an anti-suffragist speaker narrowly escaped serious hurt. It is clear that her particular object had nothing to do with it, nor was she taken for a suffragist—she was treated merely as a woman. To one who has had occasion more than once to appeal for special treatment on the score of her womanhood, and who never, until recently, made that appeal in vain, this appears as the writing on the wall.

The hypothetical advantages of being regarded as an 'equal' in public, and therefore allowed to get one's fair share of any kicks that may be dealt out, must be weighed against the undeniable drawbacks of having to forego the privilege of being treated as a non-combatant. But the law of civilisation has hitherto been that women must be treated as non-combatants, and the abrogation of this law will lead to moral anarchy in the relations of the sexes.

It may be contended that individual men have always fallen below the ethical level which forms the average, and that the social conscience as a whole is sound, and will ultimately enforce its principles on a recalcitrant minority. It is just in this respect that the illustrations from the actions of crowds or large audiences are so illuminating. The conscience of a crowd is a collective conscience, easily swayed, and yet having a very distinct relationship to the morale of the individuals of whom it is composed. The collective

ferocity of a crowd of men concentrated on a woman is a spectacle some of us had never thought to see. Obviously, if the Old Adam of physical force is to be cast out in favour of the New Adam of moral suasion, women must refrain from awakening the sleeping savage in man individually or collectively.

We are sometimes given instances from other countries of the harmonious working of men and women in political matters and the moral progress made under the influence of women's votes. Mr. J. O. P. Bland, for instance, describes the municipal cleansing of the city of San Francisco in the twenty months or so which have elapsed since Californian women were enfranchised. If it could be proved that men, on whom, after all, the public services of a city depend, have permitted women to revise their methods of government, to wipe out their sources of illegitimate profit, and to interfere with their more questionable forms of amusement, we should certainly have a clear case of the triumph of moral over physical force. But the 'cleansing' of American cities is a periodic phenomenon of no real social significance, and the establishment, during recent sessions of the Californian Legislature, of a series of commissions, at a total annual expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million sterling, suggests the new broom that merely disturbs the dust. Under the stimulus provided by Women's votes the Californian Legislature is said to have passed no fewer than 1100 Bills in twenty months, a record which should make our present Liberal Government regret its own wasted time, but will not inspire confidence in the breast of the disinterested social reformer. Legislative activity need not necessarily be regarded as a sign of moral progress, but sometimes the reverse. The necessity for legislation should surely decrease as the individuals of a community progress in that respect for the rights of others which constitutes genuine morality. In any case the Statute Book of a country is a most unsafe guide as to its social and moral conditions.

An unfortunate illustration of the alleged connexion between the growth of public morality and the increased public power of women has been chosen by Mr. Bland, in Colorado. He quotes the verdict of the Inter-Parliamentary Union that 'Colorado has the savest, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any Statute Books in the world'; Mr. Bland adds, in his own account, that these laws have been brought about by the votes of women, thereby assuming that the women's vote has forced this legislation on unwilling or apathetic men. What is the result? So indifferent is the administration of these laws that it has recently been found necessary to form a 'Women's Protective League,' whose prospectus says:

"We know that you are in favour of protecting girl-children according to the laws of Colorado; assume that you are cognisant of the fact that they are not so protected; and believe you would not be party to the continuance of the present existing shameful conditions." This appeal is supported by a record (certified by affidavit) of the Denver Juvenile Court, and the state of affairs revealed would be impossible in our own country, far from perfection as we are.

When we reflect on our own attempts at social-reform-while-you-wait in the last few years, and read the optimistic views of prominent suffragists as to the speeding-up of such legislation which would result from enfranchising women, we may well regard California and Colorado as solemn warnings, and not as examples of perfection!

There is one other aspect of woman's insurgence into political life in the British Islands which deserves attention as to its moral effect. The broad division into two schools of political thought has always presented difficulties to the thoughtful and sincere man who may not find it possible to subscribe to the whole creed of either one or other. Under such circumstances his choice is a matter of perspective, but he will not, as a general rule, be found supporting a party with whose whole political trend he is in disagreement simply because it advocates one measure in which he is deeply interested. A man may be in favour of maintaining the Union, of a strong Navy, compulsory national service, the repeal of the Insurance Bill and the Parliament Act, and yet be a keen Free Trader, but few men, under such conditions, would actively support the present Liberal Government. Yet Conservative women are supporting with work and money the party which, in every single respect save that of woman suffrage, stands for political ideas which are anathema to all Conservatives. Even on the question of the suffrage itself these women differ fundamentally from the party they support, for they are as much opposed to adult suffrage as their allies are pledged to it.

Attempts have been made to show that there is nothing unusual or inconsistent in the attitude of those Liberal and more especially those Conservative ladies who, putting woman suffrage before all other political questions, are supporting the Labour-Socialist Party at by-elections. As a matter for the individual conscience it may be

* 'Woman Suffrage in the United States', by J. O. P. Bland *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1913.

conceded that this is a question of personal choice, but, in honesty, those who would rather have woman suffrage plus Socialism than Liberal or Conservative government without it should have the courage of their convictions, and sever their connexion with any party which does not in their opinion stand for the only really vital measure of the day. And, although these ladies are very indignant with Sir Almoth Wright for saying that women have only private and personal morality, their conduct when associated for public purposes makes his explanation the kindest one. Both men and women have used non-party associations for non-party propaganda—that is, to spread views which were not confined to any party; but it remained for suffragists to discover that it is consistent with the constitution of a non-party association not only to oppose the parties which do not agree with its views, but to support, actively and financially, a party which in some respects has adopted its programme. The morality of spending money collected on a non-party basis for the benefit of a particular party is a point of minor significance beside the wholesale surrender of traditions and principles by an organised body. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that those who can thus mistake the part for the whole, the greater for the less, are inherently unfitted to direct public policy, and that by their action they are helping to demoralise politics. The process in which they are openly and unashamedly engaged is no new one—it is familiarly known as 'log-rolling'—but that women of the calibre of Mrs. Fawcett or the traditions of Lady Selborne should be parties to such work is but another instance of the fact that woman's influence in the political arena is likely to be the reverse of 'purifying.' That Unionist women should be found working against their own party at the present crisis, and that Conservatives should subscribe to an association which gives money and aid to the Socialist Party, is a proof of the lack of real political principle even among women of a high type of intelligence.

It is curious and interesting in this connexion to remember the part played by the suffrage women of the North in the time of the American Civil War. I have no space here to give in detail the history of their activities, but it is asserted that in the hour of their country's peril they contented themselves with rolling up petitions to their embarrassed Government in favour of universal suffrage, and out of over five hundred women mentioned in Dr. Brockett's *Woman and the Civil War* as having rendered special service, a bare half-dozen are known as being suffragists.

Yet another instance of moral retrogression is attributable to what is called 'The Woman's Movement.' With the militant appeal to force I have already dealt. Those persons who regard it, as it deserves to be regarded, as a symptom of something seriously wrong with women—not as a mere fantasia played by a few mad people—must not forget that the self-immolated victims have all along received help and encouragement from a section of the Church. There is actually a Church League for Woman Suffrage, among whose numbers prominent militants are enrolled, and which has a bishop at its head and others in its ranks. One of these bishops, who has been much before the public in a variety of ways lately, when taking the defence of militants (though not of militancy) upon his shoulders in the columns of *The Times*, says that the women are excused, though perhaps not justified, by the fact that they are exasperated by the Government's refusal of their 'just demands.' This is not a quotation but a summary of his argument, and this is essentially the position taken up by a few other clerics and by leaders of the so-called non-militant section. This question-bogging method is familiar in controversy, but its use does not show any real desire to restrain militancy. The suffragist members of the Cabinet, who believe the women's claim to be reasonable, are not (as they themselves declare) either strong enough to bear down the members who believe the contrary, or sufficiently convinced of the importance of the question to sacrifice other things to it. In short, the suffragists have still to convince not only the country but their own Liberal supporters that their demand for immediate legislation is 'just.' The bishop ignores all this; he assumes that his protégées must be right and everyone else wrong and unjust, and that, although these protégées are an absolutely insignificant minority, even of the women of the nation, they cannot be expected to desist from acts of violence until their demands are granted. The significant factor in all this is that the Church, which we thought had long since abandoned the methods of Torquemada, is here covertly upholding violence as an aid to conversion.

* Support of the Labour Party is the official policy of the N. U. W. S. S. whose President, Mrs. Fawcett, presided at a meeting at which Lord Lytton declared that 'when there were two suffrage candidates, one Liberal and one Labour, they [the N. U. W. S. S.] would support the Labour man. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative suffragist because they supported the Labour Party as a party.' In pursuance of this policy the N. U. W. S. S. and its affiliated society, the London Society for Woman Suffrage, have given £600 towards the expenses of Labour members, in addition to \$500 spent on by-election work, in which Labour candidates have been supported in five cases against Conservatives. Among the well-known members of these two societies are Lady Selborne, Lady Betty Balfour, Lady W. Langhby de Boka, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lytton, Lady Charles, Mrs. J. Lloyd Carpenter, and Mrs. Howard Frothingham, all prominent Conservatives.

A final count in this indictment takes me into deep and difficult waters, of which only the surface can be skimmed. Some years ago—before the suffrage agitation became acute—there began a movement, much needed, for the instruction of young people in the facts of their own physiology. I think the novelty of such instruction is much exaggerated. I can find, even in the works of Jane Austen, no proof that young people of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century grew up in the state of ignorance which, in the middle of last century, was confounded with innocence. It appears to me that it was the growing delegation of parental duties to schools and teachers which finally made it possible for girls and boys to be launched on the world in such a condition. Nowadays, when children of both sexes are at home in school and visitors in their homes, the need for systematised and careful teaching is increased, though personally I cannot help feeling that this is just one of those duties which no parent ought to be willing to delegate. The Headmaster of Eton, writing recently to *The Times*, emphasised the evil which must ensue if the wrong accent or emphasis is laid upon sexual matters during the critical period of adolescence, and parents ought to know their own children sufficiently well to be able to choose the right time and right way in which to impart necessary instruction. What is really desirable is that children should understand nature, but should not be familiarised with disease. The pathology of sex is disease, and it is this aspect of it which is now continually described in feminist and suffragist writings, is dissected and discussed, often by persons who do not and cannot know the alphabet of this difficult question. I am often asked to believe that girls gain something by a frank acquaintance with the seamy side of life. It is asserted that if they are allowed to know the worst they may avoid it, but if this means that they will only marry on what are called 'eugenic' principles, we must reserve our assent until we have some proof. Have women ever hesitated to marry men who were even, notoriously intemperate, or dissipated, or decadent, or even decrepit? 'Look at the men they do marry!' says the cynic in H. G. Wells's *Marriage*. In many cases the combined representations of the family, the doctor, and the solicitor have not availed to turn a young woman from such a match when once her affections or her ambitions were engaged.

It is a singular and melancholy fact that in what is called 'The Woman's Movement' the word 'morality' has only one application, and the reforming zeal of its supporters is chiefly directed to the sexual excesses of man. The result is that far too many women are becoming obsessed with the idea that man is essentially depraved and unclean, and as their own besetting sins or temptations are of a different character, they forget that temperance of mind, soberness of thought and truthfulness of speech are also moral attributes of great importance. Many women, in their pre-occupation with the suffrage question, have entirely lost the mental balance on which these things depend.

Apart from the precocious, one-sided, and often entirely erroneous 'information' on sex-subjects now freely administered to young girls by frustrated or embittered persons, the much vaunted 'frankness' of the present age has destroyed every remaining vestige of modesty or reticence. In this, as in other matters, familiarity breeds contempt. Just as actions which appeared to us daringly improper fifteen years ago have now become fully respectable, so the bedroom scene on the stage, and the disrobing of the heroine, which once thrilled us, have become a tiresome commonplace. Even bishops see no harm in the nightgown as a stage garment! There is no intrinsic harm. There is no reason, I suppose, except a climatic one, why we should not take the garment in question into wear for all occasions. A young friend of mine had a bet with her father that she would come down to dinner in her *rob de nuit*; and she did, and he never recognised it! But the instinct for privacy, like the instinct for decency, is part of our civilisation—one of the things which distinguish us from beasts and lower types of man. The barriers between our private lives and the public have been broken down by the ubiquitous photographer, to whom nothing is sacred, and by the people who like to see their house parties, their babies and everything they do, in the illustrated weeklies. Still, the delicacy, the modesty, the refinement and reserve of the real gentlewoman is a moral asset which society can ill afford to lose, and the lesson of reticence is more needed, to my mind, for the coming generation than the lesson of frankness. Under the influence of this way of living in public we are fast retrograding in social habits towards promiscuity, and the horde threatens to reabsorb the family.

The plain man and woman do not care much for abstract arguments about the political and social relations of the sexes. What they do care for is that society should be organised on terms which seem to offer the maximum of public efficiency with the minimum of private friction. Man is not really concerned with the task of keeping woman in subjection, nor are the vast majority of women exercised over their subordination (in some respects) to man. This is because the broad relationship of the sexes is one thing and the individual relations of one man and

one woman are another. 'All men rule all women', wrote Themistocles, 'but our wives rule us!' There is, therefore, an air of unreality in the feminine crusade against masculine supremacy, and even those who proclaim most loudly their belief that woman are down-trodden are usually careful it should be understood that they are speaking of other women!

The modern advanced champion of woman's right has adopted as her war march the Marseillaise, and she is imbued with the spirit of revolution and anarchism. It is notorious that these rebels against 'man-made laws' offer us free love instead of monogamy, barracks instead of homes, and the 'economic independence of woman' instead of the male obligation to support his wife and family. To gain for woman an assumed 'equality' with man they are prepared to tear down every safeguard and privilege she has secured in long ages of civilisation. Both in spirit and in fact such proposals are anarchic, and not evolutionary, because their basic assumption is that nature makes all men and both sexes equally able to take care of themselves, whereas social evolution has increasingly protected the weak from the strong and increased the obligation of the strong towards the weak.

I am perfectly aware that many protagonists of the woman's movement will hotly contest this view of their objective, but the whole of their case is given away by their self-chosen title. 'The woman's Movement' can only aim at combining women as distinct from men, whether for offensive or defensive purposes; is immaterial. Such combination, if aimed at man, is futile; if not aimed at him it is meaningless. If it is claimed that it is merely an instrument of social uplifting I will reply in the words of Miss Soulsby, that any movement to raise society through the medium of one sex is like a system of gymnastics which develops only one leg! After all we have never heard of 'The Man's Movement.'

But although from the point of view of progress towards the age of reason we may have our doubts as to the beneficent influence of 'the woman's movement,' the cloud is not without its silver lining. The ascendancy of woman and the slothfulness of man are closely related if not complementary facts, and the woman rampant, the sign-manual of the present period, can only rise to that position because men are not merely 'reasonable' but lazy. If we see signs that they are bestirring themselves to resist the tide of feminism we have grounds to hope for a greater demonstration of virile qualities in the near future. The frank anarchism of some women, leaders is also opening the eyes of other women, who are beginning to realise the profound truth of Goethe's saying, 'Man's aim is freedom, order woman's!' It is my own belief that, with the plentiful outlets being increasingly provided for her surplus energy, the fermenting element in woman is ceasing to be a danger, and that the feminine volcano exploded with the militant movement. When the dust has cleared off and the lava stream has had time to cool we shall all go on cultivating our gardens—though not quite the same gardens—much as before but, as I fervently hope, with a heightened appreciation of the advantages of peace and obscurity.

ETHEL COLOQUHOUN, in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.



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HELD AS AN
INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY

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THE original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings, their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration; and revelation, the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deeds; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade*:—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **علم الكلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPURI, Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq has been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohammedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.B.O.S., I.R.C.P.

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohammedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about Islam may easily purchase it.

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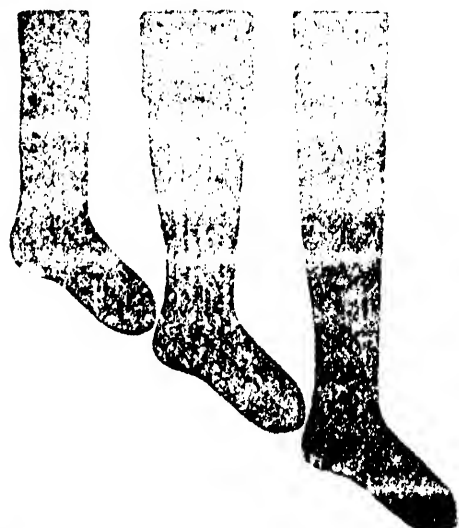
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—Morris.

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No. 7.

Single Copy
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The Week.

Bagdad Railway.

Paris, Feb. 10.

The *Matin* states that a Franco-German agreement will be published in a few days whereby, firstly, France renounces interests in the Bagdad Railway; secondly, a junction is arranged between the Bagdad Railway and the Black Sea system, thirdly, Germany withdraws in favour of France regarding the construction of railways in Syria.

The *Matin* adds that an Anglo-German agreement will be signed simultaneously.

Albania

London, Feb. 10.

It has transpired that while accepting generally Britain's draft communication to be addressed to Athens and Constantinople the Triple Alliance has opened the question of eventual measures to enforce the decision of the Powers. It appears that there is reason to doubt Germany's willingness to participate in such measures and a hitch is threatened, as it is unlikely that Greece will be willing to evacuate Albania unless peaceful possession of the islands is assigned to her and effectually guaranteed.

The Opening of Parliament.

London, Feb. 10.

The weather was beautifully sunny and springlike for the opening of Parliament to-day. The King and Queen drove in State from Buckingham Palace to Westminster through vast cheering crowds.

The customary brilliant ceremony took place in the House of Lords. The King read his Speech from the Throne. He said that relations with Foreign Powers continued friendly.

The King expressed his pleasure at the forthcoming visit with the Queen to France, testifying to the cordial relations between the two countries. He hoped that consultations regarding Albania and the Aegean Islands would contribute to the maintenance of peace in South-Eastern Europe, and trusted that on the arrival of the new ruler in Albania progress would be made towards an efficient and stable administration.

"I am happy to say that the Anglo-German and Anglo-Turkish negotiations regarding matters of importance to the commercial and industrial interests of Britain in Mesopotamia are rapidly approaching a satisfactory issue, while questions long pending with Turkey in respect to regions bordering on the Persian Gulf are in a fair way towards an amicable settlement."

The King expressed gratification at the signature of a convention dealing with the safety of life at sea. A Bill would be submitted to carry out the convention.

"I regret that early cessation of the seasonal rains last autumn impaired the prospects of agriculture in considerable tracts of my Indian Dominions. The area visited by severe drought is fortunately restricted, and timely measures have been taken for the relief of the distressed population."

I regret that efforts to arrive at a solution by agreement of the problems connected with the Government of Ireland have so far not succeeded. In a matter in which the hopes and fears of so many of my subjects are keenly concerned, and which, unless handled now with foresight and judgment, and in a spirit of mutual concession, threatens grave future difficulties, it is my most earnest wish that the goodwill and co-operation of men of all parties and creeds may heal dissensions and lay the foundations for a lasting settlement."

The King announced Bills for the reconstitution of the Second Chamber and dealing with Imperial Naturalisation, housing, education, and other social reforms, also authorising loans to East African Protectorates to enable them to carry out public works urgently needed.

London, Feb. 10.

The "momentous session" opened with the House of Commons packed.

Mr. Walter Ruch moved the adoption of the Address, and Mr. Gordon Howart seconded. Both expressed the hope that a settlement would be reached on the Home Rule question.

In order to emphasise the paramount importance of the Ulster problem, the Opposition departed from precedent. Mr. Walter Long rising, amid cheers, to move the Amendment to the Address. He affirmed that the departure was due to an exceptional and extraordinary position. For the first time for centuries, the United Kingdom was threatened with civil war, which would certainly break out if the Government persisted in its present policy. The position was no fault of the Opposition, who had warned the Government as to what would happen. The first fruits of the Parliament Act

would be that the Government would have to carry Home Rule by British bayonets and bullets against a hundred thousand armed men of Ulster. The speaker fervently declared that Ulster was not bluffing. Sir Edward Carson's fearless action and resolute leadership had hitherto prevented a great tragedy.

Then, criticising the Bill itself, Mr. Long ridiculed the idea of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, citing the case of Natal in 1906, and continued with great emphasis, "You have another instance now. I do not know the views of the Ministerialists regarding the events in South Africa, but with all your boasted supremacy, you won't dare take any action which will bring you into conflict with the South African Government." (Opposition cheers).

In conclusion, Mr. Long said that the Opposition demanded that the Government should consult the country. It was perfectly true that there was grave anxiety in the Army. It was said that the Army must do what was consistent with its duty. What course it would take was not for him to say, but a distinguished soldier had stated that many would resign. It was a foul calumny to say that the Opposition made this a party question.

He appealed to Mr. Asquith if he had proposals to make, to make them without delay. He moved that it would be disastrous to proceed with Home Rule until it had been submitted to the judgment of the country.

MR. ASQUITH'S REPLY.

Mr. Asquith was loudly cheered when he rose to reply. He pointed out that the recent bye-election had been in favour of Home Rule. He said that dissolution would be an admission that the Parliament Act, as far as Home Rule was concerned, was a nullity. Then there might be a condition of stalemate. Supposing that Unionists were returned, they would be confronted with the task of governing four-fifths of Ireland disappointed on the eve of the fruition of a cherished hope. Again, if the Liberals were returned, would Ulster lay down arms? If the matter was to be settled by general agreement, it had better be settled there and then than by a General Election.

While he regretted that his conversations with Mr. Bonar Law had not resulted in an agreement, he did not despair of an agreement being reached. He thought that the language of the King's Speech would find an echo in every quarter of the House. Schemes and suggestions for settlement were in the air, and the exclusion of Ulster had been mentioned. He was not going to pronounce any final judgment on that or any other solution, but even those who suggested exclusion regarded it as *pis aller*. He continued by saying that any steps they might take in the way of suggestions must not be construed as an admission that the Bill, which had been twice passed, was defective. They would be taken as the price of peace, and he meant by the price of peace, a new system of Irish Government starting in an atmosphere giving a fair chance of working successfully. He agreed that it was a matter which should not be unduly delayed and affirmed that there was no justification for any impression that the Government was trifling with the matter or seeking to gain time.

The Government would endeavour to put forward suggestions which it believed would be regarded by all fair-minded men as an attempt at agreement and as consulting the susceptibilities of all concerned. The Government would close no avenue, however unpromising, leading towards a settlement.—(Cheers).

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'S QUESTION.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain said that events in Ulster were hurrying to a catastrophe, yet Mr. Asquith had not told the House what he was prepared to do. Mr. Chamberlain asked whether the Government was prepared to exclude Ulster or to secure to her the same rights as she enjoyed in Britain. If the Government answered "yes," the danger of civil war would be averted. If "no," civil war would be certain. The exclusion of Ulster was the only possible basis for peace. Though it was no settlement of the Irish question, it would at least be a negation of Ireland's claim to be an independent nation. The Commons adjourned at 10.55 p. m.

LORD MIDLETON MOVES AMENDMENT.

London, Feb. 11.

In the House of Lords, Lord Glenconner moved, and Lord Garrick seconded the Address. Lord Middleton moved an amendment similar to Mr. Walter Long's in the House of Commons. He demanded the meaning of the words in the King's Speech with reference to Ireland. Nothing which had fallen from any Minister mitigated in the slightest degree, the Opposition's hostility to the whole principle of the measure. He asked what proposals had been made in the course of the negotiations. Lord Morley's reply was precisely similar to Mr. Asquith's.

EFFECT OF PREMIER'S UTTERANCE.

London, Feb. 11.

Mr. Asquith's speech made a sensation in the Lobby. While a conciliatory tone was anticipated, the Cabinet's decision to submit to Parliament definite proposals with regard to Ulster came as a surprise and creates a new situation. It is generally assumed that

the Cabinet is working towards a system of Home Rule within Home Rule, giving the Protestant counties a check over the administration of their boundaries, expecting thus to create a body of public opinion strong enough—to control the extremists on both sides. Thus conciliation is in the air after the first day's debate. The Government's proposals are not expected for some weeks yet.

Kabul.

Allahabad, Feb. 6.

A correspondent states that the Amir of Kabul has of late moved in the direction of a more humane treatment of criminals. The horrible "wells" at Kabul, in which men were incarcerated, their food and water being lowered to them until death ended their sufferings, were closed some time ago and the all too-common practice of torture and mutilation has now been stopped.

Fanatical Mullah.

Allahabad, Feb. 6.

The *Pioneer* learns from Peshawar that the fanatical Babra Mullah of Chahmang has once more begun preaching in the Mahmud country against sections of the tribes which take subsidies from the British Government. He has been particularly bitter against the Mittai Musa Khel, and his followers have burnt some of their houses.

The general feeling among the Mahmuds is against the Mullah. But he manages to get together certain following of malcontent tribesmen at odd intervals.

South Africa.

Durban, Feb. 6.

Giving evidence before the Indian Commission, a deputation from the Natal Sugar Association stated that it was opposed to the removal of the Three Pound Tax, but if the tax was removed, it would prefer that the Indians should be sent back to India, because as free Indians, they would not be available as labourers.

Moharrum Riot Case.

Agra, Feb. 7.

In the Moharrum riot case Mr. Jones, Principal, Agra College, stated that the first thing he saw was one Hindu bleeding. He afterwards saw students gathered in the Boarding House compound and a Mohamedan mob outside throwing brickbats toward the students. He asked the students to go in. The students did not retaliate. Witness motioned the crowd to go back and received a blow on the left eye, which resulted in loss of the eye. He did not see anyone hurting him. Bricks were coming from the roadside. He saw about ten policemen. Policeman Newalkishore identified Jamal-ud-din, accused. Continuing, witness said Mr. Gidney, Assistant Magistrate, asked the Mohamedans to give up their *lathies*, but they refused and entered the Boarding House compound, but were afterwards driven out by witness. This was after Mr. Jones' injuries. Dr. Modi deposed to examining witnesses Mohanlal and Priyagdas. Pandit Vinyanand, Deputy Superintendent of Police, deposed to having made enquiries from Rajamandi and Lohamandi people, most of whom were unable to give the names of persons, recognised in the mob. Major O'Meara deposed to having operated on Mr. Jones' eye and stated that there was a large wound over the eyebrow, the eyeball being ruptured, which made it necessary to take out his eye. The injury was serious and if not attended to immediately the other eye would have been lost. Witness thought that no glass touched the eye and a brick hurt the eye and not the hat. Niaz Ahmad, Kotwal, stated, that there was a dispute between Hindus and Mohamedan before the 8th of December, the Hindus wanting music and the Mohamedans showing unwillingness to allow the music. Quarrels began on the 7th. Some persons were arrested on the 8th and released on the 9th. Witness further deposed that the Magistrate gave orders not to allow people to carry *lathies*. Chaudhry Tarsingh, Deputy Superintendent of Police, stated that he was in charge of the investigation relating to the Moharrum riots which lasted from 15th December to 6th January. The first arrest was made on 24th January. Arrest were postponed until after Chelum. Mr. Alston withdrew the case against 17 accused for want of corroborative evidence and wanted to have it publicly known that there was no official promise not to prosecute offenders. This was concerning the arrests made on 8th, and not other offenders. After the charge had been framed against the seventeen accused Mr. Alston said he desired to contradict the rumour that any promise was made by any official of the Government that there would be no prosecution in connection with the Agra riots. He added that accused's counsel, Mr. Habibulla, would confirm the statement, "for he was definitely informed towards the end of December by an official that investigations then going on would be continued, and persons considered guilty would be prosecuted. Alston said the rumour referred to was probably due to the circumstances that some men arrested on the 24th were released on the 9th. The cases now before the Court arose after the release of those men and nothing that occurred with reference to them could apply to others. It is suggested that three or four additional cases, some against Hindus and some against Mohamedans, will be put before the courts on an early date.

Our London Letter.

London, 23rd Jan. 1914.

THE AGA KHAN ON THE "INDIAN MOSLEM OUTLOOK."

The January number of the *Edinburgh Review* contains a very able and instructive article on the "Indian Moslem Outlook" by His Highness the Aga Khan, who, as it were, has thus spoken at the psychological moment. The article, no doubt, will commend itself to all those who are in any way interested in, or concerned with, the affairs of the Moslem Community in India. His Highness can undoubtedly speak on this subject, which he has made his own, with an authority and an experience not generally associated with the pronouncements of several pseudo-leaders amongst the Indian Moslems, and a studious perusal of the Aga Khan's present article in the *Edinburgh* convinces the reader of His Highness's thorough conception and realisation of the situation in India. The Aga Khan, it will be noticed, does not throw over the much-abused Young Moslems of India, neither does he speak of the Indian Moslem Press with that air of contempt, which has become so fashionable in certain quarters lately, not only in India but in this country as well. His Highness's repudiation of the statements made in the *Times* is significant. Dealing with this question, the Aga Khan proceeds: "Lurid caricatures of the Moslem attitude, such as that drawn in *The Times* of October 7 last by 'a Correspondent in India,' are to be deplored, since they tend to suspicion and estrangement on both sides. It might well be the duty of a writer anxious to awaken the British public from a fool's paradise to be strident in tone, if his note of alarm was based upon full knowledge and free from prejudice. But this correspondent puts himself out of court as a competent and fair-minded witness in the very first sentence of his communication. He says:—

"It is probable that the Balkan War would not have greatly influenced the bulk of Indian Mohammedans, had it not been for the efforts of the Pan-Islamic agitators and their organs in the Press."

"He does not produce, and I believe he cannot produce, a single quotation to show that there has been a Pan-Islamic agitation in the political sense, which his words, taken in connection with the general tone of his article, seem intended to convey. If he means only that the Moslem Press of India has made the troubles of Turkey a subject of constant lamentation and has strongly criticised the policy of the Concert of Europe in general and of Great Britain in particular, in that connexion, I accept the statement, though I take grave exception to the deduction drawn and to the prejudicial form in which it is conveyed. This correspondent might just as reasonably argue that Mr. Lloyd George's land campaign would attract no attention from the agricultural voter if the Liberal Press of England did not keep the question in view; or that the problem of Ulster would be non-existent but for the newspaper notice it attracts. He mistakes cause for effect, and forgets that even a Press so new and crude as that of the Indian Moslems, like the Press of other countries has to give its readers information on public matters in which they are most interested, and must more or less reflect their attitude upon them."

His Highness is equally clear in his defence of the Indian Moslems on the question of extra-territorial patriotism of his co-religionists for other Moslem States and very ably dismisses the absurd yet oft repeated theory, entertained in various quarters, that the Indian Moslem should only mind his own business without in any way interfering with the political affairs of other Moslem countries. These are the Aga Khan's own words:—"The Indian Moslem does not ask for the surrender of any British interests. He simply points out that these interests are in accord with Moslem sentiments and wishes. Yet his incursion into international politics is frowned upon in reactionary Anglo-Indian quarters as if it were in some mysterious and inexplicable way disloyal. People who make these charges might reflect that the Mussalmans of India gain absolutely nothing for themselves, in any material or political sense, from the preservation of the Moslem States; they are simply animated by the sentiments of unity and brotherhood above referred to (in the article), which are stronger than these unsympathetic and unimaginative critics can realise." His Highness has done well to emphasise this point, as these critics seem to be absolutely blind to the fact that the natural enthusiasm for, and extra-territorial fellowship, of the Indian Moslems with their co-religionists abroad are perfectly consistent with their loyalty and devotion to their own sovereign, to whose person and throne they are attached at present more closely than ever, in spite of persistent efforts in some quarters to prevent the Indian Moslems to the world as hostile to British rule.

The Aga Khan, in his course of his article, briefly deals with the recent crisis in the London Branch of the All-India Moslem League, but happily does not altogether sacrifice preciseness for brevity.

His words, pregnant with meaning and full of significance in this connection, run thus:—"The crisis in the affairs of the London League, brought to a head by Mr. Amcer Ali's resignation, confirms my conviction that the time has fully come for the Indian Mussalmans to realise that the future of the community depends not upon this or that particular leader, but upon the people themselves. If there is any danger that excitable younger men may lead the League to an attitude of suspicious impatience, it is for the calmer and more reasonable section to bestir itself and to keep the organisation in its own hands, and meet the opposite party not with abuse but with argument." No more weighty advice could be given at such a juncture, and if certain sections of the League would only attempt to follow the Aga Khan's advice and, instead of abusing the Younger Moslems, would only meet them calmly and earnestly in proper argument, they would certainly not only enhance their own dignity, but would likewise do their duty to the great organisation, which they pretend to be so conscientiously serving. Let there be some give-and-take on both sides, and the Young Party who are nothing if not sporting in the real sense of the term, will certainly not withhold its active co-operation with the more 'conservative' section of the Community for the common good, provided, it need hardly be said, that it is not expected to sacrifice certain principles and doctrines, which, owing to their importance to the very existence of the community, must be the main plank in the Indian Moslem platform.

The Aga Khan must be considered as the spokesman for enlightened opinion in India when he so truly says, in the concluding portion of his article, that the rapid changes brought about in India within living memory demand a corresponding change in the behaviour of the officials in their relation, and dealings with the people of the country, who should be consulted and listened to with due attention in matters of policy, which raise important issues affecting the well-being of the various Communities in India. The following sentences cannot fail to convince even a casual observer that there is ample scope for improvement in the methods of Indian administration generally, a few important directions, in which the Government may with advantage proceed on the lines indicated by the Aga Khan, being only mentioned here. His Highness goes on to say:—"Another matter upon which strong feeling prevails is that there should be fuller scope in local affairs for loyal but at the same time free criticism. The widening of the powers and functions of the Legislative Council has done much to give point and force to public sentiment on the larger issues, and this is necessarily reflected in the comments of a Press, which, with all its great imperfections, is advancing in ability and is beginning to be really responsive to public needs. The days when not merely the considered will but even the capricious whim of the Collector of a district was received without question and obeyed without hesitation have gone by, and in the sphere of every-day administration, no less than in the more conspicuous arena of the Legislatures, Supreme and Provincial, it is necessary for those in authority to give due weight to the general consensus of opinion."

His Highness has rendered no little service, both to those who are in authority as well as to his own co-religionists and Indians in general, by having so forcibly brought out the salient features of the Indian Moslem outlook in the article referred to above. The Aga Khan's suggestions are certainly entitled to the most careful consideration of the Government of India.

LORD HARDINGE'S VICEROYALTY.

The Indian Mail of last week has happily brought us the full text of Lord Hardinge's speech, in which he has most emphatically denied the statement, so widely circulated in the British Press, that he contemplates resigning his great office in the near future. India can ill-afford to prematurely lose a Viceroy of Lord Hardinge's calibre, specially at the present moment, and His Excellency's own words have relieved the Indian community in London, as no doubt they have done in India as well, of no little anxiety.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M. P.

On his return from India Mr. Ramsay MacDonald M. P. has been interviewed by the *Daily Chronicle* on various problems affecting the administration. While dealing with the question of a Hindu-Mohammedan entente, the Labour leader proceeds as follows:—"I would not like to say how far that entente will go, because there are a good many obstacles in its way. But this I will commit myself to:—If there should be a rupture between the old school of Mohammedans, headed by Amir Ali, and the Young Mohammedans headed by Mohamed Ali, the latter would win. All the tendencies are in favour of the latter."

Mr. MacDonald has thus shown that he has taken pains, while in India, to discover for himself the right direction toward which Moslem public opinion as a whole inclines.

TETE À TETE



Sir James Meston, replying to the addresses of the Municipal and District Boards of Fyzabad on the 9th., instant, concluded an important speech with the announcement that he had decided "and in this course I have obtained the full and

gracious concurrence of His Excellency the Viceroy," to release 23 prisoners convicted in the Ajudhya Riot Case and "as an act of special clemency to reduce by one-half the sentences on the remaining seven." This announcement was preceded by a reference to the existing state of Hindu-Muslim feeling in the locality. His Honour reminded the members of the Board and the *raies* of the district that from time immemorial Hindus and Mohammedans had lived together at Ajudhya and Fyzabad in peace and unity. "As a symbol of this happy unity you see Mohammedans worshipping at Babar's Mosque and Hindus paying adoration at the shrine of Ram Chandra's birth-place within a few yards of each other and within the same enclosure wall." His Honour asked if these brotherly relations could not be resumed and maintained. The Government could not bring their hearts together by force. It could, however, encourage and exhort to cast animosities away. But His Honour was prepared to do more than mere exhortation and offered them "an unconditional contribution towards the work of reconciliation." He then proceeded to recall the circumstances connected with the Baqur'Id Riot at Ajudhya on the 20th of November, 1912, which had to be quelled by force. The rioters consisted of large crowds of Hindus, among whom *Baragis* were prominent, and they assaulted a number of Mussalmans, (two of whom died in consequence), damaged a mosque and looted some houses and shops. Thirty of the offenders had been brought to justice and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from two years to six years. "I have now carefully considered the cases of all these men," continued His Honour, "and I have consulted your Commissioner regarding them. It appears to me that the crimes, indefensible though they were, resulted from wild excitement in the minds of ignorant men at what they considered to be a blow to their religion. In such circumstances and in cases where no other motives can be traced, mercy seems justifiable. The culprits directly responsible for the death of the two Mohammedans on the 20th November have not yet been brought to account. But among the thirty men who are now imprisoned for the events of that day it appears that seven either fomented and led the rioting or took part in it with the deliberate intention of looting and robbery, while the other twenty-three were comparatively ignorant tools in the hands of the real instigators." In view of these considerations His Honour decided to exercise the measure of clemency he announced. He also declared that he was at the same time placing in the hands of the District Officer "a sum of Rs. 500 to be distributed at his discretion among the poorer Mohammedans who suffered from the riot either in person or property or in the damage done to their mosque." These, he said, were "free gifts and unconditional." He then wound up by exhorting his hearers to exercise their religious rights without wounding the feelings of their neighbours, and by reminding them of the duty of the Government to maintain peace and order at whatever cost and of the opportunity they had behind the screen of safety to join hands and work together for the common good.

The Act of Clemency. The Lieutenant-Governor's remarkable decision to release twenty-three of the prisoners convicted in the Riot Case and to reduce by one-half the sentences on the remaining seven suggests certain grave considerations which it is hardly possible to ignore. The question that would most readily occur to one is what it was that led His Honour to take a step so unusual, if not without any semblance of a precedent. It is clear on His Honour's own showing that the crimes committed by the Ajudhya rioters were indefensible. There had been absolutely no provocation on the part of the Mussalmans directly or indirectly responsible for such a savage outbreak of religious animosity and incendiarism. They were quietly proceeding

to celebrate their festival according to their religious beliefs and within the limits of the law, and there was nothing in their acts which could even remotely be construed as a desire to offend the feelings of their Hindu neighbours. Yet, in spite of all this, they were assaulted by a huge Hindu mob which broke into their houses, with the deliberate intention, at least in some cases, of looting and robbery. A mosque was damaged, several Mussalmans received injuries and two of them were killed. But for the timely help of the military in quelling the riot, the consequences would have been still more deplorable. Legal proceedings followed in due course, thirty of the accused in the Riot Case were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, the sentences being upheld by the highest tribunal of the Provinces. And now several months after the matter had been finally disposed of by the High Court, after the demands of justice had been satisfied and the aggrieved party had, we may presume, learnt to console itself that it was not easy to trifle with the laws of the land, comes the sudden revelation that the crimes of the Ajudhya rioters were in the main due to religious fanaticism and consequently there was a strong case for tempering justice with mercy. We trust no Mussalman will be led to carp at this act of clemency if it pleases the Hindus and satisfies His Honour's sense of the fitness of things. But one cannot help feeling that there may be not a few who may suspect in the proceedings at Fyzabad a touch of the melodrama. Sir James Meston is far too sagacious an administrator to believe that acts of grace can be uniformly efficacious without reference to time, place and circumstances. Excesses due to religious frenzy may be condoned only when they have resulted in no serious iniquity calling for reparation in the interests of social order. The riot at Ajudhya, however, was of a wholly different complexion. It led to a loss of life and a serious damage to property and established an organised terrorism with the deliberate object of depriving a whole class of people of the freedom to exercise their inalienable rights, which, in view of last year's strange procedure on the part of Government, seems to have been fully achieved. If it appeared to the Lieutenant-Governor that even crimes of this character deserved mercy because they had resulted "from wild excitement in the minds of ignorant men at what they considered to be a blow to their religion," then we hardly see the necessity of feeding the public mind on the sensation of an expensive and protracted trial. If it was necessary to allow the law courts to thresh out the character and the motive of the crimes, mercy could well have been shown just after the final court of appeal had given its verdict. The delay in arriving at the decision announced at Fyzabad would be incomprehensible but for the fact that a clever agitation was engineered by a number of Hindu politicians in the United Provinces immediately after the Cawnpore Settlement. The cry for the release of the Ajudhya rioters was raised with great insistence, and clumsy efforts were made to show that the case of the Ajudhya criminals was similar in character to the Cawnpore Riot Case. There was happily no quarrel between the Hindus and Mussalmans of Cawnpore, as between those of Ajudhya, and the accused at Cawnpore, who were released before their guilt or innocence had been judicially determined, were not proved criminals who had injured their neighbours in any way. But let that be. We would only say that the leaders of the Hindu agitation, who suddenly discovered a grievance after the Cawnpore Settlement, chose a wrong method of removing it. The demand for the release of the Ajudhya rioters literally smacked of "compensation." And now that Sir James Meston has rounded off things with his usual deftness, we hope others will be induced to feel equally with him that all is well that has to be ended in this way. We hope, at the same time, that his appeal for unity has not been made in vain. But no unity can be sincere or lasting which is not based on the convictions of the people that they are absolutely free to exercise their rights within the limits of the law. Peace and order should be maintained at all costs, but the local authorities should realise that it does not serve the interests of peace and order to saddle a law-abiding section of the people with restrictions because a turbulent section of them breathes threats of a riot. We hope the good sense of the people at Ajudhya and Fyzabad will help them to come to an amicable settlement. In the meantime we are eagerly waiting to see what Sir James Meston does in the case of persons now undergoing trial at Agra on charges of riot on the occasion of the last Moharram. Their excesses too, if any, were surely due to "wild excitement of ignorant men at what they considered to be a blow to their religion." We are also curious to learn the fate of the persons accused of sacrificing a cow this year in a house at Fyzabad in spite of the prohibition issued by the District Magistrate.

The Leader of Allahabad lays it down that it is wrong to look the gift horses in the mouth and forthwith proceeds to examine the gale to the Hindus of Sir James Meston's announcement at Fyzabad. Evidently our contemporary knows the political value of depreciating the value of gift-horses. But we should not be surprised if it was for such a reason that

Ghalib wrote: **دو دنوں جهان دیکھی وہ سمجھا کہ جہٹ کیا**
بان بات آئی یہی کہ تکرار کیا کریں

(After giving away the two worlds He thought He has now rid of us. And we are embarrassed by the gift and are inclined to think it would be ungracious to haggle!) We need not pay lip-service like our contemporary to a principle that is seldom observed in practice. A gift has either a value or a price. It is intended either as a substantial help or as a tribute of respect, love or admiration from the giver to him that receives. We confess we do not know how to appraise Sir James Meston's gift of Rs. 500 to the Ajudhya Mussalmans. If it is intended as a help to "poorer Mohamedans" it is neither substantial, nor, what is much more to the point, timely. Such help could only be effective and welcome when it was needed most, when the injuries inflicted by the rioters were still fresh and the loss had to be repaired. The plight of the poorer Mohamedans, however, escaped the attentions of the benign Government and it suddenly floats into the recollection of Sir James Meston after more than a year when the losses and troubles have probably faded from the minds of the victims themselves. As we have said, we do not know, in view of all this, how to appraise the gift. Are we going back to the early days of jurisprudence when punishments were based on personal vindictiveness and not on the vindication of the dignity and power of the State? Is this the "blood-money" for two Moslem lives? If so, it should have come from Hindu pockets and not from the public treasury. Or does it illustrate in a cruder form the doctrine of "compensation" which seems to be coming into vogue in public affairs? If so, we cannot help observing that Sir James Meston has a very poor estimate of the feelings and intelligence of the Mussalmans. If he had decided to exercise clemency in the case of the prisoners in response to Hindu appeals, he could have easily done so without injuring the self-respect of a sensitive community. The Mussalmans are not so shackled in spirit and so wedded to calculating price as to peg out a claim for "compensation" whenever the authorities elect to do a good turn to their Hindu neighbours. We trust the Mussalmans of Ajudhya will have enough dignity to refuse any help under circumstances such as these. This is, we are told, the first instalment of Sir James Meston's "unconditional" contribution to the Hindu-Moslem entente. Need we add that the hope thus held out is akin to that which Shelley mentioned in the famous lines:

"One hope is too like fear
 "For prudence to sue other."

Let us patiently await the second instalment and in the meantime pray to Heaven it may not be in its shape the second Ghost of Hamlet's father!

The Trustees of the Aligarh College, according to the constitution of the Moslem University Association, the formation of which was decided upon last year by the Moslem University Foundation Committee, elected forty members from amongst themselves at their last meeting to represent them on the Association.

The Moslem University Association. The voting recorded in each case affords a curious study and some food for not very edifying reflection. We will publish the names of the elected members with the votes they have respectively secured in a subsequent issue. For the present we may only say that, although the list contains the names of several people whose election would inspire confidence, there are not a few who can hardly be considered to be fitted for membership of the Moslem University Association either by their capacity or their past records of communal work. What is still more amazing is that men of the ability and tried worth of the Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, Khan Bahadur H. M. Malik and the Hon. Lieut. Malik Mubariz Khan received only 38 votes each, and as only one more member had to be elected to make up the allotted number of forty, two of them would have been left out had not Messrs. Syed Zain-ud-din and Mohamed Saifraz Khan withdrawn in their favour. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola could get only 37 votes and got in after Maulvi Badr ul-Hasan Sahib had withdrawn. We are genuinely pleased to note that the example of self-sacrifice set on this occasion came from the three Old Boys of Aligarh and not from landholders and other rich men who have still got not one but two constituencies that can elect them. Such self-sacrifice, however, cannot always be depended upon in every case, and one can not but be dissatisfied with the indifferent manner in which the Aligarh Trustees have discharged their responsibility in dealing with matters of the highest moment to the community. Little attention seems to have been paid to individual merit, or to the aptitude and fitness of several elected members for the kind of work they will have to do. Almost every Trustee who took the trouble to attend the meeting was elected as a member of the University Association. We hope the Aligarh Trustees have not degenerated into a society of mutual admiration whose only function is to exercise neighbourly goodwill with sweet nonchalance. Among the forty representatives of the Trustees, apart from a wide disparity of merit

and talent, the representation of the different provinces is most inadequate. The United Provinces preponderate with twenty-one representatives, the Punjab gets only five seats, Bengal three, Bombay two, Madras one, while Behar goes entirely unrepresented. Particularly noticeable is the feature that a donor whose contribution to the University Fund was the largest failed to get elected. His only faults are that he is not a U. P. landlord and was absent. We shall deal with the work that lies before the Moslem University Association in our next, and trust in the meantime that the Hon. Secretary will soon fix and publish dates for the other constituencies to elect their representatives for the Association.

"EX-CITIZEN," who is in fact one of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens of Delhi and who discussed an important "Tablet Scheme" for all notable and historical places in Delhi in the *Comrade* some

months ago, writes to us as follows:—"I should like to refer to a matter of more than local interest touched on by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his recent contribution to the *Daily Citizen* on the making of the new Delhi. In his usual outspoken manner he calls attention to a "new industry" which "has sprung up in the bazaar for the making of tablets informing surveyors that this and that is the resting place of this Khan and that Shah." It would seem as if Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had discovered a sudden and a desperate movement for a wholesale and indiscriminate bestowal of sanctity to the many thousands of crumbling and decaying tombs and stones scattered about Delhi. The statement might not improbably also lend itself to the suggestion that the attempt to hedge round innumerable spots with sanctity is being made wilfully in order to make matters difficult for the authorities and to interfere with the general lay-out of the town. It would be most unfortunate if such an impression gains ground as it has all the potentialities for friction and harm. I can confidently say that no such attempt has so far been made or contemplated and no such desperate movement inaugurated. All that has happened is that the wild and unauthorised rumours of the last year relating to the schemes for the making of the new town alarmed the people and caused uneasiness as to the fate of public burial-places, shrines and important tombs. A mosque had already been demolished and there were persistent rumours that other *Khanqahs* and shrines were similarly threatened, and naturally there was much anxiety prevailing at the time. Out of this necessity a society was then formed for taking steps for the preservation of important shrines and tombs, but it has not been able to do any substantial work so far. Shah Abdus-Samad Sahib has at some few places supplied tablets and carried out repairs, but that is nothing very unusual for him to do. As the leading *Sufi* in Delhi, he has on several occasions before now devoted his time and means to the care and repair of these places. Even the feeling of alarm and uneasiness, so much in evidence last year, has almost disappeared and people have been reassured, thanks to the very tactful and helpful manner in which the Hon. Mr. Hailey handled the situation after you had his attention to the matter. But while all this is satisfactory, it would be as well to remind the public and the authorities that Delhi has had a history and a civilisation and is full of cherished associations, ever so much dearer now that the Indian mind has awakened to a better appreciation of their value and to a sense of duty to them. In his elegy, *Hali* has feelingly spoken of the "gems of rarest beauty that lie buried here," and it only needs an Indian Ruskin to exhibit in fuller detail the historical associations, tombs and stones of Delhi. The wide range of these it is evidently difficult for an average European research scholar or administrator to grasp. His interest is limited to the handful of magnificent or eccentric Kings and few other figures of political importance, while the far wider field of religion, literature, science and art, the far more numerous characters representing the real life and history of this country, do not fall within his purview. Delhi has no Westminster Abbey where the roll-call is easy and the marks secure. Here the tombs are scattered; some have even disappeared (as that of the gifted poet Princess, Zaiib-un-Nisa, to make room for the Rajputana Malva Railway line, if Maneel's Guide to Delhi can be trusted), and in some cases diligent research will be necessary to locate them. In the circumstances, and in view of the impending complete transformation of the place, it seems quite possible that an effort will be made to secure important places and tombs, such as can be located, from disappearing altogether. In fact I have myself suggested in the *Comrade* the adoption of a memorial tablets scheme, and I trust that such an attempt, if and when made, will not be misunderstood and resented by the authorities. In my suggestion I have made due allowance for the Imperial requirements, and I think in the more important cases it should be possible to effect some such arrangement as has been recently announced in the *Civil and Military Gazette* with regard to the shrine of the Gura Tegh Bahadur. The thing is to recognise the importance of the matter, that it is a question of more than local interest which the widening responsibilities of the State and the awakening conscience of the people cannot well ignore. It should not be difficult for the English people, who in their own country so much cherish the vestiges of their glorious past, to allow us a similar human feeling and a like craving."

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

▼.

LAST week we endeavoured to prove—we hope with success—that section 4 sub-section (1) was the mainspring of the Press Act and that no scheme of modification could be deemed even moderately good unless that section was materially amended. Now we come to what the resolution itself moved by the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee in H. E. the Viceroy's Council on the 9th January itself demanded. We must confess at the very outset that if the Hon. the Home Member had got up after all the non-official speeches and had simply stated that he accepted the resolution on behalf of Government he would have hurled a veritable bomb at the hon. mover and his confederates. They could have gained nothing of any practical value and the resolution itself would have acted, politically if not legally, as an estoppel against further demands. Government lost a most splendid opportunity by rejecting the resolution, and, on the contrary, allowed an unfortunate impression to be created that a most modest demand, even when backed by the almost unanimous opinion of non-official members, is intolerable unless there is sustained and vigorous popular agitation in favour of a demand of more generous proportions. Such tactics make the people suspect that the English are bad givers and offer the gift only when a good deal of grace has already gone. And we must confess nothing turns an Oriental into an agitator more certainly than an intimate acquaintance with an Englishman's psychology, his character and his country's history.

The resolution moved by Mr. Bannerjee did not touch section 4 sub-section (1) at all, but related to two other matters brought to light by our Pamphlet Case, namely the character of the provision in the Press Act relating to the statement of the grounds of Government's opinion when declaring a forfeiture, and the bar of the jurisdiction even of the High Courts in cases in which the Government's order of forfeiture itself failed to conform to the provisions of the Act. The resolution ran as follows:—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that an amendment of the Press Act of 1910 be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council so as to provide that when any order of forfeiture is made under the Act, the order must state or describe the offending words, or articles, or pictures, or engravings, or whatever it is upon which the Local Government bases its order, and that section 22 of the Act be so modified as to definitely empower the High Court to set aside an order of forfeiture not made in conformity with the provisions of section 4, 6, 9, 11 and 12 of the Act."

Now the Press Act provides for the forfeiture of the following:—

(1) Under section 4, the primary security of a printing-press (which may range between Rs. 500 and 2,000 in the case of a press opened after the commencement of the Act and between Rs. 500 and 5,000 in the case of older presses), together with all copies of the offending publication wherever found.

(2) Under section 6, the secondary security (which may range between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 10,000) together with the printing-press and all copies of the offending publication wherever found.

(3) Under Section 9, the primary security of a newspaper (which may range between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000 in the case of newspapers established after commencement of the Act, and between Rs. 500 Rs. 5,000 in the case of older papers), together with all copies of the newspaper wherever found.

(4) Under Section 11, the secondary security of a newspaper, (which may range between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 10,000) together with all copies of the newspaper wherever found.

(5) Under section 12, any offending newspaper, book or other document wherever found.

In each of the first four cases the law already requires the Local Government to declare the forfeiture "by notice in writing" to the keeper of the offending printing-press or to the publisher of the offending newspaper, as the case may be, at the same time "stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described" in section 4 sub-section (1). In the last case however, the Local Government is required to declare the forfeiture "by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion." Evidently Mr. Bannerjee's resolution was intended to make the procedure in the case of the forfeiture of an offending newspaper book or other document under section 12 similar to the procedure in the case of the four kinds of forfeitures under sections 4, 6, 9 and 11, though the hon. mover specifically said so neither in the resolution

nor in his speech. He had borrowed the phraseology of his resolution not from sections 4, 6, 9 and 11 of the Act itself, but from the speech of the former Law Member of the Executive Council, Mr. S. P. Sinha, who had, in the course of his, alas! too persuasive defence of the Press Bill in 1908, said that it was no use attempting to convince Government that "it was a drastic measure" because Government had put in all "kinds of safeguards." Mr. Sinha had then "assured the Council of the existence of "another safeguard"; namely, that "when the Local Government makes the order of forfeiture, the Bill provides that it must state or describe the offending words, or articles, or pictures, or engravings or whatever it is, upon which it bases its order." He had added:

No making an order which is vague, which is indefinite. No order without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for, but a definite order stating the very words of the article or describing it as that which the man is being punished for. Is that not a safeguard? Apart from the Tribunal of Appeal, is it not a safeguard to provide that a man will not have his security forfeited without being told exactly what he has written that is taken exception to?

We have the greatest possible respect for the undoubted forensic gifts of our universally esteemed and admired fellow-countryman whose words of 1908 we have here quoted, and even if it were not, so, we feel certain that the opinion of a layman on a point of law would carry little weight against that of a lawyer. We could not therefore, venture to differ from so eminent a lawyer as Mr. Sinha without the utmost urgency, and even then not without the utmost diffidence. But we beg leave to say that the question is not, entirely one of law. Whether the statement or description of the offending words or pictures or engravings is, or is not any safeguard for a journalist is a question in which the journalist cannot be altogether put out of court by the lawyer. To our mind it is hardly any consolation to a journalist, much less a safeguard for him, to be told that certain words which he wrote or published under the belief that they were innocuous were offensive in the sight of law if this knowledge leads him no further. This so-called safeguard is no better than a *cul de sac*. We may just as well assure an ordinary citizen that whenever we desire to hang him by the neck till he is dead we shall tell him which of the innumerable acts in his daily life which he had done in good faith have persuaded us to sentence him to death. Such a statement or description may or may not enable him to make his peace with Heaven, but it will not help him very much on earth. We venture to think that the provision in the Act to which Mr. Sinha had referred was intended mainly to assist the person adversely affected when he sought justice from the one Court in the Empire of which the jurisdiction was entirely barred by section 22 of the Act. To say that it was a safeguard "apart from the Tribunal of Appeal" betrays, if we may so, an unfortunate confusion of thought. As a matter of fact the statement or description of offending words, pictures etc., was absolutely necessary if a reference to the judiciary was to be permitted. This would be perfectly clear if we imagined for argument's sake that such a statement was not provided for by law. In that case the notice in writing to the keeper of the offending printing-press or the publisher of the offending newspaper would have merely declared the forfeiture. How then, could he go to the Tribunal of Appeal? What could he state in his application, and what could the High Court judge and determine? No, the statement or description of offending words, pictures etc., was in the main meant to furnish to the person adversely affected some ground at least for his appeal, and to the Tribunal of Appeal both the material to judge and the necessary data on which to base its judgments. In other words, this was no separate safeguard but only ancillary to the sole safeguard provided by the Act, namely, a reference of the order of the highest executive to the highest judicial authority.

We have laboured this point merely to show that if the statement or description referred to is to assist the person adversely affected and the Court to which he appeals, it is for them and them alone to say whether the statement or description is sufficient for that purpose. Let us first take the printer or publisher. All that he gets even in cases of forfeiture to which the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee's resolution takes no objection is a "description" of an article or articles. In the latest case, that of the *Zamindar*, three articles extending over five columns in length are "described" by their headings and declared to contain words of the character described in section 4 sub-section (1) of the Press Act. Does the keeper of the *Zamindar* printing-press realise through such a "description" what it is that he has to prove in the way of a negative in case he chooses to throw good money after bad by appealing to the Lahore Chief Court and undertaking what Sir Lawrence Jenkins called an "almost hopeless task"? Nay, does he even understand any better than he did before what he should avoid in future if he tempts fortune further by opening another printing-press? Surely we can only guess and even conjecture is made difficult by the proscription of not one but three articles. Take the case of the *Badr*, a religious paper of the Ahmadi or Qadiani sect of Mussalmans. Is it to understand that in future controversies with a four-months Christian Missionary it is to eschew every reference to biology and invent childish miracles to

refute the Christian doctrine of Atonement, or is to believe that because the powers that we are woefully ignorant of the languages of this country, it should carry on polemics with Christian Missionaries in two languages, in Urdu for its own readers and in English for the gentleman entrusted by the Panjab Government with the task of punishing the Moslem Press?

Let us now turn to the Tribunal of Appeal. Is it in any better position? In the one case that has been taken up to it, namely, our own, the offending words and pictures were "described" no less clearly—nor more clearly either—than in the numerous cases of printing-presses and newspapers which have forfeited their securities. Instead of an article or a number of articles, the offending publication was a Pamphlet of several scores of pages. Had it been an article or a number of articles Government would have done what the Act required it to do by merely stating the title of the Pamphlet in question, namely, "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us", which it had done in the notification. Would that have satisfied us or the Court? It is certain that it would have satisfied the requirement of the Hon. Mr. Banerjee's resolution. But Government went further and stated that the Pamphlet contained words which were "likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in British India." Whether this is sufficient or not is not the question at present. But it made it clear that except the two alternatives of bringing certain classes of our fellow-subjects into hatred, or into contempt, the words were not likely to incite to murder, nor to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, nor to any act of violence, nor to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, nor to bring about one or more of the remaining 40 out of the total of 42 dire results—the learned Advocate General is not analytical enough to resolve section 4 sub-section (1) into more than 30 factors—intended to be prevented by the Press Act. Now sections 4, 6, 9 and 11, on the model of which section 12 was sought to be amended, make no provision even for this. Having "described" the offending words by referring to the heading of an article, or name of a publication, in a notice in writing to the printer or publisher, the Local Government need not even tell him which of the 42 offences described in section 4 sub-section (1) has been committed, but may proceed to confiscate the security, printing-press and all. It is clear that Mr. Banerjee's "irreducible minimum", if accepted, would have reduced rather than added to the extent of the "safeguard" already provided in section 12. The law has, in fact, provided greater "safeguards" in cases relating to what Sir Reginald Craddock calls "the objectionable book or document which will in many cases—in fact in most cases—be of most trivial value" than in cases in which a security, which may amount to Rs. 10,000, and a printing-press of unlimited value may be declared to be forfeited. This is only another of the paradoxes of this wonderful piece of legislation rushed through the legislature at break-neck speed in five days.

But although for obvious reasons we are anxious to show up its absurdities, we did not set out to do so in the present instance. Our object was and is to prove that even the statement of grounds provided for in section 12, which is a more extensive safeguard than the mere statement or description of words and pictures, is not sufficient in the opinion of the Judges themselves for the purpose of a reference to the judiciary if it is to be only of the nature to be usually found in Government Notifications. Let us, therefore, consult the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court. Says the Chief Justice :

On learning that it appears to the Government in any particular case that there are words of the nature described in section 4 (1) the first question that occurs to anyone whose duty it is to enquire, is why does it so appear, what are the grounds of its opinion? Those responsible for the Act foresaw this, and so they specifically provided that the forfeiting Notification should state the grounds of the Local Government's opinion.

But when we turn to the Notification no such grounds are stated; nothing in the nature of a fact is set forth, there is merely a citation of the words of the section which are invoked. The Notification seems to take this shape:—"It appears to the Local Government that these are words likely to bring into hatred or contempt a class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, and the grounds of its opinion are that the words are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in India."

But the repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds, and yet that is all that the application furnish in the shape of grounds. This is obviously insufficient and not a compliance with the terms of the Act.

Moreover, I think that this direction in the section is mandatory and that the legislature intend to impose and has imposed on the Local Governments an imperative obligation to state the grounds of its opinion.

I have already dealt with one phase of absence of grounds in the Notification. This defect and the Government's failure to place before us any materials beyond those provided by the applicant have sensibly added to our difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on us by the Act. The Notification does not even specify the classes that might be brought into hatred or contempt, or even if these two dire consequences are apprehended. And so when

Mr. Norton rose to address the Court he had to seek this information from the Advocate-General.

With the foregoing opinion Mr. Justice Woodroffe concurred. As for the third Judge, Sir Harry Stephen, he wrote in the course of a separate judgment :

It appeared to the local Government that the pamphlet before us contained words that were likely directly, indirectly or (to abbreviate) in any possible way, to bring Englishmen or Christians being His Majesty's subjects in British India into hatred as a class. They accordingly published a Notification in the local Gazette declaring the pamphlet forfeited and giving as a ground of their opinion that the pamphlet was likely to bring Englishmen and Christians into hatred—the fact that it was likely to bring them into hatred. . . . I am of opinion that the Notification is not according to law. Looking at the section, and indeed at the Act as a whole, I have no doubt that the provision in section 12 that the grounds of opinion on which the Local Government have acted must be stated, is mandatory and not merely directory. There can be no doubt that it is found for the protection of any person whose property may be confiscated, and not merely for the purposes of administrative convenience. The ground of opinion must in this case, if not always, be a fact or facts, and no fact is disclosed merely by a specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow. I have already described the statement of the grounds in terms which seem to me to lead to an absurdity, but I have taken pains to make them correct. I cannot say what facts should be stated. I do not think, for example, that it can be the case that the Local Government should state to us all the information on which they have acted, for I cannot suppose that we are to revise their action as a whole. On the other hand we have, it appears, power to revise their action to some extent, and for this purpose some statement of facts seems essential. . . . Though I cannot say what facts are to be stated in order to disclose the ground for the opinion on which the Local Government acts, I think it may be the case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of section 12.

In a previous article we have quoted in full the opinion of Sir Harry Stephen and would only mention here that he was greatly embarrassed at being placed in a position in which, according to him, no Judge in the British Empire has been placed since the remote days of early English jurisprudence. He had been called upon to decide a question of fact on such evidence as was supplied by a single document; the side on whom the onus of proving his case was cast was not placed in a position to give any evidence; the other side had not called any witness, thereby escaping cross examination; and the question that the Judge was to decide depended upon the social and political status of a community with regard to which no information had been supplied to him, while it had never been his duty to acquire any information in the matter, and what information he did possess was unverified and general to a high degree,—in fact to so high a degree that he frankly confessed it was impossible for him to share in other people's feeling of respect for his opinion in the matter as it would be derived from a respect for his high office only.

Turning to the proceedings in Court, we get some passages perhaps even more illuminating. The Chief Justice had said:

"We do not know the facts, only the Government has the facts. . . . We can do nothing except in the eye of the public whatever our convictions may be as to the character of the Government. We cannot form any opinion apart from the facts. . . . It is intended that the Court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing. That is why the grounds should be stated. It may be within the knowledge of Government that certain innocent words bear a sinister significance which we may not know." On another occasion the Chief Justice said that "grounds mean facts and not law," and when the Advocate-General said, "When we mention that the pamphlet is of such a character and we therefore proscribe it, we give facts," the Chief Justice replied: "That is to say 'we are of opinion because we are of opinion.'" Mr. Justice Woodroffe said: "The less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4. We are left to guess a lot of things." Addressing the Advocate-General his lordship added: "According to your argument nothing need be set out at all. Government may be in possession of the grounds and yet they are not bound to declare what these grounds are."

From the foregoing expressions of the opinions of the three seniormost Judges of the premier High Court in India the following conclusions emerge clearly and must not be lost sight of:—

(1) That the statement of grounds is a mandatory condition of a valid declaration of forfeiture.

(2) That the repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds, and that facts and not "merely a citation of the words of a section which are invoked," or, in other words, "the specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow" can be the grounds of an opinion.

(3) That the statement of grounds is "an essential part of the Legislature's scheme, for it might help the High Court to perform

the duties cast on it under section 17," and the absence of such a statement would "sensibly add to the High Court's difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on it by the Act." That, in short, "it is intended that the Court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing."

(4) That "the less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4."

(5) That as the Act stands, "it may be the case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of section 12."

(6) And that, finally, those appearing for Government in a Press Act case are not averse to arguing that "nothing need be set out at all."

We shall consider next week what reply Government deemed it fit to give to these scathing criticisms of the law as it stands and the customary procedure of Government.

The Indian Moslems' Tasks.

VII

In concluding our survey of Moslem affairs in India, it seems desirable to group together the various aspects of the Moslem problem in order to give to it the right perspective it needs and emphasise the points requiring the immediate and undivided attention of the community. The first object that every enlightened and patriotic Mussalman may be expected to have in view is to have his community efficiently organised and richly endowed with every faculty for self-development. Many decades of ceaseless effort will be necessary before the goal of his aspiration comes in sight. When the goal is reached and the Mussalmans of India are raised to a plane of social and intellectual efficiency needed for a fruitful existence under modern conditions, the horizons would expand and the life purpose would grow clear in the light of growing thought. What is required to-day is preparation, training, the release of mind and spirit from the tyranny of environment—in short, education.

We have said enough what the Mussalmans need in the matter of their moral and intellectual equipment. Indian education itself is in a stage of what is usually called experiment, i.e., a fragmentary and tentative search in which both the State and the people are engaged to find the ideal and fix the type. The position of Moslem education is relatively worse. The statistics of literacy, as compiled in the recent Census Report, disclose a state of things that cannot but be exceedingly alarming to the well-wishers of the community. In primary education the proportion of the Mussalmans is below their numerical percentage in the population. In secondary education they lag grievously behind the other communities, while in higher education their position is growing steadily worse. The percentage of literacy on the whole has risen in the community during the last decade, but the rise has been quite disproportionate to the growth of literacy in the whole of India. In other words, while education is growing steadily but slowly among the Mussalmans, the pace of educational progress among the Hindus is quicker by far; and thus it is manifest that the former are losing every year in the relative strength and importance implied by communal efficiency. The Moslem need, however, is not simply to provide means for the quantitative growth of education in the community, but to improve the quality of education itself by adapting it to the social, moral and spiritual needs of the Mussalmans. The Moslem educational programme should, therefore, comprise two-sided effort—the organisation of education on communal lines as well as the provision of facilities to make it readily accessible in all its useful branches to the mass of the people.

As regards the organisation of Moslem education, it is needless to insist that the effort should proceed from the top. It is imperative that the highest educational ideals evolved by the community should find a local habitation first of all. They should first produce their atmosphere and fertilise the soil from which would spring forth vitalising ideas needed to stimulate and uplift the people. In other words, the creation of the Moslem University is absolutely necessary if the organisation of Moslem education is to be undertaken with

any hope of success. Primary and secondary education may grow without a Moslem University to direct it, but it can never be the same power for good as it would be when it has a definite type and ideal before it and is fully responsive to social needs. The greatest energies of the Mussalmans should, therefore, be applied to bringing the University project into practical shape. This is by far the most important item of their educational programme. Now, the Moslem University project is hanging fire and mainly through the fault of the Mussalman leaders themselves. The community has already indicated with unmistakable clearness the sort of university it will have. And it is useless to disguise the fact that certain decisions announced by the Secretary of State through the Government of India in regard to the matter run counter to the wishes of the Mussalmans. The question of affiliation is the soul of the University scheme. And although we have reason to believe that Sir Harcourt Butler, the Member for Education, at first favoured the Moslem demand and even pressed for its acceptance by the Secretary of State for India, he nevertheless dropped his earlier attitude as soon as Lord Crewe was led to place his veto on the proposal. We trust, however, that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State are still open to conviction, and, in any case, the Mussalmans should concentrate their efforts on the question and take early steps to lay their considered views before the Government in a manner that would carry weight and ensure success.

Moslem education in the primary and secondary stages must necessarily lack the desired impetus as long as the communal spirit does not resolve itself into definite ideals in the atmosphere of a living university. Much, however, can be done in the meantime to prepare the ground by providing such facilities as would attract Moslem boys in ever-increasing numbers to receive instruction in the existing primary and secondary schools. Local *anjumans* and associations should take the matter in hand and organise efforts to meet the local needs. Fresh committees should be formed where none exists, and no pains should be spared to tackle with the whole problem in a resolute spirit. The Circular of the Government of India on the subject of Moslem education has already evoked a sympathetic response from the Local Governments, and it may reasonably be hoped that definite lines of co-operation between the authorities and responsible Moslem bodies in each province would soon take shape with a view to remove the obstacles that lie across the path of Moslem education, especially in regard to its primary and secondary stages. Instruction in primary schools should be made free in areas where the chief obstacle is the poverty of the Mussalmans. There are, however, numerous places where apathy and constitutional distaste are the chief causes responsible for Moslem illiteracy, and the only way to overcome these is to organise a propagandist campaign informed with the zeal of the missionary. The type of Moslem "leader" that has mismanaged Moslem politics, and trampled many a communal interest under foot in his mad career for cheap fame, has obviously no taste or aptitude for such a task. Men of a wholly different type are needed for the purpose. We will not be surprised, though it may cause some confusion in other quarters, if some of the "hot-heads" of the community lead the way and help to solve one of the most anxious problems of Moslem education by their energy, enthusiasm and perseverance.

The provision of facilities for giving industrial training and technical education to an adequate number of Moslem boys is also a desideratum that is apt to be lost sight of. The economic development of India is a process yet in its infancy, but it is growing fast and assuming importance commensurate with its magnitude. Political power and social initiative naturally gravitate in the direction of wealth and intelligence, and the community that takes the most active part in the building of India's economic future will inevitably come to exercise dominant influence in her councils. The Mussalman's poverty is already a great handicap to him, and if he does not take heed in time the future will have no mercy for his plight, and he will be literally reduced to the position of the hewer of wood and drawer of water. The only way to avoid such a forbidding prospect is to take the necessary measures now for preparing a sufficient number of Moslem boys every year for industrial occupations and professions requiring technical skill and knowledge. The problem of women's education is not less important. We have already discussed it at some length and would only point out how urgent it has grown. Social efficiency will never be achieved by the Mussalmans as long as Moslem women remain sunk in ignorance. All progress postulates enlightened mothers and intelligent and efficient housewives. To have its one-half turned into a perpetual dead-weight is not an ideal equipment for a community to live and strive amid the conditions of the modern world.

In the political sphere, we have endeavoured to show that the Mussalmans have to maintain their communal individuality as well as to co-operate with the other communities for the general good of the country. Towards the British rule their attitude is one of hopefulness and trust, for they have never ceased to believe that it alone guarantees the conditions necessary for their advancement.

as indeed for the peaceful progress of India as a whole. The period of stress and storm through which they have passed has not been without its effect on the temper of their rulers, and there have not been wanting mischief-mongers who have endeavoured to sow suspicion about the spirit and objects of the recent movements of Moslem India. That a number of British officials should have grown uneasy about the Moslem excitement and its widespread character was only natural. But we can hardly admire the mental balance of not a few among them who began to spurt wrath because, forsooth, the Moslem hand had begun to smart with pain. There are no people in the world so easy to govern as the Indians, and none so accessible to sympathy as the Mussalmans. If only their detractors understood what the Mussalmans had gone through, they would have hesitated to indulge in fierce invective and abuse, even if they could not have sympathised with them in their griefs. We need not set about to analyse the causes and character of the Moslem excitement. We would only remind the creators of "the Indian Peril", like the *Times*, that the Moslem community would not have been as quiet and desirous of peace as it is to-day if the recent Moslem excitement had contained in its elements hostile to British rule. The Mussalmans desire nothing but peace. They would not willingly forfeit the confidence and goodwill of their rulers. It is equally hoped that the rulers will not let their imaginations be fed on bogeys of monstrous shapes which are mere emanations from heat-oppressed brains. Undeserved suspicions and unmerited frowns only serve to drive people into an attitude that might ultimately prove to be a source of real danger to the peaceful progress of the country.

We made some general observations in our last in regard to the real basis of co-operation between the Hindus and the Mussalmans for the common good of both. The political advance of India in the direction of self-government cannot but be the most cherished aspiration of all patriotic and self-respecting men in the two communities. The advance will continue to be indefinitely retarded as long as an approximation of political method does not take place and the political ideal is not made to fit in with the conceptions of religious duty. All existing differences have their root in the fact that the Nationalism of the Indian political platform carries no appeal to the real intimacies of the communal heart and mind. The enthusiasm of the average politician is due not so much to the inspiring nature of the political ideal as to the perfervid communal patriotism that it has awakened in his breast. The Indian Nationalism should neither be exclusively Hindu nor Mussalman, but a broader conception including the aspirations of both. It should be such as would disarm the suspicions and fears of minorities and give them every assurance about the safety of their communal individualities and their faiths. These results can only be achieved by attempting something like the federation of Indian faiths on a common political basis. The problem is not difficult to solve. Only the right spirit and temper are needed to prepare the way for its solution. The Mussalmans who have begun to move with fresh political aspirations should realise full well that their participation in the general political activities of the country would be effective and useful only when their intellectual and moral equipment is adequate for the purpose. A weak and ill-organised Moslem community would not only be unequal to the struggle necessary for maintaining its rights unimpaired and making its claims heard, but also be a burden to the people of India as a whole.

We have outlined in these articles the right ideals for the Mussalmans, and although the new political ideals were the outcome of at least apparently painful partition, we trust the travail is now over. The best thing that the Mussalmans can do with their ideals now is to place them, not on too great an eminence where their beacon-light may be too remote to guide their footsteps, but at least on a sufficiently high level to be visible from afar and at a safe enough distance to prevent their being kicked away by the hurrying crowds. The battle of ideals should now be over, and every one should set about to frame a present-day policies based on those ideals, and working programmes conforming to those policies. The Mussalmans cannot do better than commence with education, and those who talk a great deal against "destructive criticism" should provide for the community sufficient "constructive work". This only the sanction for a Moslem University such as would by now have come into being if the Secretary of State had not interfered in such a disconcerting manner so late in the day, can provide, and the solution of the Moslem University difficulty is to us the touchstone of a disinterested desire to wean off Mussalmans from a love of excitement and to set them on the path of peaceful progress. This is at once an appeal and a challenge. Let him who is sincere and earnest take up the one and respond to other.

Garden Cities for India.

(By Mr. P. A. V. IYER.)

Of all questions relating to Man, at all events, as far as he is concerned with the world we live in, of which only, by the way, we can in any sense be certain, none is so highly important or so greatly neglected as his physical well-being, what doctors would call Health. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this article to enter here on any elaborate technical discussion of the subject—it is the rightful province of doctors and hygienists—but I may state what I should think is a self-evident proposition, viz, to Man his health is all important, on the basis of which his superstructure in this world and may be in the next must be reared; but unfortunately the average public Health is worse off to-day than at any time before. The second part of my statement may not be so conclusively evident, for there be folks who will contend that at no time was the science of public and private Health so finely developed and men and women were better enabled to attend to their bodily conveniences as now. I quite agree. But I contend, nevertheless, that owing to various causes within and beyond our control, we of our generation are certainly moving more and more away from the normal standard of health. In fact, it is my sincere belief that, be the cause what it may, we of to-day are, to put it mildly, more unhealthy than those who preceded us a good while ago. This may not be our fault: I verily believe it is not. But that appears to me to be the fact. It is easy enough to imagine that, when the population was much less than it is now and men and women were enabled to live in villages; when the competition for a living was not so keen as at present and people could lead a comparatively quiet, secluded and peaceful life; when wants were but few and work less severe the general masses of the people led a more or less simple life of what is called "a plain living and high thinking." Now all that is changed. We have been very fruitful and multiplied ourselves enormously. Great masses of the people have been pushed away from their homes and are obliged to congregate in crowded cities and towns. Wealth has increased and so our wants. Factories and workshops have followed close, and produced narrow lanes, stuffed houses, and a poisoned atmosphere. Result, a stunted race. All this is the outcome of too literal a practice of Christ's words: "Be ye fruitful, and multiply."

There is no doubt that the exceeding augmentation of the population is the cause of it all. Far be it from me to condemn marriage or its outcome. But I am looking only at the results. And this evil, if it can be called such, of over-population is nowhere so evident as in our larger cities and towns, which themselves were called into being to accommodate a surplusage of the people. I am afraid, however, that the thing is past recall, and we must accept the conditions as we may find them. But it rests with us not to make them worse and to mitigate and deaden as far as is possible the ills that they may have brought about. It is to us but a too familiar sight—the crowded town, the tall smoky chimneys, a heterogeneous population a portion of which reeks in murder, misery and filth, while none of it is exempt from the general contaminated atmosphere, adulterated supplies of food, etc. I have already said that facts must be taken as they are, and we must see therefore what steps we can take to oppose these corroding influences with such as may lead to better health and better living. In England, the problem of the crowded city has been solved by what has been termed the "Garden City Movement." Originally started in one of the greatest manufacturing parts of the country, Oldham in Lancashire, this laudable endeavour has spread throughout England, and has transformed the "devil workshop" into a veritable Garden of Eden. We in India are rapidly copying the West in her industrial methods, and it will not take long, if it has not been already upon us, for the identical depressing conditions to be reproduced in Indian towns and cities. We would do well therefore to copy this also from the West, and so save our workmen, the back-bone of the country, from moral and physical ruin.

Unfortunately, no connected narrative of the Garden City Movement in England is available. But very useful information can be gathered from a study of some of those gardenised cities of which we have record. I shall detail therefore the conditions obtaining in these English cities in this and subsequent articles I will contribute to this Journal, and see what they have got to teach us in India.

I take now Hampstead. Hampstead, according to a Home paper, has always presented so many attractions to residents that it is not at all surprising the district was selected as a site for an experiment in connection with the Garden City Movement. An exceptionally high elevation, a fine open country to the north and the immediate neighbourhood of the widespread and beautifully natural Hampstead Heath—an open space of 240 acres in perpetuity—render the situation practically unique. By the addition of Parliament Hill the area now secured to the public amounts to about 500 acres, and the advantages to residents are obvious. For those who desire a breezy and bracing locality, it would be difficult to find a position to equal this, and probably none to surpass it in the vicinity of a

great city. The district consequently possesses a remarkably interesting history, for numbers of English celebrities have chosen it for their homes within the past two hundred years.

The estate chosen for the commencement of the scheme adjoins the Heath at one point and extends for a mile and a half towards Finchley. There is considerable difference in the levels, which is well described by the term "undulating," but at several parts the land rises to a height of over 300 feet above sea-level. To those who have known this garden suburb from the inauguration on May 2nd, 1907, when Mrs. S. A. Barnett cut the first sod, it is astonishing to note the progress made in the brief period of six years. Work was commenced by a Society formed for the purpose, termed Hampstead Tenants Limited, and at the end of the first year, this body had raised in shares £8,417, and in loan stock £6,668, but, at the end of the fourth year, the share capital had advanced to £22,711, while the loan stock stood at £87,780, and the value of the completed estate is estimated at £142,000. Another Society termed "The Second Hampstead Tenants," was formed later, and the completed value of the land and houses controlled by that body, it is estimated, will equal £200,000. Still another Society—"The Third Hampstead Tenants"—has been formed, and in this case, estimate for the completed work is yet higher, no less than a quarter of a million. Necessarily, however, a large proportion of the third scheme has yet to be carried into execution, but it is remarkable that the three bodies combined will control a total value in houses and land of nearly £600,000. The committees or managers of the three societies have been singularly fortunate in securing the aid of distinguished modern architects who have had special experience in connection with similar undertakings elsewhere. The result is that every road includes examples of tastefully designed houses which combine artistic effect with carefully studied utility. In the groupings and at corners of the chief roads, the benefits arising from the exercise of individual taste, combined with an endeavour to realise a general style adapted to the undertaking, are particularly manifest. The general effect is excellent, and it well indicates, as the managers claim, how scientific planning improves the appearance of an estate.

It must be remembered it is made obligatory that not more than twelve houses shall, on the average, be allowed to each acre of the area, and this enables a generous proportion of the estate to be reserved for open spaces, ample roads, and good gardens. It is claimed also that a step forward has been taken by "the banishment of the heavy suburban back wall." The managers say it is "an urban superstition that side walls mean privacy, but they afford no real seclusion, and utterly disfigure what else might be one of the pleasantest things the various residents could enjoy, a green openness full of flowers, trees, and lanes." Hedges of flowering plants or shrubs are therefore encouraged, and these add more to the beauty of the suburb; particularly as more kinds of flowering trees have been planted than is usual on such estates. A most commendable attention is paid to the general upkeep of the gardens, grounds and open spaces, and it would seem that the spirit of considerate custodianship pervades the whole estate. The personal interest felt by the tenants who are investors in the societies, also ensures the greatest care in the maintenance of the houses in good condition, thus effecting a considerable economy in the annual outlay for repairs.

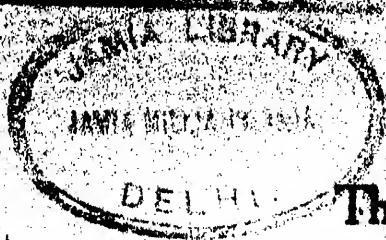
All these societies are registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893, and the rules provide that non-tenants as well as tenants become investors. The interest may not exceed 5 per cent., which is that actually paid on shares, 4½ per cent. on loan stock of £50 and upwards, with 4 per cent. on smaller amounts. No individual, whether tenant or not, can hold more than £200 worth of shares, thus preventing any encroachment by way of unlimited purchase by one person. A very wise safeguard. As regards the tenant investors, it is required that "each person shall ultimately obtain loan stock of the amount of £50, or two years' rent of the house occupied, whichever is the greater." This can be paid up at once or paid in instalments, but both are credited with interest on the amount paid up. It is worth noting that the first Society obtained possession of the land on a quite exceptional lease, equivalent to a freehold, renewable every 99 years, the explanation being that "the Hampstead Garden-Suburb Trust being for the benefit of the public in perpetuity could not part with freehold;" but the difference seems to be mainly technical.

Before concluding the present article, I may as well make a brief reference to what has been done in Belfast, King Carson's Capital you know, in this regard. The account I give below is summarised from a report presented by the Principal of the Municipal Technical Institute of the place. Some five years ago, writes the Principal, one of our Belfast citizens who was brought much into contact with working men, conceived the idea that, if he could secure pieces of open ground and divide these up into small plots, he might be able to provide useful occupation for the spare time of the men in whom he was interested. A beginning was made and a piece of ground containing about six acres was duly

rented. This ground was suitably fenced and divided into a number of plots rectangular in form, each plot containing about 100 square yards. The plots were let out at annual rentals of ten shillings each. So successful was this first effort that from time to time other pieces of ground were secured and dealt with in a similar manner and, to-day, there is under cultivation, within the municipal boundary of Belfast, a total area of some fifty acres; there are over 600 plot-holders. Most gratifying of all, the movement is steadily growing, and only within the past few days one of our large trading societies has decided to enter into this work and on a large scale. In selecting ground for allotments, efforts were made to find areas which were situated in a position reasonably convenient to the dwellings of the working people and this desirable result has been secured in almost all cases. The ground available has not always been of the best quality for purposes of horticulture. In some cases, it has been too sandy; in others too wet, or too rough, or too hilly; some pieces of ground were little better than brick crofts, but by diligent and persevering effort on the part of the holders, the plots have been brought into a most gratifying state of cultivation—a fact which reflects the highest credit upon the workers. It should be mentioned that, at each of the main allotment areas, one plot is set apart as a demonstration plot. On this plot, all materials are provided by the Corporation; in all other cases, plot-holders provide their own gardening tools, seeds, manures and other requirements. In developing his ideas, Mr. Charles W. Black (the citizen to whom reference has been made) endeavoured to launch his scheme so that there should be attached to it the minimum of rules and regulations. He made it a rule, however, that the crops grown on each plot should include six kinds of vegetables, and that a border of flowers should be grown along the edge of the plot. This condition has been loyally carried out. Some eighteen months ago, the need of trained direction for the allotment holders began to be seriously felt. As the result of representations made to them, the Corporation, through its Technical Instruction Committee, appointed a Horticultural Instructor. The duties of this Instructor are varied, and include visiting the plots and giving to plot-holders such advice as may be asked for or as seems desirable, the delivery of evening lectures on such topics as "The Soil," "Soil Operation," "Manures, their Value and their Effect on Particular Crops," "Fruit, Vegetable and Flower Culture," &c. The Instructor is also available for giving advice to persons who have small gardens attached to their houses, and enquiries from such persons are frequently received. In addition to the above duties, the Horticultural Instructor gives advice to Committees who are arranging flower-shows, exhibitions of cottage gardening and similar movements.

A further interesting development has taken place recently. Persons who are so situated as not to be able to obtain allotments are taking up window-box Gardening. This development has opened up a wide field of usefulness for citizens who have time and opportunity to enter into social service, and who wish to ameliorate the conditions under which their poorer fellow-citizens live. In this branch of work, a beginning was made by preparing a number of specimens of window-boxes, those ranging from the small rough packing box obtainable either *gratis* or at the cost of a copper coin, to the more elaborate article which can only be made by the skilled joiner. To these specimens was added a collection of hanging baskets of various forms. A series of sketches was prepared and supplemented by written notes for the purpose of indicating in a simple manner how the boxes were to be filled with materials to allow of drainage and with soil. Lists of suitable plants were drawn up, prices were stated, and diagrams were printed to indicate how the plants could best be arranged in the boxes. Armed with these materials, the Horticultural Instructor entered upon a round of lectures on window-box Gardening. From night to night, he visited the various districts of the City, delivering the lectures to interested audiences. Since these lectures have been inaugurated, there has been a marked increase in the City of the number of window-boxes. In several cases, the whole of the houses in a street have been provided with window-boxes and they contained plants at the expense of persons interested in philanthropic work. The benefit to the residents of these streets by the brightening of the houses has been very noticeable. The interest in this simpler kind of Gardening continues to grow and lately applications have been received from residents in those working-class streets where there are small raised-in areas in front of the dwellings, asking if soil and plants could be provided.

Still other developments of the programme of Horticulture have been brought into operation. For example, during the present session, some one hundred and fifty National School Teachers in the City of Belfast have entered upon a course of Nature Study, the instruction being given by the Horticultural Instructor whose work has been supplemented by lectures delivered by experts in special sections of the subject, supplementary to their study in the classroom. The teacher-students pay visits to neighbouring districts of botanical and geological interest. It is confidently hoped that, as a result of



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the most praiseworthy efforts of the teachers who are undergoing this training and the impetus which is thereby being given to this branch of educational work, that the desire will be planted deeply in the breasts of our school children to pursue this fascinating and healthful branch of study.

The Technical Instruction Committee of the Belfast Corporation also provide systematic instruction in School Gardening for National School Teachers and, to facilitate this work, have rented a plot of ground on the outskirts of the City. On this plot, School Gardening work is being carried on in the most thorough manner. The plot is divided up into small sections, each in charge of a teacher student. A portion of the plot is reserved for various classes of special experiments. In this school gardens are planted with different varieties of apple trees, pear trees, raspberries, strawberries and vegetables, while a portion of the area is set apart for flowers. In the instruction given to this group of teacher-students, a special feature is made of scientific methods of Gardening.

Indian Moslem Outlook.

The following are extracts from H. H. the Aga Khan's article in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*:—

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

But the Mohamedans newly awakened to national consciousness by the education England has given them, are not limited in their gaze by the vast ramparts of the Himalayas or by the waters of the Indian Ocean. There is between them and their fellow-believers in other lands an essential unity, which breaks through differences of sect and country, for it is not based on religious grounds alone. Carlyle somewhere says that all men of the English speaking race are subjects of King Shakespeare, and in the same way all Mussulmans are subjects of the Arabian Nights. They share the glorious heritage not only of the Koran (which they are taught in early childhood to read in the original Arabic) but of the history and philosophy of Arabia, the incomparable poetry of Persia, and the romances and legends of Egypt and Morocco and Spain. Drinking from these imperishable springs, Moslems, whether Turks, Persians, Arabs or Indians, and whether or not they have also come to the Western wells of knowledge, are bound together by a certain unity of thought, of sentiment and of expression. The feeling of brotherhood thus engendered is not dammed up within the confines of devout faith. On the contrary, agnostics and atheists of Moslem origin have felt the Turkish and Persian misfortunes just as much as the most orthodox *muftah*. To ask why the Indian Mussulmen, blest with a beneficent rule, should concern himself so much about international issues affecting his co-religionists, is as futile as asking why men on the rack of torture cry out with physical pain. That the excitement has not been connected with the question of the Caliphate is shown by the fact that Shias have been moved by these emotions no less strongly than Sunnis. All sections of the Moslem world are moved by a deep sentiment, originally called into being by the Prophet's summons of all the faithful into one great brotherhood, and welded through the centuries into a lasting bond by a common faith, a common literature, a common outlook and a common history.

BRITISH POLICY.

Indian Moslems strongly hold that in the reconstructive wars before the Constantinople Government the moral support of Great Britain is called for in her own interests. The break-up of Turkey and the partition of her Asiatic provinces must be disadvantageous to Great Britain in any conceivable scheme of distribution. France would lay claim to Syria, Germany to Anatolia with Northern and Central Mesopotamia and Russia to Kurdistan and Armenia. Great Britain would be left to take Arabia and Southern Mesopotamia, and would thus become possessed of another wild country without possibilities of great development and with a long and exposed frontier. Side by side with this cumbersome and barren increase of territorial responsibility, the British Empire would be brought into closer contact with the great continental Powers whose immense armies would be less dependant on the sea for their communications. The route to India, already removed from exclusively British keeping would then be further exposed to attack by several other Powers. For these reasons a strong and stable Turkish Government in Asia ought to be a cardinal principle of British international policy. To Mohamedans it is reassuring to know that the above considerations are fully recognised by the just and wise statesman who now rules India. Lord Hardinge won the grateful thanks of the community by the steady encouragement he gave to their practical sympathy with the Turkish troops and people by placing himself at the head of the Red Crescent Movement, which was so splendidly responded to by all classes of Moslems.

THE DOMESTIC SITUATION.

But with the Turkish re-occupation and retention of Adrianople the tension has been relaxed and the Indian Moslems are once more

turning their thoughts to internal affairs. The critics have been perturbed by the appearance on the scene of a new type of Moslem, who, apart from Islamic religion and sentiment, has gone through exactly the same education and training as young Hindus of the same social class. This type did not formerly exist, for in the old days the Hindu and the Mussalman of the same social class were brought up on an entirely different educational basis. The young Mussulman had to make it his chief concern to be well cultured in Persian and Arabic. There were thus few points of contact between Mohamedan and Hindu; and in the stage of political development India had reached much less ground for and possibility of unity of effort than now. Take any typical young Mohamedan of the upper middle classes to-day, and it will be found that, apart from the traditional religion of his family inculcated by his mother, his education has been entirely on the lines of a Hindu of the same class. Even in the case of a student from a Moslem institution like the Aligarh College, the course of studies, the training of the teachers and their outlook, and the probable profession of the student in the future, are the same as in a Government or a Hindu college.

These considerations are even more applicable to the increasing throng of Moslems coming to England and joining Hindu fellow-countrymen at the Universities, the Inns of Court, and the Technical Schools. This potent change, which has attracted much less attention than it has deserved, is not much if any older than the still youthful twentieth century, and it has only begun to make itself felt effectively in actual political life within the last two or three years. The men brought up under the new system are coming to the front and have influenced the increasing approximation of political views and sentiments among educated men of the different communities. The unity is a measure of the growth of Indian nationhood, and it is the part of wise statesmanship, British and Indian, in the domain of internal affairs, to seek, not so much to satisfy the Mussulmans as Mussulmans or the Hindus as Hindus, as to win the hearty co-operation of all moderate, loyal, and reasonable opinion wherever it exists. It is the only policy that will succeed, in Lord Morley's phrase, in 'rallying the Moderates' and thus forming the most effective instrument in the discomfiture and impotence of the small but active element in Indian life which, as Lord Sydenham has said, must be reckoned as permanently hostile to British rule. While at the one extreme there is a handful of revolutionaries, at the other there is a worthy, substantial but decreasing class of men of the old school who think it right to accept whatever the Government, or even the officials, may decree without exercising any critical faculty thereon. But between these two there is a vast mass of Indian opinion passing through a transition stage, alert, sometimes fault-finding, perhaps suspicious, perhaps not very clearly knowing what it wants, and greatly perplexed and disheartened by such questions as the treatment of Indians in South Africa, greatly anxious and worried about the future of Indians in East Africa and in the island of Zanzibar. With all his weaknesses, this type of man, if rightly handled, is essentially reasonable at bottom, loyal to the King, and fully aware that India's welfare and happiness depend on the continuance of British rule.

The Moslem community may co-operate with the Hindus on a vast number of public questions, but they have their own special needs and outlook not confined to the international issues to which I have referred. Both the educational and political condition of the Hindus is far in advance in time, and also in relative extent, of that of the Mohamedans; and it is not to be forgotten that the difference of religion between them goes to the roots of their social polity.

THE LEAGUE.

It has been the work of the All-India Moslem League to give the Mussulmans a political platform and to prevent their disappearance as a national entity on account of the indifference to political issues which formerly characterised them. The League came into existence only some seven or eight years ago, and so far from its work being done, it has reached a stage of evolution in which, if wise counsels prevail, it can do greater service than in the past. The crisis in the affairs of the London League, brought to a head by Mr. Amcer Ali's resignation, confirms my conviction that the time has fully come for the Indian Mussulmans to realise that the future of the community depends not upon this or that particular leader but upon the people themselves. If there is any danger that excitable younger men may lead the League to an attitude of suspicious impatience, it is for the calmer and more reasonable section to bestir itself and to keep the organisation in its own hands, and meet the opposite party, not with abuse but with argument. The situation is one in which talents hitherto undiscovered may be drawn out for the good of the community in the country as a whole. I am confident that the great mass of educated Moslem opinion is sound and sober, and I believe that in India open discussion on the platform of the League, freed from the restraint of a permanent presidentship, will be the best means of bringing the weight of this opinion to bear on the questions of the day. But the situation of the London League is different, for there the community consists exclusively of two classes—elderly men of weight and standing on the one side, and inexperienced students on the other. It is

obviously impossible for the latter to instruct and influence English opinion on Moslem affairs without guidance from the former. Hence while I am most anxious to see a reconstruction of the London League, I feel it is essential that this should be based upon co-operation with the residents, and I, for one, could never join or support an institution run by students only.

THE OUTLOOK.

Another matter upon which strong feeling prevails is that there should be fuller scope in local affairs for loyal but at the same time free criticism. The widening of the powers and the functions of the Legislative Council has done much to give point and force to public sentiment on the larger issues, and this is necessarily reflected in the comments of a Press which, with all its great imperfections, is advancing in ability and is beginning to be really responsive to public needs. The days when not merely the considered will but even the capricious whim of the collector of a district was received without question and obeyed without hesitation have gone by, and in the sphere of every day administration, no less than in the more conspicuous arena of the Legislatures, Supreme and Provincial, it is necessary for those in authority to give due weight to the general consensus of opinion. The district officer should at least know the direction in which public opinion tends, whether or not he can act upon it with due regard to the wider issues of which he has to take account. Through the varying stages of Indian evolution British rule has shown that power of adaptation which is essential to organic vigour. This has been strikingly exemplified in the marked success with which the Morley-Minto reforms have been woven into the administrative fabric. I look to the future with hope and confidence, because I am convinced that British statesmanship will continue to respond to the growth of national consciousness in India, and will thus bring an awakened people into still closer sympathy and co-operation with the aims and ideals of the enlightened rule that has revolutionised the conditions and the ideals of Indian life within living memory.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Return.

Press Association Interview.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., returned from India at the weekend, and was promptly interviewed by the representative of the Press Association, with regard to the impressions left by this, his third visit.

SOUTH AFRICA THE CHIEF CONCERN.

"I think the chief concern in India at present," said Mr. MacDonald, "is what is going on in South Africa, and the effect the treatment of Indians in South Africa is having on the public opinion in India. This question is uniting all classes, all creeds, and all sections of the community, and they are all very resentful of what appears of them to be the indifference of the Home Government. Indians who know the problems of Imperial Government as well as Mr. Gokhale will admit that the Home Government can do nothing but advise the South African Government in a friendly non-official way. Their claim seems a very reasonable one. They say that India is in the Empire, and it claims for its people Imperial citizen rights, and that if they are treated unjustly, as they undoubtedly are in South Africa, they consider that their custodian is the Imperial authority, and not the local authority. When they find that the Imperial authority has apparently no power to protect them, they ask: 'What is the use of Imperial citizenship?' The Indians say, however, 'We are subjects of the Empire, and when we are treated as slaves in one part of it, the Imperial authority ought to step in and protect us'.

"Over and over again I tried to explain to Indians the weakness of the constitutional position of the Home Government, but I could make no impression on their minds. I attended various meetings—as a mere spectator—called for the purpose of collecting money and passing resolutions about the South African situation, and I have rarely been so impressed by the earnestness and determination of masses of men. Mohammedans vied with Hindus in their speeches and offers of help, and I should not be at all surprised if in time to come this will mark a very decided departure in Indian politics."

THE "YOUNG MOSLEM."

"This question (he continued) is aiding the coming together of the Mohammedan and the Hindu. The young Mohammedan is now following the lines of the Indian National Congress, and if there should be any rupture between the old Mohammedan school, headed by Ameer Ali, and the young Mohammedan movement, headed by Mohammed Ali, there is no doubt whatever that the young Mohammedan movement would come out on top. With this union of the Mohammedans and the Hindus is growing up a more definite demand for what is practically self-government in India."

THE Viceroy's MADRAS SPEECH.

"It was very interesting to notice, for instance, with what tremendous enthusiasm Lord Hardinge's Madras speech about the treatment of Indians in South Africa was received in Indian society. Anglo-Indians took the view that Lord Hardinge had exceeded his functions as a Viceroy in talking directly to the Government of a self-governing

Dominion, and technically, perhaps, they were right. But there is not the least doubt that next morning every literate Indian who read newspapers regarded him as a hero. They regarded it as a very promising departure, and they will continue to ask that that should become a recognised function and the right of the Governor of India. Of course, at present such negotiations are conducted through the India Office, which makes representation to the Colonial Office, and in the course of this filtration of representation the Indian view is very often lost."

"Did you hear any expressions of opinion in India on the reply of Lord Crewe to the Deputation at the India Office with regard to the treatment of Indians in South Africa?" Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was asked.

"Well," he replied, "as you have asked me, I will tell you. I heard a great many expressions of opinions, and on the whole they thought the reply was rather weak."

THE CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL MIND.

"What has chiefly struck you as the greatest changes in India of recent years?"

"I think the changes in the political mind of India during the past four years have been very great," Mr. MacDonald replied. "The establishment of the Morley Councils, with their Provincial and Imperial character, has opened a new avenue for Indian political thought and activity. These councils have put the Indian National Congress into the shade a little, but it has brought the Indian politician into closer contact with political reality. Taking the situation generally, Indian opinion is differentiating itself more and more from the Anglo-Indian opinion and is demanding more representation, more administrative powers, and more authority in its own Government." Questioned with regard to improvement in Indian opinion since his last visit, Mr. MacDonald expressed the view that there was no change for the better. "I think, if anything, it is drifting away from us. The extremists are an insignificant faction, who may do mischief because at any given moment they can avoid the police. But they are of no practical consequence. The section that is going away from us, and becoming less and less sympathetic, is the quiet, educated, professional and business section. The old officials who treated the Indians with liberal sentiments are not so prominent as they were. I was discussing this matter with a well-known non-official Indian, and he made the interesting remark that the effect of the Imperialistic wave that passed over the Empire a few years ago was to change the spirit of the public service of India for the worse. He complained of its assumption of superiority and aloofness."

THE QUESTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

"The question we shall have to face," continued Mr. MacDonald, "with far more care than ever we have done, is how we are going to make our Civil Service one of statesmen and not merely one of office administration. I think that we have got men there who will compare with almost anybody we have got at home, but I doubt if the Service, as a whole, has as yet become aware of the new political conditions under which it has got to work."

THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

"What is the position of the Labour movement out there?" Mr. MacDonald was next asked.

"There is the beginning of a definite Labour movement out there, and factories are increasing very much. I went round the factory districts with two sets of people. One set were men who would correspond with the trade union officials here, and I also went round the following morning with the chairman of the Bombay Improvements Trust, looking at the houses and the general living conditions of the people. The great complaint is that the Factory Law is not properly administered, and that the housing conditions are exceedingly bad. Wages are going up; in fact, I was told by an English manager of a mill—a man who belonged to the Labour Party at home—that they had to pay more for labour per loom in Bombay than they did in Lancashire. There is a great scarcity of labour, and wages will continue to rise."

Interview with the "Daily Chronicle" Representative.

Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., has just returned from India, where he has been taking part, as a member, in the work of the Royal Commission which is inquiring into the public services of the Indian Empire. Yesterday Mr. MacDonald talked over his experiences with a representative of "The Daily Chronicle."

He has had to leave India before his colleagues on account of the approach of the Parliamentary Session. It is hoped that the report of the Commission will be issued before the end of the year.

Mr. MacDonald spent most of his time in Delhi and Calcutta. Asked about the new capital he said:—"I saw the foundations, and I discussed the matter with many officials and non-officials. I am bound to say that the general feeling is getting less and less favourable on several grounds."

"First, the expense of building is going to be much greater than the original estimates showed. That is going to mean a very

appreciable burden upon Indian finance, and a slackening of expenditure on matters like education.

"Secondly, the feeling is growing that the Government of India, being centred in Delhi and Simla, will be isolated from the real living movements which are going on in Indian politics and administration. That change will not be good for the country.

"It will undoubtedly change the relations between the central and the provincial Governments. There will be a struggle between the two as to which is to be supreme in local administration. The result of that struggle can only be conjectured; I think it will produce a great deal of friction, which will result in no good.

"The third reason is that the buildings, especially the houses, are to be on a scale which present salaries will not be able to keep up."

How did you find opinion in Calcutta upon the question of the removal of the capital?

THE NEW DELHI.

"Calcutta opinion is still rather bitter, but the consequences which the people of Calcutta anticipated have not come about. The objections to the change are much more serious than those founded on the idea that the old capital will be injured. It is just as flourishing without the Indian Government as it was with it. A small bit of house property previously required for the Government buildings has decreased in value, but that is all. On the whole, I should not be surprised if we hear a good deal about the new Delhi from these points of view when the House of Commons meets."

Did you find any improvement in native opinion since your last visit?

"I am sorry to say I did not. I think if anything, it is drifting away from us. The extremists are an insignificant faction, who may do mischief because at any given moment they can avoid the police. But they are of no practical consequence.

"The section that is going away from us, and becoming less and less sympathetic, is the quiet, educated, professional and business section. The old officials who treated the Indians with liberal sentiments are not so prominent as they were.

"I was discussing this matter with a well-known non-official Indian, and he made the interesting remark that the effect of the Imperialistic wave that passed over the Empire a few years ago was to change the spirit of the public service of India for the worse. He complained of its assumption of superiority and aloofness.

"Now, the young Mohamedan movement is going on exactly in the same way as the Indian Nationalist movement. The administration of the Press laws is meeting with violent opposition on the part of the Mohamedans who have recently been victimised by it, and that, and other things, have made the beginning of a Mohamedan-Hindu entente.

"I would not like to say how far that entente will go, because there are a good many obstacles in its way. But this I will commit myself to: If there should be a rupture between the old school of Mohamedans, headed by Amir Ali, and the Young Mohamedans, headed by Mohamed Ali, the latter would win. All the tendencies are in favour of the latter, and that means political difficulties.

NATIVE EARNESTNESS.

"Another thing has contributed to the difficulties which we shall have to face, and that is the treatment of the Indians in South Africa. Indians who know the problems of Imperial Government as well as Mr. Gokhale will admit that the Home Government can do nothing but advise the South African Government in a friendly non-official way. The Indians say, however, 'We are subjects of the Empire, and when we are treated as slaves in one part of it, the Imperial Authority ought to step in and protect us.'

"Over and over again I tried to explain to Indians the weakness of the constitutional position of the Home Government, but I could make no impression on their minds. I attended various meetings—as a mere spectator—called for the purpose of collecting money and passing resolutions about the South African situation, and I have rarely been so impressed by the earnestness and determination of masses of men.

"Mohammedan vied with Hindu in their speeches and offers of help, and I should not be at all surprised if, in time to come, this will mark a very decided departure in Indian politics.

"Its general effect is to make Indians feel that they have not a part in the Empire, and that they receive no protection from it. When Lord Hardinge made his speech about the South African Government in Madras, he did a thing which, perhaps, he had no constitutional right to do; but there is not the least doubt that next morning every literate Indian who read newspapers regarded him as a hero.

"And upon these lines Indian political opinion will go. It will want more and more to have an independent voice on Imperial arrangements so far as they affect India. And that will raise difficulties with every self-governing Dominion under the British flag."—*Daily Chronicle*.

The Eighth Delhi:

City of Ruins and of Tombs.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., writes in the *Daily Citizen*:

Delhi is a vast churchyard, sixty square miles in extent, with a little corner still inhabited by a swarm of huddled human beings. For what reason, Providence only knows, the Government decided to build new palaces and new offices, and bring itself bag and baggage to this city of ruins and of tombs. We wanted to shake the dust of Bengal from our feet and shut the unpleasant voice of the Bengali from our ears, and so we determined to regild the thrones of the Moghuls and sit down upon them.

When a great thing is done many people say they suggested it; no one, so far as I have been able to gather, is bold enough or proud enough to avow parentage for this project. Like the little imps who beset one in Aden and Port Said, craving *backsheesh*, the new Delhi has "no fadder, no mudder."

There have been seven Delhis already. You find them in ruins on the plain between the right bank of the Jumna and ridges of high ground running more or less parallel with it, but some miles off. They are beautiful in their wreck and they are watched over by the domed tombs of those who sat in their judgment halls. Away on the southern horizon rises the tower of the Kutub Minar, which has stood through earthquake and conquest for seven centuries; bounding the view to the North is the present Delhi, dominated by the minarets and domes of the great Mosque and the Ridge with its Mutiny memories. Between is a brown land of silence, desertion, and death. In the midst of it the eighth Delhi is to be built.

To-day it is alive with busy labourers. Mounds are being levelled, rocky heights are being cut down, ruins are being removed. Columns of dust fill the air, the shrill chatter of voices is everywhere, hammers and mattocks add to the confusion of the noise. They say that in a week or two at least 20,000 people will be at work.

BUILDING A CITY TO ORDER

For in India labour is cheap and machinery is dear. There are no gigantic arms of mechanical diggers about, few snorting engines, nothing of Western engineering. They are working as they worked for Akbar, or Shah Jehan. Swarm of men and women, with swarms of little children squealing and playing in the dust are filling little baskets with sand and in long procession are carrying it away on their heads and returning for more. A great medley of labourers is making blast holes in the rocks, another medley is filling trucks with boulders. All is chaos of movement, of noise, of colour, but the rough places are being made smooth and the high places brought low, and they go home at night in long lines of bullock wagons singing catches of song in high-pitched shrill voices.

It is a prodigiously queer thing this escapade of building a city to order. It is to cost an enormous sum of money—at least £6,000,000; its success is not at all certain; it has had to be preceded by a great temporary city of lath and plaster which has wasted Indian resources like a famine. Every step the builders take has to be considered lest their foot falls upon a tomb. A platform under a tree built by some one who desired to think and pray under a grateful shade becomes sacred in these days when holy places have to be purchased so that roads may be made and foundations dug; a new industry has sprung up in the bazar for the making of tablets informing the surveyors that this and that is the resting place of this Khan and that Shah. Nobody but a skilful and patient diplomatist could have emerged from the maze of holiness, false and real, which lay on the land.

Among the shrines to be preserved is that of the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, Teg Bahadur, who previous to his martyrdom at the hands of Aurangzeb foretold the coming of the European "from beyond the seas to tear down thy *purdas* and destroy thine Empire." His ashes lie in a shady garden, and will be encompassed by the great public park which is to adjoin the new Government House, where the Lord Sahib of the conquerors is to sit in State. This at any rate, is appropriate. Humayun and the other Moghuls look from a distance stately and apart, their tombs wearing an aspect of lofty aloofness; Guru Teg Bahadur nestles nearer at hand, under the shadow of the new order the coming of which he foretold.

OLD WIVES' TALES.

There are some strange superstitions about Delhi. When old wives' tales are listened to one hears that whoever are to be the builders of the eighth city are to be luckless in their rule. And this is the eighth one. There is certainly a haunting doom of decay about the place. It still runs to tombs and the wilderness. The foundation stone of the New Delhi which the King laid is miles away from where the city is now to be built. It stands like an Asoka pillar brooding on the whimsicality of fate.

One evening, I walked out to where the Durbar was held. The roads that had been made at so much expense were but scars among the

jungle grass, the raised terraces were cracked and bitten by the pouring rains, the jungle had crept softly up like one stealthily returning to a home from which he had been temporarily turned out. On the broad raised mound where the King was crowned and where the mighty ones of India gathered in blazing splendour to do obeisance to him a bushy shrub grew. As I approached I saw standing on the flat where the thrones were, outlined against the crimson evening sky, head in the air and antlers thrown back, the form of a black buck. It bounded across and down and fled away into the darkness.



Aligarh "Old Boys" and Moslem Troubles.

[We regret we could not find space in our columns for the admirable speech of Mr. Jafar Kalami, an "Old Boy" of Aligarh who responded to the toast of the Old Boys Association at Calcutta proposed by Sir Theodore Morison at the Association's Annual Dinner, held at the Great Eastern Hotel, at which the late Principal of Aligarh was the principal guest. We now give some important extracts from Mr. Kalami's speech.]

Or late the younger generation of Islam has begun to show signs of awakening and I feel proud to say that the Old Boys have also taken their proper place in this great renaissance. Now, gentlemen, let us see what that renaissance means and also diagnose its causes. The present renaissance is nothing new or revolutionary but on the other hand it is in full conformity with the teachings of Mohamed and the word of God. This new renaissance, which has been in certain quarters called disloyalty, ingratitude and what not, is really the outcome of the events of the last two or three years—events which even a reckless prophet could never have prophesied before they had actually come to occur. The unholy Italian raid on Tripoli, the consequent massacres of poor Arabs, their children and women, the Balkan conflagration, and the vicissitudes of Persia and Morocco, in short the troubles that descended on the poor Moslems all over the world were not the only pains and sufferings of Islam. But to crown all, the light and unhappy manner in which some of the British Ministers treated our sufferings was most exasperating and humiliating. England rules over more Mussulmans than any other Power, more than even the Custodians of our Holy Place the Kaaba. Gentlemen, how could you possibly tolerate the idea that the first minister out of all European ministers to threaten Turkey with dire consequences if she did not abandon Adrianople after its recapture should be the Prime Minister of England? The brilliant march and recapture of Adrianople by the Turkish army under the illustrious Enver Bey created new hopes in the bosoms of Mussulmans all over the world, and it was then that Mr. Asquith stepped forth on the political platform of Europe and demanded the surrender of Adrianople to the Bulgarians for no fault of theirs. Besides these foreign affairs, matters in India clearly detrimental to the Moslem interests sprang up, but thanks to the wisdom, statesmanship and sagacity of our illustrious Viceroy, much mischief was averted. These events opened the eyes of the Mussulmans in India and made them realise the necessity of unity, self-help and self-respect. The products of Aligarh are also Mussulmans and hence these vicissitudes that I have mentioned before affected them likewise. Having imbibed their sentiments at an institution which teaches unity, self-respect, and self-reliance above other things, they felt the calamities more than others and they consequently preached the Gospel of unity, self-help, and self-respect amongst themselves. They fearlessly, frankly, and honestly warned their Government against injuring their feelings and interests from the press and the platform, and this kind of constitutional agitation was painted as disloyalty by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press in this country and the British press in England. Aligarh men were not only called disloyal and ungrateful but a charge of entertaining anarchical sentiments was laid at their door. Nothing could be more ridiculous and I take this opportunity to repudiate this charge with all the vehemence and earnestness I can possibly command. Gentlemen, I have so far tried, I hope not in vain, to show that the present renaissance is nothing but a natural stage in the course of evolution. English people should pride themselves that their efforts in ameliorating the condition of the Mussulmans, whose destinies Providence has placed in their hands, have at last been crowned with success. Gentlemen, Mr. Asquith addressing the Benchers and the Members of Lincoln's Inn at a dinner given in his honour in 1908 said that no lawyer could ever be a revolutionist; similarly, gentlemen, I declare to-night that no Aligarh man could ever be disloyal or an anarchist, for it would be against the very training he has been given at his Alma Mater. The essence of loyalty is inculcated in the very soul of every Aligarh Boy ever since he enters the great institution. Moreover, the teachings of Islam are against the very idea of being disloyal to the sovereign who has been termed as *millat*. To repeat once more, I would say that the present awakening is the result of evolution and not revolution, and also of the Western education that has been given to us. Gentlemen, let me assure you that the younger generation of Mus-

mans in India in general and Aligarh "Old Boys" in particular are loyal to the core. Their devotion to the person of the King and the laws of the realm is unshakable and unimpeachable. This is the message of the "Old Boys" I can convey to you all present in this hall and, to the world outside this hall I convey the same message through you, gentlemen of the press. Our political creed is and always will be unselfish loyalty to our sovereign, love for our country and a frank and straightforward criticism of the actions of the Government whenever it does wrong. Whether the Government would like it or not, it is incumbent upon us all as the loyal citizens of this great empire to warn the Government against the pitfalls and the risks rather than keep silent and as cowards throw bombs. To put the whole thing in a nutshell, the "Old Boys" are true and will ever be true to the traditions of their Alma Mater and the great trust left to them by their late lamented leader Sir Syed. They would cling to it as fast as possible till they perish. It is my earnest desire that those whom this message reaches will cease maligning us in future with ridiculous insinuations of disloyalty, ingratitude etc. But if they still desire to persist I would simply repeat for them what the Almighty said about the unbelievers:

ختم الله على قلوبهم وعلى سمعهم وعلى ابصارهم غشاوة

(God hath placed a seal over their hearts and over their ears and over their eyes is a veil.)

Now, turning to our Association, I have very little to say, for our Association is still in its infancy. Its organizers and supporters have chalked out for themselves and for the generations that would succeed them a programme which can be favourably compared with the programmes of other great institutions which aim at doing good to their country. We hope in the near future to play our proper part, however humble it may be, in the regeneration of our mother-land and our community.

Armenian Reform.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

At the present time a great many people in this country (and elsewhere) are very freely expressing ideas upon what they call the Question of Reforms for Armenia. The majority of them, it may be incidentally remarked, have never been in the part of Turkey which they refer to as Armenia, and as far as one can judge very few of them have ever been in Turkey at all. Probably it is this fact that makes the problem seem to them so simple of solution. For their writings would lead anyone to suppose that the Turkish Government has only to issue an order for the "reforms" to be brought about at once, for the country to assume another aspect, for everyone to become contented, for all crimes to cease, and for the Kurds, Armenians, Turks, Circassians, Lazes, Greeks and many other people who live in the eastern *vilayets* to become forthwith a kind of "happy family." This, however, is far removed from the reality.

There is no doubt whatever that an improvement in the administration of the part of the Turkish Empire referred to is essential for its very existence; and the Turkish Ministers would certainly be well advised to do all they can to have these improvements carried out without delay. But is there any good reason to suppose that the Turkish Ministers are not quite as well aware of the real facts of the case as their self-appointed mentors? Certainly the Minister of the Interior is quite sincere in his wish to bring about the improvement desired, and no doubt the majority of the members of the C. U. P. support him. But there are several aspects of the question.

The Armenians demand a government under European control, and the Powers, it appears, would like them to have their way. But on the other hand, the Turks do not feel able to fall in with such an arrangement, and the Powers are unwilling to force reforms on them by means of an armed display. The Turkish Government ask for foreign officials to be lent to them to carry out reforms, but the Powers will not allow these officials to accept the positions offered to them by the Porte, and so a deadlock takes place.

The people who suffer on account of the impasse thus brought about are the various races who inhabit the eastern *vilayets*; for during the negotiations and discussions little or nothing is, or can be done to better their lot. To the practical man with a knowledge of local conditions it seems strange that the Turkish Government cannot be granted the services of European advisers in the Eastern *vilayets* for a stated period; and then, if it should be found that no progress was being made another plan could be tried. But if suitable men were selected to act as administrators, advisers, or inspectors in these *vilayets*, and if they were not hampered by having their powers too clearly defined, there is no doubt that they would be able to effect a very great improvement in the country.

Legal inspectors would be able to see that cases were tried without unnecessary delay, and the administration would be able

the Turkish officials to give common-sense decisions on the thousand and one questions that crop up every day at a Government centre. As things are at present, a Turkish official in a country town, who is living in daily intercourse with the various local notabilities, when he is called upon to decide some point affecting various interests and religions is naturally inclined to take the part of his co-religionists. If, however, there were on the spot a European to advise or assist him the Turkish official would, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, be only too glad to give a practical and just decision; for should it be subjected to adverse criticism the responsibility for the act would fall upon the shoulders of the European official; while if it met with approval the Turkish official would get the credit.

The prime difficulty, of course, in such an enormous tract of country is to say where a beginning shall be made, and to assure that the funds available shall be used to the best advantage. Any scheme of reforms, to be effective, must provide for improving the condition of affairs from the foundation upwards, and by making small improvements first. It is useless, and worse than useless, to talk of making electric tramways when the riding tracks between important towns are dangerous to pass along for lack of care in improving them. A start should be made in each *vilayet* to improve the organisation in the village communes, i.e., the *Nahies*, and thereafter a certain amount of progress could be gradually made to permeate the administrative system.

On such lines as these it would be possible to achieve solid results that would bring lasting benefits to all the inhabitants of the *vilayets* concerned. What is wanted to carry them out is goodwill; goodwill on the part of the Powers quite as much as, if not more than, on the part of the Turks. At the present time Turkey wants trained "advisers" and disinterested helpers more than advice from well-meaning but too often incompetent faddists. One of her chief difficulties is that while she can get any quantity of the latter, she cannot, for one reason or another, apparently get enough of the former.

A great many sympathisers with the Armenians are constantly crying out for so-called "reforms," but beyond saying that they want "European control," "justice," and "progress," they make no practical suggestions that are capable of being carried out forthwith. As a person who had a right to speak with authority on the subject remarked recently: "When doctors are in consultation concerning a patient they try to employ a treatment suited to his case and his means, and also one that can be applied in the circumstances of the case. But in the discussions concerning reforms for the Eastern *vilayets* all these essentials are commonly lost sight of. In Turkey, laws, regulations, and directions are often not applied or attended to at all. New laws are not required; but ordinary laws should be applied with common sense. At present this is not done. But as the Turkish Government is anxious to improve the state of affairs, why, for the sake of the Armenians, cannot an attempt be made to do it?" Perhaps the Powers could provide an answer to this question.

The most hopeful feature of the perplexing problem is that, in commissioning Lieutenant-Colonel Hawker to organise the Gendarmerie force, on the lines already described in *The Near East*, the Turkish Government has actually taken an effective step in the right direction. There are now at Trebizond nearly 1,500 soldiers who are in process of conversion into efficient gendarmes. Schools have already been opened for officers and men, and a considerable sum has been paid for uniforms for the 15,000 men who will shortly be in the force for the seven *vilayets*. The Government, clearly, is doing its best for Colonel Hawker, and if it continues to do so we may confidently expect that as far as his share of solving the great question is concerned it will be a case of "something attempted, something done."—*The Near East*.



Confessions.

The Despatch of the Government of India.

The following Despatch of the Government of India has been published among other papers on the subject of confessions, presented to Parliament by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India:—

No. 2, dated Simla, the 24th July 1913.

From—The Government of India, Home Department.

To—His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

We have the honour to communicate for Your Lordship's information the result of an examination which we have made in consultation with local Governments of certain important considerations relating to the recording of the confessions of persons accused of criminal offences.

2. The enquiry formed part of a general examination, which was initiated in 1911, of the provincial rules in force governing various matters connected with the investigation of offences by the police, the object of which was to apprise all local Governments of the action which had been taken in other provinces towards dealing with the same subjects, and to ensure the further scrutiny of the local regulations with a view to remedying possible defects in them and embodying provisions which had been found useful elsewhere. With our Home Department letter of the 12th July 1911, we accordingly circulated a précis of the orders in force on the subject of the procedure to be followed in the production before magistrates of accused persons who had intimated a wish to confess, and in the actual record by magistrates of the confessions of persons who were thus brought before them, and while inviting opinions regarding amendments which might suggest themselves, we particularly asked for answers to the following questions, namely:—

- (1) whether, on a balance of advantages and disadvantages, it facilitated the ends of justice to have confessions recorded at all before the trial commences, except in very special circumstances and by the orders of the District Magistrates;
- (2) whether, assuming that the practice of recording confessions before trial continued, it was practicable to introduce more stringent safeguards against abuse; and
- (3) whether the actual procedure of magistrates in recording confessions was susceptible of improvement.

We annex copies of the replies received (enclosures nos. 2 to 11), and in reviewing the matter we have had regard to various suggestions which have been mooted by questions in the House of Commons and in the course of discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council, indicating possible lines of reform. Briefly these may be said to comprise the prohibition of all record of confessions prior to trial, or a legal instruction to the effect that no conviction could be based upon a confession once made but subsequently retracted, unless the commission of the offence was materially corroborated by direct evidence.

3. As Your Lordship is aware, the powers of magistrates to record statements or confessions made in the course of police investigations are defined in section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code which runs as follows:—

"164 (1) Every Magistrate not being a police-officer may record any statement or confession made to him in the course of an investigation under this Chapter or at any time afterwards before the commencement of the inquiry or trial.

"(2) Such statement shall be recorded in such of the manners hereinafter prescribed for recording evidence as is, in his opinion, best fitted for the circumstances of the case. Such confessions shall be recorded and signed in the manner provided in section 864, and such statements or confessions shall then be forwarded to the Magistrate by whom the case is to be inquired into or tried.

"(3) No Magistrate shall record any such confession unless upon questioning the person making it, he has reason to believe that it was made voluntarily; and when he records any confession, he shall make a memorandum at the foot of such record to the following effect:—

"I believe that this confession was voluntarily made. It was taken in my presence and hearing, and was read over to the person making it and admitted by him to be correct, and it contains a full and true account of the statement made by him.

(Signed) A. B.,

Magistrate.

"Explanation.—It is not necessary that the Magistrate receiving and recording a confession or statement should be a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the case."

The major issue raised in the discussion of this matter involves the cancellation of these provisions; the minor issues cover the possibility of adopting further precautions with the object of securing that confessions are only recorded if voluntarily made. Underlying this consideration of the whole question is the desire to prevent any miscarriage of justice, arising from the record of confessions which are not willingly volunteered, or which are taken down in circumstances in which it cannot be guaranteed that they contain a full statement of what the accused person really wishes to say; and with that desire it is needless to state that we are in complete sympathy. The dangers to be avoided are the misuse of their powers by the investigating police in order to induce persons charged with offences to make false admissions of guilt, and the intervention of inexperienced magistrates who do not appreciate the necessity of ascertaining the circumstances in which a statement is made or of recording it carefully and in

detail. We have no wish to deny these risks or to refrain from any measure calculated to minimize them, and we think that it may fairly be claimed that they have long been generally recognized, as is shown by the instructions already issued. There are, however, considerations which deserve to be carefully weighed before the simple expedient is accepted of abolishing the recording of all confessions made before trial, and in dealing with the question we think it essential that it should be approached, not from the standpoint of condemning the whole police force as unscrupulous, but rather with the desire to encourage among the police a spirit of pride in their work, to discourage attempts to substitute confessions for intelligent detective methods, and to emphasise the disgrace which attaches to resort to the ill-treatment of prisoners. We believe that this feeling is to be found among the new generation of police to a greater extent than is frequently credited, and our policy should proceed upon its recognition rather than upon an attitude of widespread distrust.

4. Reverting to the main consideration whether the recording of confessions prior to trial shall be allowed at all, the salient feature of the correspondence is the practical unanimity of judicial authority against any prohibition. With the exception of the Lower Burma Chief Court, three Judges of the Madras High Court and one Judge of the Bombay High Court (differing, in the two instances last mentioned, from the majority of their colleagues), the leading Courts in other provinces traverse the arguments advanced in our letter of the 12th July 1911, and urge that no such departure of practice is required. That these high judicial officers are unwilling to approve of any such prohibition is a valuable indication of the fact that these confessions are not regarded in the majority of cases as false or tainted; in fact, the instances in which the courts express a positive opinion that a bogus confession has been obtained by reason of the tutoring or ill-treatment of the prisoner by the police are, we believe, few. It happens, no doubt, that the courts may think it unsafe, in the absence of other evidence, to convict upon the basis of a retracted confession, but this is not necessarily synonymous with a finding that the confession was untrue or that it had been obtained by improper means. The local Governments are in general agreement in this matter with the courts. The Government of Madras regard the idea of prohibition as unnecessary and inopportune; that of Bombay is convinced that to forbid the recording of confessions before trial would be to put a serious hindrance in the way of administering justice, which might end in the necessity of altering the law so as to make police officers competent to testify to statements made to them by accused persons. The Government of Bengal and the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam concur in the view of the Calcutta High Court that a man alleged to be implicated in a crime should be permitted to make any statement he likes before a trustworthy and experienced magistrate. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces draws attention to various orders which are in force prescribing the proper use of confessions, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma regards a confession as evidence, for what it is worth, which should not be intentionally ignored; he holds that it would be disastrous to discard the evidence of confessions. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces considers that the abandonment of the magisterial record of confessions would in no way reduce either the temptation, or the opportunities to put pressure on accused persons, and if this, therefore, is the main object of change, it would not be achieved. The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province would encourage the making of confessions, leaving it to the judiciary to assess them at their proper value and to bring to notice any allegations of their having been extorted by improper means.

5. In the face of this consensus of opinion we are not prepared to support the radical modification of procedure which has been suggested. Practically the upshot of the discussion is that much experience shows that confessions are frequently willingly made in circumstances which afford no ground for doubting their truth; their prompt record by a responsible magistrate at least ensures that there is no conflict as to what the accused actually did say, and as long as statements made to a police officer are inadmissible in evidence, this result can only be secured in this way; the degree of credence to be attached to such a statement is for the court to determine, but because abuses may occur there is no cause to refuse entirely to accept this source of information: the proper remedy is to minimise the chances of its being abused. The advocates of prohibition are ordinarily actuated by two expectations, firstly, that it will do away with one of the principal incentives that the police have for ill-treating accused persons, and secondly, that it will compel the police to rely upon evidence and the pursuit of clues, in place of the confession of the accused, as a means of securing the conviction of the guilty. Of these two arguments most weight attaches, probably, to the second, which usually influences those executive and police officers who incline towards this policy, although it should be possible to achieve the end in view by other means. But the prohibition of confessions would do little in itself to diminish the risk of the ill-treatment of the accused, because the obtaining of a confession is not the sole, or even the

principal motive which induces incompetent or dishonest police officers to resort to a mixture of coaxing, threatening, worry and ill-usage; their object is rather to induce the accused to give up stolen property or to indicate where some clue may be found, and the opportunities of putting pressure on him with this in view would still exist. If this is the case it seems to us to be unwise to ignore the proved fact that the novice in crime in this country is frequently unable to keep his guilty knowledge to himself, while even the more hardened criminal not infrequently insists upon unburdening his mind, and the prohibition of confessions would only deprive the courts of evidence which in many cases may be quite reliable and of value, without ensuring that a higher standard of police investigation will be attained in consequence. That confessions, after they are made, are frequently retracted is not surprising; once the accused finds himself awaiting trial there are his fellow-prisoners and, in some instances, possibly even the prison-warders, to advise him to withdraw his statement and adopt a line of defence, which they sometimes suggest. It is easy to represent that retraction can do no harm, while it may turn the scale in his favour, and after the first moment of excitement in which the confession was made these considerations may well prevail; but that fact does not inevitably indicate that the first confession was false, and, for what it is worth, we are strongly of opinion that the court should be able to consider it.

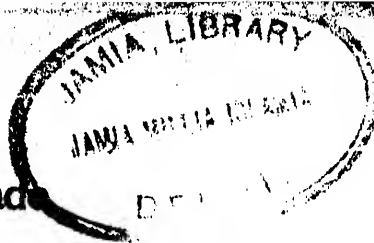
6. Our conclusion in this respect need not, however, prevent the adoption of any measures calculated to discourage the police from placing reliance on confessions and thus neglecting to pursue definite clues, to diminish the risk of the ill-treatment of accused persons, or to give surer guarantees that confessions made under section 164 are really voluntary and are carefully recorded, and we proceed to discuss *seriatim* the various suggestions which the correspondence has revealed. Some of these were put forward in our letter of the 12th July 1911, others have been advanced by local Governments.

(a) *Proposal that the police should be forbidden to question a prisoner once he has been arrested.*

The Madras Government recommend the issue of instructions to make it clear that when the police are endeavouring to discover the author of a crime there is no objection to their making enquiries of, or putting questions to, any person from whom they think they can obtain useful information, but that when once an accused person has been arrested, while they may, and indeed should, listen to any statements which he may voluntarily make, they should be strictly forbidden to interrogate him or press him to make a statement. The primary duty of the police after arrest is to take an accused person before a magistrate within the time prescribed in section 61 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and it is only in very exceptional circumstances that he should thereafter be returned to police custody. We understand that the instructions actually issued in Madras further stipulate that if the police desire to question an accused after arrest, the permission of the magistrate must be obtained. We welcome these suggestions as most useful, and are prepared to direct their general adoption. It is true that no rules will prevent the police from questioning a man if they wish to do so and have the opportunity while he is in their custody, but if they do so, they will know that they are acting contrary to rule, and it is only by the steady pressure of instructions that they will be made to understand that attempts to obtain confessions are not only improper but a sign of want of intelligence or a lack of industry. It would be irrational to forbid the interrogation of a man while he is merely a suspect, but once he has been arrested (and he should not be arrested on insufficient evidence) he should not be pressed to incriminate himself. The object, in fact, is to limit the use of section 164 as far as possible to cases in which the accused is really anxious to unburden his mind before a magistrate. Making allowances for differences in the Indian system as to the evidential value of statements made to the police, the remarks of Lord Brampton on the point in an address to English constables [of which we annex an extract (enclosure no. 12)] seem to us clearly to summarise the appropriate principles to be followed.

(b) *Proposal that a prisoner who has confessed should, in no circumstances, be returned to police custody.*

This was mooted in our letter of the 12th July 1911, and the general views of those consulted is that an absolute prohibition of remands to police custody after confession is impracticable, since the prisoner may be required to identify persons or property, to assist at the discovery of property, or generally, to be present while his statement is being verified. It is moreover to be remembered that it is not the prisoner who has made a confession that stands in much danger of ill-treatment; it is true that he might be further tutored, but it is rather the man who has been sent up to make a statement and who, at the last moment, declines to do so, whom the police are likely to molest. While, however, a rigid restriction of remands is opposed, there is evidence that the cautious exercise of the power to remand may rightly be insisted upon, and



14th February.

after consideration of the various suggestions made we think the following principles should be insisted upon:—

(i) A remand to police custody should not be given unless the officer making the application is able to show good and satisfactory grounds for it; a general statement that the accused may be able to give further information should not be accepted.

(ii) No such order should be passed by an officer of lower status than a stipendiary magistrate exercising 2nd class powers.

(iii) Whenever possible, where the object of the remand is the verification of the prisoner's statement, he shall be remanded to the charge of a magistrate. (The Calcutta High Court would forbid the presence of the investigating police and direct the magistrate merely to confine his attention to verifying the facts alleged, while refraining from any attempt to obtain admission in corroboration of new facts, but in practice, we think it impossible to attempt an absolute direction to this effect. The presence of the investigating police may, in certain circumstances, be essential, while the magistrate may be trusted to exercise a proper discretion.)

(iv) The period of the remand should always be as short as possible.

(v) A prisoner who has been produced for the purpose of making a confession, and who has declined to do so, or has made a statement which, from the point of view of the prosecution is unsatisfactory, should in no circumstances be remanded to police custody.

(vi) So far as is practicable, confessing prisoners while in jail awaiting trial should be separated from others.

All these safeguards should materially diminish any risk of abuse of the power to remand to police custody, and at the same time they recognise the practical conditions in which investigations, etc., are conducted, which in some instances preclude the issue of absolutely rigid rules.

(c) *Proposal that confessions should only be recorded by a magistrate having jurisdiction, a 1st class magistrate or a specially empowered 2nd class magistrate.*

There is practical agreement among those consulted that the more experienced and responsible the magistrate who records a confession the better. While the risk that a junior magistrate is likely to be improperly influenced by the police is apt to be exaggerated, the presumption is that the more senior officers are more likely to observe carefully the prescribed procedure and to bring a more mature judgment to bear. Good reason has been shown for discarding the condition that the magistrate before whom the accused is brought must be the one who will commit or try the case, but we are willing to limit the recording of confessions to sub-divisional magistrates, stipendiary magistrate of the 1st class, or of the 2nd class if specially empowered. We have not overlooked the opinion of the Madras Government that an absolute restriction to 1st class magistrates, who may be on tour may be inconvenient, or the suggestion of the Government of Bombay that recourse might be had to a magistrate of lower status if a higher officer cannot be reached within a specified time, which is analogous to a rule already current in the United Provinces to the effect that "every confession which a prisoner in police custody wishes to make should be recorded by the highest magistrate, short of the district magistrate, who can be reached in a reasonable time." The Calcutta High Court would also recognise that a magistrate of lower status may be called in if no other is available, but on the whole, we think that such instances of practical inconvenience will be few, and we would be prepared to ignore them in view of the advantages of restricting the record of confessions to courts of status and experience.

(d) *Proposal that no prisoner should be produced for record of his confession unless he has spent at least one night out of police custody.*

The answers received indicate that while the principle underlying the suggestion is recognised to be sound, no definite rule to this effect is practicable. We think that all that can be done is to deprecate the immediate examination of an accused person, directly the police bring him into court, and to suggest the advisability (where possible) of giving him a few hours for reflection, in circumstances in which he cannot be influenced by the police, before his statement is recorded.

(e) *Proposal that no accused person shall be produced before a magistrate to make a confession until he has been examined by the district superintendent or assistant superintendent of police.*

A rule to this effect is current in the Meerut district of the United Provinces, but while it is desirable that the orders of such an officer should be taken at this stage (and equally before a remand to police custody is asked for), a definite instruction to this effect is likely to be inconvenient, as the higher police officers are frequently absent on tour. The procedure might be enjoined as desirable, when practicable.

(f) *Proposal that when a confession is recorded the investigating police shall not be present.*

This suggestion is offered by the Bengal Government, with whom the High Court agrees, and in the United Provinces there is an instruction to this effect, as also that the fact shall be noted on the record. The precaution seems reasonable, and we would support it for general adoption.

(g) *Proposal that confession should ordinarily be recorded in open court and during court hours, unless for exceptional reasons.*

This too is favoured by the Bengal Government, the idea being, presumably, that all shall be done openly and above board. There may be circumstance requiring a different procedure, but ordinarily that suggested should be feasible, and it possesses some advantages.

(h) *Proposal that confessing prisoners should be questioned by the court whether they have complaints of ill-treatment to make.*

Of the Local Governments who have noticed the point, those of the United Provinces and Eastern Bengal and Assam support the idea, but the Government of Bengal is opposed to the inviting of complaints, and the Allahabad High Court notes that the procedure would be of little benefit. The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province considers that it is open to strong objection. It appears to us that the essential point is that the magistrate should satisfy himself that the confession is being voluntarily made, and we would prescribe no direct interrogation of the kind suggested. If an accused person has been coaxed or intimidated into making a false confession, he will certainly have been tutored to deny that he has had any pressure or force put upon him.

(i) *Proposal that a magistrate should question the confessing prisoner with the view of ascertaining the exact circumstances in which his confession was made and the connection of the Police with it.*

This is advanced by the Government of Madras, and it merges in a wider proposition which emanates from other quarters (noticeably from Burma and the Central Provinces) that it should be the endeavour of the Court to record the confession in as much detail as possible, with a view of affording material from which its genuineness can be judged and of testing whether it is freely made or is merely the outcome of suggestion. We are aware that anything like the cross-examination of the accused has been rightly deprecated by the courts, but it seems to us to be desirable that, without any attempt at heckling or endeavour to entrap the accused, a magistrate should record his statement with as much detail as possible. The more detailed a confession the greater the chances of correctly estimating its value. It is also useful to know precisely how it came to be made, to what extent the police had anything to do with the accused prior to it, and in the confession itself the fullest possible particulars of the incidents involved. The questions and answers would of course be recorded, and any misuse of the procedure would thus be detected. It would also be expedient that the magistrate should add to the certificate required by section 164, in his own hand, a statement of the grounds on which he believes that the confession is genuine, the precautions which he took to remove the accused from the influence of the police and the time (if any) given to him for reflection. In the United Provinces nine definite questions are prescribed calculated to ensure that the confession is being voluntarily made, but such detail is, on the whole, to be deprecated. But if a record of the general character indicated was made, the attention of the magistrate would be directed towards the possible risks against which he had to guard, and the full circumstances of the confession would be stated at the time.

7. These proposals cover the different safeguards which, after careful examination of the circumstances surrounding this difficult question, we are prepared to recommend, and if they meet with Your Lordship's approval, we will address Local Governments requesting them to amend their rules in conformity with them, after such consultation with the different High Courts, etc., as may be necessary. So far as possible we would prefer to proceed by the issue of instructions, but the necessity of amending the law can be further considered when the policy to be followed is finally approved. We will await Your Lordship's reply, however, before any action on these lines is taken.

8. As it appeared to be possible that Your Lordship might desire to make public the discussions on the important questions now raised we have obtained the concurrence of the Judicial authorities who have been consulted to that course.

We have the honour to be,

My LORD MARQUESS,

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

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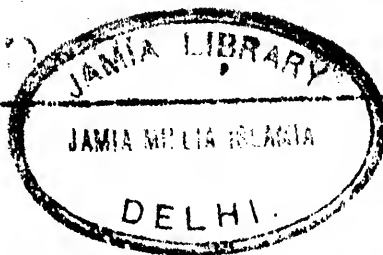
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The Week.

Home Rule.

London, Feb. 11.

In the course of his speech Mr. Lloyd George said that the Government would go to the very extreme, compatible with the main purpose of the Bill, but they could not, and would not, betray the majority of the Irishmen. After the proposals had been passed in the Commons, they would go the Lords over whom they had no control. The responsibility for what would happen there would rest with the Opposition. If after doing everything possible to allay the legitimate fears of Ulster the Government quailed before the threats of violence, they would violate their trust. Mr Lloyd George said that for some time they had been firing at long range, but their opponents were now face to face with them. The Government would submit its proposals on its own responsibility which was the heaviest that had devolved on any Government, but the responsibility for acceptance or rejection, which lay with the Opposition, was equally heavy. In the House of Commons to-day, the debate was resumed by Sir John Simon. He laid stress on the declaration that an election now would mean tearing up of the Parliament Act for ever. This the Ministerialists were determined to resist.

Sir Edward Carson, who, on rising was received with salvos of cheers, considered that Mr. Asquith's speech was absolutely disappointing. He should have outlined the actual proposals. Sir Edward Carson laid emphasis on the unparalleled gravity of the statement in the King's speech. He said that the Bill was condemned on the Government's own confession. Something had undoubtedly been gained. Colonel Seely, he said, would now perhaps cease telling his constituents that he (Sir Edward Carson) was insane. He believed that the Government were manoeuvring

(loud cheers). They were making the position of the Irish Unionists intolerable. They were asking them to sit quiet and vote estimates while the situation in Ulster was becoming daily more difficult. Ulster did not want concessions. She wanted to be left alone. He declared with emphasis: "You laughed at the Covenant. Laugh at it now." (Cheers).

Sir Edward Carson inferred from Mr. Asquith's speech that the exclusion of Ulster did not conflict with the fundamental principles of the Bill. If exclusion were proposed, it would be his duty to go immediately to Ulster and consult with the people. If they attempted to compel Ulster to come under the control of the Dublin Parliament, he, regardless of personal consequences, would go with the people to the end in the policy of resistance.

Mr. Redmond said that the Nationalists were ready to respond to the plea for amicable settlement. He considered that the Opposition and not the Government should have taken the initiative. He accepted however the new situation. Mr. Redmond indignantly repudiated the suggestion that the Nationalists only wanted Ulster's taxes. He deprecated the talk of civil war. He did not take a tragic view in that connection. He desired most sincerely that the new Parliament should not be handicapped by any conflict between fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Bonar Law said that he fully accepted the responsibility of countenancing resistance on the part of Ulster. If ever a people in the world's history were entitled to resist, Ulstermen were. It was certain that the country had given no mandate to coerce Ulster. The single fact that armed coercion would be necessary entirely altered the situation. Mr. Asquith, on the 10th instant by offering special treatment to Ulster, had admitted her special identity. It inevitably followed that if Ulstermen were not convinced of the acceptability of his proposals Ulster should be excluded from the scope of the Bill. It was in Mr. Asquith's power to prevent civil war by making proposals acceptable to Ulster or going to the people.

Mr. Walter Long's amendment to the Address was rejected to-night by 333 to 255.

Debate in the House of Lords.

London, Feb. 11.

In the House of Lords this evening, Lord Loreburn resumed debate. He described the King's reference to the gravity of the situation as a courageous and honourable departure. He considered that dissolution did not offer a solution, but merely postponed the question. The Bill was a good one, but settlement by consent was better. The real danger was not so much bloodshed and civil commotion as the prolongation of discontent and disloyalty in Ireland. He believed that Federalism would prove the solution of the difficulty. He made a strong appeal for conciliatoriness and good will to all.

Lord Lansdowne affirmed that everyone was in favour of a friendly arrangement, but the Government made no suggestions. He was bound to say that the prospect appeared as hopeless as it could possibly be. Even if Ulster were excluded, exclusion would have to be accompanied by safeguards in the interests of extra-Ulster Unionists. The proper course for the Government as democrats and straightforward men to pursue was to frame whatever amendments they thought necessary and then go to the country.

Lord Haldane admitted that this specific Bill had never been before the country, but said that its principles had been fully discussed and unless the Unionists gave some intimation that they were prepared to meet the Government in principle, settlement would be impossible.

Allahabad, Feb. 11.

The *Times* publishes a review by Mr. Horace Plunkett of the condition of Ireland. Mr. Plunkett is convinced that Ulstermen will fight if necessary, and die for what they regard as a holy, righteous cause, and he suggests that Ulster should accept Home Rule on condition of being given the right to secede after the term of trial. The *Times* does not think that this provides a solution.

London, Feb. 12.

In the House of Lords, Lord Crewe said that the Government did not believe that the fears of Ulster were justified, but he was prepared to try to meet them. He would not remain in the office a day if he believed that the interests of anybody in Ulster would be imperilled.

The striking feature of the debate was a brief statement by Lord Roberts who declared that it was unthinkable that the Army should be called on to fight against Ulsterites. Such action, he said, would mean the ruin of the Army.

Lord Middleton's amendment was adopted by 243 to 55.

Oriental School.

London, Feb. 12.

A meeting is to be held at Mansion House on May 6th, at which Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon and members of the Cabinet will speak to inaugurate a campaign for obtaining an endowment fund, grants, and subscriptions for the Oriental Language School.

That Government has promised £1,000 and the India Office £1,250 per annum, leaving £8,750 to be assured annually for the establishment of an efficient school.

Pending legislation on the lines of the recommendations of Lord Haldane's Royal Commission, the school will be established under a Royal Charter, the draft of which has been approved by the Privy Council.

It is hoped to begin work on the structural alteration of the London Institute in April and to finish it early in 1915. A non-official committee, with Sir Montagu Turner as Chairman, has been formed to further the project and collect subscriptions.

Resignation of Lord Gladstone.

London, Feb. 11.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Harcourt announced that Lord Gladstone would resign at the end of the present session of the Union Parliament. His resignation was due solely to domestic reasons and had no connection whatever with recent events. His successor would be designated in a day or two.

London Feb. 11.

It is officially stated that Mr. Buxton will succeed Lord Gladstone as Governor-General of South Africa. The appointments of Mr. Burns, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Samuel are confirmed.

Natal Indians.

London, Feb. 12.

At question time in the House of Commons to-day Mr. Harcourt explained to Mr. Wedgwood the circumstances necessitating the sending back of a number of Natal Indians to the mines to work instead of to prison. He said that the procedure appeared to be legal, but fortunately it was not the normal state of affairs.

Aegean Islands.

Constantinople, Feb. 15.

The decision of the Powers regarding the Aegean Islands has been communicated to the Porte and a written reply asked for. Turkish official circles are disappointed and grieved, and it is not improbable that Turkey will endeavour to negotiate directly with Greece for the exchange of the islands occupied by Italy for Chios and Mitylene.

Constantinople, Feb. 16.

In reply to the decision of the Powers regarding the Aegean Islands, the Porte point out that it had hoped that with regard to the island in the vicinity of the straits and those integrally belonging to Asia Minor the Powers would have solved the question of the Aegean in accordance with the best interests of the directly interested parties. The Porte recognises the duties of peace, but says it will endeavour to assure its legitimate demands.

New Albania.

Berlin, Feb. 15.

The Prince of Wied has returned here.

ITALIAN WARSHIPS AS ESCORT.

London, Feb. 15.

The Italian warship *Quarto* is expected at Venice to escort the Austrian warship *Taurus* conveying the Prince of Wied to Durazzo.

Turkish Railways.

Berlin Feb. 16.

The draft of the Franco-German Agreement regarding the Turkish railway financial question has been initialled. It takes the form of an arrangement between the Deutsche Bank, representing the Anatolian and Bagdad Railways, and the Ottoman Bank, representing the Syrian Railway Company and the Company to be formed for the Black Sea basin.

Turkey.

London, Feb. 11.

Renter learns respecting the repeated rumours of a Turco-Bulgarian combination against Greece, the Rumania and Servia would certainly intervene in favour of Greece, though they would remain quiescent if Turkey alone attacked Greece.

Turco-Persian Frontier.

Karachi Feb. 14.

The *Sind Gazette's* Mahomerah correspondent writes under date February 7th:—The Frontier Commissions returned on Thursday night from Sabah, having had a very trying time in heavy rain. They have now delimited all the frontier within easy reach of Mahomerah, and it is understood that an early move will be made to a fresh centre. The results of their deliberations have not been made public, but it is understood that so far the delimited frontier follows the boundary lines hitherto, to mutually recognized by Turkey and Persia.

Hindus in America.

Washington, Feb. 14.

Mr. Sudhindra Bose, Professor of Iowa University, was one of those who appeared before the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives to give evidence. He opposed the exclusion of Hindus from the country on the ground that kindred Aryan people were entitled to the rights of British subjects. When the Chairman observed that British Colonies were excluding Hindus, Mr. Bose replied that the Imperial Government had not yet endorsed their exclusion.

Persian Budget.

Teheran, Feb. 11.

A proclamation will be published on Friday, the birthday of the Prophet, fixing the Coronation for July 21st. A commission consisting of two Belgians, is drafting the Budget in readiness for the meeting of the *Majlis*. Hitherto, Persia has had no regular Budget.

The following telegraphic communication has been received from the Foreign office at Teheran by Sir Mirza Eavood Khan, Miftaboe Sultaneh, Consul-General for Persia, at Calcutta:—

"On the 13th instant in the Durbur Salami in Teheran on the occasion of Id in honour of the anniversary of the Prophet, it will be declared by His Highness the Regent, that according to the 18 Article of the Constitution, the coronation of His Imperial Majesty the Shah will take place on the 27th *Shaban* corresponding with the 22nd July 1914."

Frontier Raids.

Kohat, Feb. 11.

Some few days ago the village of Jhandari in the Chutra Valley was raided and three houses were looted. In the first, a young bachelor, on the eve of concluding the bargain which was to provide him with a wife, was tied to his bed and robbed of Rs. 200. Luckily he had already sent away the two hundred rupees to Shukardarah in part payment. Let us hope the young woman's relatives will not be hard-hearted enough to make him wait for his bride till he has once again saved up enough money to pay the price in full!

In the next house, a widow was robbed of all her money and jewels. Raiders have rather a predilection for rich widows.

Whilst searching the third house, one of the household, who had managed to slip away, raised the alarm and the raiders made off before help arrived. It is very possible, however, that local *bandushes* were responsible for this dacoity. But raids and robberies have had a stiff set back owing to the vigorous measures the Amir has been obliged to take with the Khost outlaws. Shaurang and his gang, who it may be remembered raided Jatta Israil Khel rather more than a year ago, have been captured by the Governor of Khost and a Khattack of these parts and some Hindus have been released.

It is believed that of the three Hindus, who were carried off on the Kohat-Baunni road on the 11th of last month, two have been killed, their captors and the third hidden away somewhere in Trans-Border territory. Of the captives one was a Public Works Department road contractor, and it is probable that he is the one who is still alive.

South Africa.

Capetown, Feb. 13.

The Reverend C. Andrews lectured before a distinguished audience in the City Hall to-day on the subject of Rabindranath Tagore. The Mayor presided.

Mr. Merriman, moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, emphasised the necessity for a better understanding of the Indians, particularly of Indian intellectual life.

Lord Gladstone, seconding the motion, said that he had listened with great pleasure to the lecture which was one to make them think and realise in a fuller degree what India was, what their duties were to a people who were members of the British Empire. Lord Gladstone said that the subject had interested him when at Oxford. He had made a special study of Indian history, and had later visited India. He wished more South Africans could go there, and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African coast, and would realise that there was in the personality of Rabindranath Tagore an intense expression of an imaginative national life. In fact, India had developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilisation, and the efforts to rise to a higher life. His Excellency joined with Mr. Merriman in thanking the Reverend C. Andrews. He believed his lecture would do much to induce a feeling which would help to a solution of the troubles which had stood in the way of good relations between India and South Africa. They were troubles which, they all hoped and expected, would be solved before long. He thanked the lecturer heartily for his efforts to bring about a better understanding.

Our London Letter.

THE LONDON INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

London, 30th. January, 1914.

This Association, which owes its creation and popularity mainly to the efforts of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, is gradually though steadily becoming an integral part in the life of the Indian Colony in London. It holds regular fortnightly meetings at Caxton Hall, Westminster, when subjects of varied interest are keenly discussed and debated upon. Apart from acting as a happy means for social intercourse between the Indians, the Association undoubtedly serves as an excellent training-ground for those who are aspiring to gain oratorical distinction and fame in future. The recent "parliamentary" debate, arising from the formal introduction of the "Hindu and Moslem Universities Bill," reached a fairly high degree of efficiency and several hitherto latent speakers were "discovered" during the subsequent discussion. The "House" followed the debate with intense and genuine interest. The Association is suffering from the want of permanent headquarters, but it is hoped this drawback will soon be set right.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL CLUB.

A very large and representative gathering responded to the invitation of the President and Committee of the above Club to a New Year Reception, which was held on Saturday, the 21st inst., at the Connaught Rooms in Great Queen Street, Kingsway, from 3 to 6 P. M. An extremely interesting musical programme had been arranged and the various amateur "artists," whose names appeared on the programme, exhibited an unusual standard of perfection, which could certainly do justice to any professional troupe. Mrs. Naidu, who has just recovered from a severe illness, was seen after a long period of absence, and her numerous friends and admirers were greeting her on her recovery. Her presence at any social function never fails to infuse an element of cheeriness into the very soul of her fellow-guests. Her temporary absence from Indian Society had left a gap, which was only filled by her welcome re-appearance amongst us last week.

THE "MORNING POST" ON HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

The question of Hindu-Moslem unity has been dealt with by the *Morning Post* in a leading article. The sinister motives of the writer will become evident even to a most casual observer. Instead of welcoming the new situation, which is decidedly favourable for a Hindu-Moslem entente in India, as would be the duty of a great journal, which has placed its Imperialism before everything else, this paper has spared no efforts to misrepresent the case to its readers to a degree almost reaching the stage of tragic criminality. A studious perusal of the article will readily indicate the high degree of utter and deplorable ignorance of the writer on Indian questions, which is also unhappily visible in various other newspapers in this country, which handle Indian problems from time to time.

The *Morning Post* article, however, will not be without its good effect, as, leaving aside the merits or demerits of such communications, the Indian cause will undoubtedly gain by the occasional presentments of its case before the British public, through the medium of the great organs of the Press; the thinking public will thus meet with the opportunity of reflecting for itself upon the importance and vitality of this truly Imperial issue. From this point of

view, if for no other reason, those who are devoting their energy and time towards the solution of the numerous problems affecting India and the Indians, will no doubt welcome the article in the *Morning Post* which will, no doubt secure for the Hindu-Moslem entente an advertisement of no little magnitude.

Evidently the writer, who poses as more or less an authority on the Indian question, has thoroughly failed to grasp the simple yet significant fact that, in spite of the various sections and creeds in which the Indian population is divided, there are certain issues on which the 300 millions of India, whether Hindu or Moslem, are absolutely united, and on which they can speak with one voice. The writer of the article need not stretch back his memory to more than only a few weeks ago, when the Indian crisis in South Africa was at its height and when, much to his surprise and astonishment, the differences between the various communities in India, which he has taken much pains to describe in his communication, did not for a single moment prevent the masses of India, irrespective of caste or creed, from showing their feelings and indignation in no unmistakable manner. The wave of passion which overcame the Indians and which shook the very foundation of British Rule in India, as was so rightly stated by Lord Ampthill at the United Empire Club the other day, was the most impressive demonstration of Indian unity and Indian co-operation in matters affecting the Indian Empire as a whole. The writer apparently requires a sound knowledge of modern Indian history, as, in the article, he is exhibiting a supreme and colossal ignorance of facts. He seems to be absolutely out of touch with the present-day events in India. It will, perhaps, be a rude awakening for him to be told that to-day no important Bill, affecting the condition of the Indians as a whole, could come before the Supreme Council, on which the votes of the Indian Members, whether Hindus or Moslem, would not be practically unanimous.

The writer adopts a sad tone of flattery—or what he, no doubt, intends as flattery—when he describes the Moslem to be, in sentiment, probably "nearer to the Christian than to the Hindu." Bearing in mind the policy of grab, which the Christian Powers of Europe have been of late following in their dealings with the weaker non-Christian States, it is indeed questionable whether the above remark will not be received by the Moslem in the same spirit in which it was intended to be accepted.

The current number of *Blackwood's Magazine* also contains an unsigned article on India. Its writer, who is evidently a stout party-man, deplors the Indian chaos caused by the present Liberal Administration, enumerates the numerous blessings to the country under Lord Curzon's reign, describes the present Viceroy as "ready to yield to violence and let law-breakers go unpunished," expresses a sincere hope that Lord Kitchener may be India's next ruler, defends the Civil Service and suggests various remedies of an autocratic character. The article in question is so utterly inconsistent with the realities of the situation that it hardly deserves any serious attention.

HOW "NEWS" IS MADE IN TURKEY.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* gives an excellent account of the methods adopted by the representatives of the European Press in the Turkish Capital for collecting "News," which are subsequently flashed across the wires as coming from some "reliable source." The able correspondent of the *Telegraph* is entitled to the deep debt of gratitude of all those who have the real interests of Turkey at heart for his timely exposure of this reckless fraud committed on the reading public at large. Incidentally, his information and his lucid statement of facts indicate the real and business-like method in which the Turkish authorities attend to their official duties and that, in spite of various sensational reports which are circulated so often in the European Press, concerning the Sublime Porte's intentions or schemes regarding current questions, the Turkish statesmen are extremely careful in observing official secrecy in matters of consequence.

According to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Constantinople, not far from the Embassies at Pera is a place frequented at all hours of the day by newspaper correspondents, who are eager for sensational news. All the hatred and spite against the Young Turks is collected there; Levantines, Greeks and Armenians anxiously wait there for the return of certain Levantine reporters who have proceeded earlier in the day to Stamboul in search of information.

In the way of some of the foreign correspondents, these reporters spend the whole of the afternoon wandering about the long and dismal corridors of the Porte and the Ministries watching for functionaries, both great and small, and obtaining from them a few odds and ends of conversations, the sum-total of which constitutes a piece of news, which on their return to Pera they season according to the taste of the correspondents employing them. The latter, in their turn, embroider the news, and then go to obtain information of its accuracy at the Embassies, which have such a deficient news service that it may be regarded as non-existent.

The Embassies, except one or two, on receiving the information, hide their ignorance under the veil of diplomatic reserve, feigning to know more than they dare tell, and while repeating and propagating the news confidently, give it a quasi-official diplomatic stamp. The news is now ready to be spread throughout the world. Most of the sensational reports regarding Turkey have an origin of this kind and, therefore, it is necessary to receive them with the greatest circumspection.

LORD AMPHILL ON THE "INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA."

A debate on the above subject, which was held at the United Empire Club, Piccadilly, on the 28th instant under the chairmanship of Mr. Fitzjohn Oldham, produced a striking declaration by Lord Ampthill. His Lordship, who opened the debate in a powerful speech, said that this question was not one of a mere strike for the abolition of a £3 poll-tax in Natal. The real origin of the controversy was to be found in the year 1858, when the memorable proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of India established for them the Charter of their rights and their liberties. The Indians of South Africa were not agitating for votes or for equal political rights with the white inhabitants of South Africa, but were only asking for that which had been actually promised to them, not only by the British Government but by successive Governments in South Africa. If British subjects were ill treated in a foreign country we should demand that their wrongs were righted and would enforce that demand with Dreadnoughts and troops, and we should certainly prevent one of our own partners from doing irreparable damage to the Imperial concern. It had been urged that the solution was to be found in deporting the Indians and helping them to colonise elsewhere, but the Indians in South Africa did not want to go, and they had every right to stay there. They had more right than some of the cosmopolitan riff-raff who received an undue welcome there. The colony of Natal would have been impossible without Indian labour in the fields and in the mines.

With regard to the present situation, after 12 years of persistent appeal, patient endurance of suffering, passive resistance, and heroic self-sacrifice and repeated disappointed hopes, an arrangement was made between the Union Government and Mr. Gandhi, the high-minded leader of the Indian community, and if the Union Government had faithfully carried out their part of the agreement, the trouble would have been at an end, but they did not do so. It was agreed (1) that legislation should be passed in the following Session repealing the obnoxious Act of 1907; (2) that there should be no racial bar in any future legislation; (3) that existing rights should be maintained; and (4) that there should be an amnesty for passive resisters. The promised legislation was not passed till last year, and then it did not fulfil the two essential conditions of the compact—removal of the racial bar and maintenance of existing rights. The Immigrants' Regulation Act, moreover, prejudiced the rights of Indians and brought about a new grievance in failing to recognise the validity of marriages among Hindus and Mohamedans. The poll-tax was always oppressive, and it was promised that it should be repealed. That tax was required simply as an instrument wherewith to drive back the coolies into indenture. He reminded them of the public spirit displayed by the Indians when they refrained from taking part in the strike which took place on the Rand some time ago. If there were much delay in the settlement of the question there might well be a dangerous agitation in India which would be fraught with the gravest peril. The South Africans were a virile race and had a virile way of managing affairs as we had seen during the past few days. What they wanted was straight talk from the Imperial Government. The people of this country had not the faintest idea what this question meant to them nor how completely it was within their right that it should be settled with justice, and immediately.

India, from every point of view, was worth more to us than South Africa, and if it were a choice between offending India and offending South Africa, there could be no shadow of doubt which alternative should be chosen; but there was no need to offend either if wiser and fairer counsels at last prevailed. The real enemies of the Indians in South Africa were not for the most part Englishmen or Boers, but the cosmopolitan class of aliens of whom we had some knowledge even in the heart of this great metropolis—people who repaid the protection and excessive hospitality they enjoyed under the British flag by bringing discredit upon the British name. It only required a little statesmanship to bring about a just settlement of this vital problem of Empire. (Cheers.)

Referring to the present industrial unrest in South Africa, as a result of which General Botha has deported ten Labour leaders, Mr. H.M. Hyndman, the Veteran Socialist, on being approached by a Press representative yesterday for an expression of his views on the situation, declared himself as follows:—"It serves the white people right that they should have some experience of the sort of treatment that has been served out to their fellow Indian subjects in another part of South Africa."

TETE À TETE



Signs of uneasiness and alarm are of late becoming increasingly manifest in the Christian missionary world regarding the rapid progress of Christianity v. Islam. Vigorous discussions

have been started in the Press and on the platform and a number of conferences have been held at various places to bring home to the Christian conscience the rebuke implied in the comparative failure of the missionary propaganda in Africa and to concert more energetic measures for combating the forces of the rival creed. The recent conference at Kikuyu was a notable event, as it sought to band together the various Christian Missions in Africa into the common resolve to adopt a uniform policy and mobilize their forces in the face of "the common enemy." And this resolve was consecrated by a remarkable ritual in which clergymen of various persuasions received the Holy Communion from the Bishop of Mombasa. The furious storm, by the way, that the Kikuyu ceremony has aroused in the Church of England is not very edifying, and one may well be amused at the spectacle of Christianity riven into warring sects going forth to deliver Africa from the horrors of Islam and Heathenism. It would, however, be wrong to infer that genuine religious fire has ceased to burn in Christian lands, or that there are no honest souls aflame with missionary zeal who are ready to face any hardship in preaching the Gospel and striving to bring the heathens into the Christian fold. Enormous sums are raised every year by means of contributions from the pious Christians for carrying on the missionary campaign throughout the world. The various Christian Missions planted amidst people of other faiths have met with a degree of tolerance that was unknown in any previous period of history. And though their aims and methods have occasionally borne the taint of things of the very earth earthy, the non-Christian races have in the main shown little resentment at the open preaching of Christianity in their midst. As long as the ring has been kept fairly and missionary efforts have displayed no militant and aggressive zeal, the peoples of the East have never gone out of their way to thwart Christianity in its battling with rival creeds. But the Christian missionary has on occasions not despised other weapons when his straightforward spiritual appeals have failed. A new change would now seem to be coming over the spirit of the dream, mainly as a result of the failure of Christian preaching in Central Africa. The tone is becoming more aggressive, and the challenge of the Christian missionary rings with furious cries to-day. The breath of the missionary world is hot with irrepressible anger at Islam and the rapid advance it is making amongst the heathen tribes. As a sample of the worst passions of jealousy and religious hate we may take the following extract from an article by Dr. Norman Macleuan which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and which was reproduced by the *Pioneer* in its issue of 7th instant. The writer after referring to the evils which evoked the Kikuyu conference, goes on to say that the great peril in Africa is the peril of the conquering Islam. Every Mohamedan, he says, is a missionary. "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet" is the watchword which sounds wherever a Mohamedan is found. "It is far otherwise with the Christian trader and planter. Too often he says: 'I don't believe in Missions.' In heathendom the Christian too often is utterly indifferent to his faith." In face of such excellent reasons to account for the failure of Christian Missions one would have thought the writer's chief concern would be to preach Christianity amongst the so-called Christians before he undertook to convert the heathens of the world. But, no, he would rather have few good Christians than see Islam advancing in Africa. He is convinced that "in the great fight now being fought for the religious destinies of a continent the united power of Islam will rout the forces of Christianity and conquer Africa for Mahomet unless

the Christian Missions organise themselves into an army united by a common policy." He thus states the real issue before him: "It is not the triumph of this church of that church which is at stake in Africa; it is the fate of Christianity which lieth in the balance. Islam conquered Christianity in Asia, in North Africa—is it now to conquer in Central Africa? Is the whole of Africa to fall under the sway of a religion whose God is an Oriental tyrant without love or fatherhood, which degrades womanhood, and which fanaticises the people which fall under its sway? It was in face of that problem that the Missions in British East Africa sought so to organise themselves that they might do something to save Africa from the withering blight of Islam." The lines that we have italicised afford a glimpse into the spirit of the faith that moves this canting Christian. We would not presume to vindicate the God of Islam, nor need we explain the position that it assigns to women and the message it has delivered to mankind. It is not our business to track down every pharisee masquerading as the messenger of light, or put down religious firebrands. What we would like to point out is that writings of such inflammatory character should be reproduced by papers like the *Pioneer* in India without being called to book under the Press Act. We need hardly say what effect such vulgar attacks on Islam may in all likelihood have on the Mussalmans. When we remember the fate that has been meted out to purely religious journals like *Al-Hadis* of Amritsar and the *Badr* of Qadian, because they had written something of Christianity with the sole object of refuting the false charges brought against Islam, we can not but be astonished to see the latitude that certain class of newspapers in this country are permitted to enjoy. We cannot think of any reasonable ground in view of which the *Pioneer's* latest effort to bring into hatred and contempt an important section of His Majesty's subjects in India should not be dealt with as it deserves.

We published last week a despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State embodying the result of an examination which had been made in consultation with local Governments "of

The Confessions.

certain important considerations relating to the recording of the confessions of persons accused of criminal charges." The proposals that the Government of India have submitted to Lord Crewe are expressly designed with a view to provide more safeguards in the recording of confessions. They do not recommend any radical modification of the existing procedure by doing away with the recording of confessions altogether, and this decision is based on the consensus of opinion formed of the views of the local Governments and the majority of the Judges of the High Courts and the Chief Courts. The advocates of prohibition, as the Government of India say, are ordinarily actuated by two expectations, firstly, that it will do away with one of the principle incentives that the police have for ill-treating accused persons, and secondly, that it will compel the police to rely upon evidence and the pursuit of clues in place of the confession of the accused, as a means of securing the conviction of the guilty. The Government of India attach small weight to the second argument, for, in their opinion, "the obtaining of a confession is not the sole, or even the principle, motive which induces incompetent or dishonest police officers to resort to a mixture of coaxing, threatening, worry and ill-usage: their object is rather to induce the accused to give up stolen property or to indicate where some clue may be found, and the opportunities of putting pressure on him with this in view would still exist." Even if this were correct the prohibition would still materially diminish the chances of ill-treatment where no stolen property is to be traced. But the Government of India fail to grasp that the prohibition would act as a deterrent to ill-treatment of every kind, the police would realise the danger of relying on old methods and police investigations would gradually come to be conducted on intelligent detective lines. The only plea that can be urged in favour of retaining the existing procedure is that confessions are sometimes true, and in some cases they afford valuable clues even if they are retracted later on. Now the novice in crime who, through remorse or any other impulse, wishes to unburden his mind would do so to the police of his own accord, while the hardened criminal would hasten to make a statement mainly to escape torture and possibly to send the police off the scent. In either case there is no likelihood that the ends of justice would be defeated if the existing practice were abolished. As Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court says in his strikingly able and candid minute, "every Sessions Judge of any experience who knows the native, would upon vigorous self-examination, I think, admit that the average mofussil criminal would never confess if left entirely to himself. In fact he confesses literally in shoals. The Sessions Judge of experience who knows the mofussil police as well as he knows the native, knows very well why." He goes on to say that with the exception of violent crimes when the murderer is half mad or actually proud of what he has done, all other retracted confessions have been directly or indirectly induced by improper means. Where actual torture is not used, the widespread belief that it ordinarily is used upon obstinate suspects and the knowledge that it will be used, may induce a number of criminals who

would not otherwise confess to do so in anticipation of the methods they dread being employed upon them. This is the utmost that can be said by way of concession to those who believe that all confessions made by prisoners while in police custody and uniformly retracted at the Sessions trial are voluntary. Where the confessions are genuine they are superfluous. They ought to be superfluous in all cases. The safeguards now suggested by the Government of India will not materially affect the existing situation. They are, however, a move in the right direction and may ultimately disappear with the abolition of the practice now in vogue. The real thing is the training of the police in more intelligent methods of work. This can be achieved only by shutting them off from the easy way of getting convictions. A police investigation should be the collection of evidence and not the extraction of confessions.

SINCE the transfer of the seat of Indian Government the affairs of the Delhi Municipality have been growing in importance. The old, settled parochial outlook is being enlarged by an accession of new responsibilities, and new schemes are being

The Delhi Municipality.

broached or formulated which have a large bearing on the welfare of the citizens and will decidedly affect the pocket of the taxpayer. There is little indication as yet whether the people realize adequately the change that is coming over the methods of the Municipal administration and the fast-quickening pace at which it has got to move. They have yet to learn to take active and intelligent interest in civic matters, and till that time the city father may serenely continue to be what he usually is—an undisputed ornament to himself. Honestly speaking, it is difficult to blame an average elected member of the Municipal Committee for doing what he does, or rather—to be more correct—for being occasionally ignorant of, and often indifferent to, what is generally done in his name. He is the creature of an unwholesome tradition. As long as votes are given as a mere matter of personal compliment and the candidate values the possession of a seat in terms of his prospective dignity, things would remain pretty much where they are. Educative influences are already at work and the average voter may before long begin to perceive the real significance of his vote as something quite different from what he regards it at present—an opportunity to discharge a social obligation or lay by a favour. Men having genuine enthusiasm and capacity for municipal work should come to the front and give the people intelligent lead. The people's conceptions of civic duty may at present be vague, but they have enough common-sense and would never fail to respond to the call of all earnest workers. The affairs of the Delhi Municipality are, as we have said, assuming greater importance every day. Questions involving drastic changes and new taxation are bound to arise in increasing number. It is essential that men of proved ability who would truly represent the views of the people should guide the deliberations of the Committee at this juncture. All new sanitary measures and improvement schemes mean new and enhanced expenditure, and only such men can be expected to exercise efficient supervision and safeguard the general interests of the public who, if not experts in municipal finance, are at any rate intelligent and industrious enough to form correct judgment. These remarks have a special bearing in view of the existing financial position of the Municipal Committee. According to the report of the President for the year 1912-13 the receipts from various sources of income were 10.57 lakhs, while the normal expenditure on the payment of establishment and up-keep of Municipal properties was 11 lakhs. The Chief Commissioner in reviewing the Municipal Report observes that "it is clear that in order to carry on ordinary Municipal administration and repay loans, without any special expenditure on improvements or large works, a normal deficit of about three-quarters of a lakh has to be faced." In view of this he requested the Deputy Commissioner that immediate orders would be passed to close down all work which could be deferred without actual loss of money and to avoid giving out fresh contracts. He further urged close scrutiny of the accounts with a view of reducing expenditure to a minimum. But in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner the imposition of fresh taxation to meet the deficit had become inevitable, and he proposed an increase in the House Tax. On last Tuesday the question came up for consideration before the Municipal Committee with the remarks that a deficit of about half-a-lakh shall have to be made up even after a careful revision of the Budget estimate and the effecting of all possible economies. Whatever the ultimate decision may be we must say that resort to fresh taxation will be viewed with widespread alarm by the public. The cost of living has risen very high within the last two years, and the people are experiencing considerable difficulties in trying to meet the new situation. The addition of a fresh tax will prove another burden, and it should not be imposed until all other means to make up the deficit have been exhausted. We are curious to know if it is not possible to effect economy in the existing expenditure. The Health Department has grown enormously within the last year or so and we would like to be convinced if it has not over-grown

its needs. There are other departments which require a careful scrutiny. The expenditure on establishment and the upkeep of Municipal properties is very high and efforts should be made to see if there is no waste going on anywhere. Several Municipal Commissioners, referred in the last meeting to excessive generosity in paying for things purchased or work done for the Municipality and there was more than one hint of corruption on the part of the Municipal establishment. These are matters which should be looked into, for corruption is a not infrequent accompaniment of local self-government in all countries. The rapid growth of expenditure in the past two years has been mainly due to the change in the status of the city from the divisional headquarters to the Capital of India, and it would not be unreasonable if the Municipal income is supplemented by necessary grants from Imperial revenues.

ANOTHER important matter that came up for decision before the Municipal Committee related to the final sanction of the Bye-laws for the licensing of premises for the sale of meat and

The Sale of Meat.

the carriage of meat within the municipal limits of Delhi. These Bye-laws had been framed and approved by the Committee at its special meeting held on the 2nd December, 1913 and were subsequently published for general information. They require in the first place that no person shall expose or keep for sale meat in any premises until such premises have been licensed according to the prescribed form. The conditions attaching to the license are that (1) the licensee will keep the premises structurally fit for the sale of meat, that (2) he will keep the premises in a clean and sanitary condition to the satisfaction of the Committee, that (3) he will comply promptly with all notices issued by the Committee in respect to sanitation, that (4) a copy of this license is always posted up in the licensed premises and that (5) the license may be withdrawn by the Committee if any of the foregoing conditions are broken or for any other reason given in writing. Now, these conditions are very drastic and wholly unnecessary in some respects, even from the point of view of sanitation. Structural fitness for the sale of meat is defined to include "the existence of stone floors, walls well plastered and white washed, suitable drains and at least one ventilator." We do not see why stone floors are insisted upon when it is obvious that meat is never placed on floors and zinc covered boards would meet all requirements. Drains within the shop are altogether unnecessary, for meat is brought in for sale only after it has been properly cleaned and washed elsewhere. Then, again, only ignorance of the conditions in which the actual selling takes place must be responsible for the suggestion regarding "a ventilator." Meat is not sold in dark, insanitary cells away from the public gaze. It is kept exposed in as open a situation as the shop can permit, i.e., near its very door. The ventilation of the place is as good as can be desired, and a "ventilator" beyond satisfying the pedantry of a sanitary enthusiast would be of little practical utility. All that this insistence on stone floors and drains and a ventilator is likely to achieve is to enhance the rents of butchers' shops if, indeed, any landlord is found willing enough to carry out "improvements" according to the new-fangled sanitary notions. In fact it was these difficulties which had led the butchers to infer that the conditions had been made deliberately stringent to force them to go to Municipal markets. We are glad the President of the Municipality in his note on the objections received from 310 butchers and the general Moslem public of Delhi makes it abundantly clear that "this allegation is untrue—entirely untrue." The President goes on to say that "the markets have been built in order to provide sanitary premises which meat-sellers can occupy if they cannot make sanitary premises for themselves. If they can obtain private premises which are sanitary—and these rules show what are the requisites for sanitary premises—there is no reason to ask the meat-sellers to take up stalls in the market." This is a clear statement and will serve a useful purpose if any trouble arises on this score in the future. But with all this assurance it is plain that the new Bye-laws would make the butchers' lot in private premises much more difficult, and the consequences of it all will be borne by the meat-eating public. It is further laid down that no license shall be granted unless a fee of Rs. 2 has been paid. This fee is justified on the ground that the inspection of premises and the issue of licenses will entail expenses to the Committee. If we understand aright, the fee is to be levied once for all and is not an annual or a monthly imposition. It would not bring in a large income to the Committee, while it will most certainly furnish a plausible excuse to the butchers to enhance the price of meat, voting on this question in the Committee was instructive as indeed on several other questions relating to the Bye-laws. It was decided by 8 votes to 7 that the fee should be levied. All the Mussalman Members with the doubtful exception of Maulvi Abdul Ahad voted against and all the Hindu Members with the notable and welcome exception of R. B. Sultan Singh voted for the motion. Maulvi Abdul Ahad insisted that the fee should be levied, though he generously conceded that it might be reduced to Re. 1. We can not but

be amused at this fatuity. The Bye-law that aroused much discussion relates to the hawking of meat. As originally approved it provided that "meat may be hawked for sale after 2 p.m. by the occupiers of licensed premises or stalls in a Municipal meat market and their authorised servants. Such hawking shall be confined to *Mohallas* in the occupation of Mohomedans; the Municipal Committee may by resolution forbid such hawking in specified streets or areas." Objection was naturally raised that there should be no time limit to the hawking of meat, and cogent reasons were advanced. It was urged that several Mussalman *parlanashin* ladies who could not afford to keep servants and invalids got their daily meat supply at their doors in this way, and R. B. Sultan Singh said that he had actually seen this being done on several occasions. We would like to ask the great framers of this restriction on the hawking of meat what purpose it is intended to serve. Is it sanitation? If so, why is it less sanitary to hawk meat before 2 P. M. when it is fresh than after 2 P. M. when it may be getting bad? Is it a regard for Hindu susceptibilities? If so, when "hawking shall be confined to *Mohallas* in the occupation of Mohomedans"—a needless condition if it is not ambiguous (for there are *Mohallas* in occupation of both communities) and "the Municipal Committee may by resolution forbid such hawking in specified streets or areas," what have Hindu susceptibilities got to do with the matter? The votes on this motion were equally divided, all the Hindus with the exception of R. B. Sultan Singh being on the one side i.e., for the motion and all the Mussalmans against it. The President did not give the casting vote and the matter was left for subsequent decision after an inquiry about independent hawkers (i.e., those who had no shops but sold meat only by hawking) had been made. But we must ask here, why is it necessary for "independent hawkers" to exist before the city fathers permit hawking before 2 P. M.? Why should not a shop-keeper have his meat hawked before that hour if for some reason he cannot attend to its sale at his shop or would prefer it for some other reason to be hawked as well as sold at his shop? We are, however, glad to note that M. Bashir-ud-Din Sahab vigorously urged his objections and insisted on an adequate recognition of the butcher's difficulties and the convenience of the public, and we are surprised to see that Lala Wazir Singh Sahib, considered by some to be an independent Municipal Commissioner, was as vigorous in opposition. We will not surely be asked to believe that he has developed all of a sudden a consuming passion for "sanitary" reform, for he has seldom been known to feel the sting of much graver evils nearer home. The hawkers of *puri-lachuri* and other stuffs not frequently fit for human consumption may be allowed to ply their trade without let or hindrance. But a meat-hawker must be "controlled" to satisfy Lala Wazir Singh's sense of Municipal duty. After such exhibition of party feeling and petty prejudice it would be hopeless to aspire for Hindu-Moslem co-operation even in small local matters, were it not that there are men in both the communities like Lala Sultan Singh Sahab, whose honest and straightforward conduct holds promise of better things. The Bye-law No. 7 is still more stringent as it insists on carrying meat through public streets and places in clean receptacles and covered by a clean cloth in such a manner that the meat shall not be visible to passers-by. These conditions are almost impossible to carry out, and may expose the hawkers to infinite trouble and persecution at the hands of unscrupulous Municipal functionaries and policemen. We have every desire to support Municipal activity whenever it is directed to secure reasonable sanitary conditions for the sale of meat. But the conditions imposed by the new Bye-laws are in several cases harsh and impracticable, and we trust the Commissioners would not finally pass them in their present form. We appeal to the President who has already secured the good will of the citizens and the butchers by stopping a blundering *locum tenens* from needlessly worrying them both.

Self Consolation.

What though thy hand no wond'rous work hath wrought
Of Art or power, to glorify thy name?
What though the far-resounding voice of Fame
Breathe not the music of thine uttered thought?
If still, within, thine earnest soul hath fought
Gainst Self, and learnt its ministers to tame;
If, still regardless of Man's praise or blame,
The Good, the True, the Beauteous thou hast sought,
Be thou content : each thought, though unconsign'd
To word or act, God's piercing eye doth see
Far down the deep recesses of the Mind ;
So thy true worth, though unexposed, will be
Still in thy Maker's eye, ordained to find
A deathless record in Eternity !

NIZAMAT JANG.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VI.

In our last article in this series we had pointed out that according to the Calcutta High Court the statement of the grounds of Government's opinion is a mandatory condition of a valid declaration of forfeiture under section 12 of the Act; that "the repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds"; that "the specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow" is merely such a "repetition of an opinion"; that the statement of grounds is "an essential part of the Legislature's scheme, for it might help the High Court to perform the duties cast upon it under section 17"; and the absence of such a statement would "sensibly add to the High Court's difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on it by the Act"; that "it is intended that the Court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing"; that "the less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4"; that as the Act stands "it may be the case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the requirement of section 12"; and that those appearing for Government in a Press Act case are not averse to arguing that "nothing need be set out at all" in the declaration of forfeiture by way of a statement of grounds.

To these scathing criticisms of the three senior-most Judges of the premier High Court in India—a "competent judicial authority", on the showing of the Executive itself—how did the Executive reply? All effort was concentrated on showing that Mr. S. P. Sinha had given no pledge with reference to a forfeiture under section 12, but had provided in the Act itself in all other cases the so-called safeguard of stating or describing the words, pictures, etc. That as we have shown, is a very minor point indeed. One can construe Mr. Sinha's speech in 1908 rigidly or otherwise, according to his inclinations and requirements. It is even possible to exclude the keeper of a printing-press from the supposed benefits of the "safeguard" on the ground that Mr. Sinha spoke only of a man who had written and not of one who had printed anything objectionable. The fact is that, on the face of it, it is quite as unjust to punish the owner of an offending publication "without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for" as to punish the publisher or printer of an offending publication in this manner. We readily recognize that section 12 is in many cases likely to be applied only to such publications as have been published abroad or secretly in this country, and when Government cannot reach or does not know the printer or publisher thereof. We also recognise that Government would be giving a free circulation to matter which it considers to be of undesirable character if it reproduced it in a Notification in the official Gazette. But surely it is not beyond the pale of practicability to amend the law in such a way as to inform the owner of a "book, newspaper, or other document" by private notice in writing, what words, pictures, etc. have induced Government to declare its forfeiture. For instance, when the District Magistrate of Delhi issued a warrant for the seizure of all copies of the Macedonia Pamphlet and of the Comrade and Howard in which it was reproduced or translated, could he not have informed us why our property was being confiscated? It would have saved us considerable embarrassment in our defence if we had known which words or pictures were, in the opinion of the Government, likely to produce undesirable results. As it was, we had to rack our brains to discover wherein we had offended, for we never learnt what classes of His Majesty's subjects in British India were likely to be brought into hatred or contempt before the Advocate-General, on being called upon in Court, explained that they were—Greeks! On being asked by the Court whether there were any Greek subjects of His Majesty in British India, he hastily modified the answer and said that the classes likely to be brought into hatred or contempt were Christians and Englishmen. "Still," as Sir Lawrence Jenkins writes in his judgment, "the answer in the original form is not without its significance though it was afterwards modified." One need not be plainer than this, and we desire to remove the "significance" of all modified answers by requiring Government to notify what classes are likely to be affected and of the two diverse sentiments apprehended whether it is hatred or contempt. All this can appear in the public Notification without doing the slightest harm, and the person whose property is to be confiscated should be privately informed in writing on what words, pictures etc., specifically Government has based its order of confiscation. This, as we have repeatedly stated, Government does not do at present even in orders of forfeiture under sections 4, 6, 9 and 11. But this is essential in all cases, and not a word has yet been said by any official which may even remotely suggest that this is impracticable or for any reason undesirable.

But the statement of grounds which is a mandatory condition at present of forfeitures under section 12 only should be made a manda-

tory condition of all forfeitures under the Act, and it is not an approximation of section 12 to sections 4, 6, 9 and 11 that is necessary, but, on the contrary an approximation of those sections to section 12. This we hope the Hon. Mr. Surendramath Bannerjee will note, and the Press Act Amendment Bill which he is now drafting should embody this important reform of the existing law.

Here we may add that although in the majority of cases section 12 is likely to be applied to a few copies of publications sent *gratis* to a person by some unknown publisher either abroad or in India which would be of trivial value, there is nothing to prevent its application to thousands of copies of a book published abroad and worth a good deal of money which a bookseller in India may import in all good faith in the ordinary course of his business. There are a number of well known books to which the Press Act can be far more reasonably applied than to our innocuous Macedonia Pamphlet, and a bookseller is not likely to order them from abroad so long as this Sword of Damocles hangs over his head, no matter how great the demand. In fact the extent of the demand would in itself be an indication of the risk involved in the enterprise. Can Government rightly contemplate such a state of affairs with complacency? All this is, of course, due to the uncertainty of the law on account of the "all comprehensive" nature of section 4 (1).

In this connection, however, we would quote a very just observation of the Hon. Mr. Pundit. In the course of his speech in support of Mr. Bannerjee's resolution, although he was a keen critic of some observations of the Hon. Moyer, he said:

Every right of property deserves to be respected. Whether it is only a few copies of books worth a hundred rupees or so or whether it is the security for Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000 or the press itself of considerable value, every person who owns property is entitled to have the grounds definitely stated to him because the provisions of this Act partake of the nature of a penal enactment. In the simplest criminal cases the accused is entitled to be informed as to what the charge is against him, and similarly in a case like this I venture to think that justice requires that the person against whom an order of forfeiture is passed ought to be informed as to what it is that is taken exception to.

It should be quite possible and quite easy for if (a Local Government) to give those extracts upon which the opinion is based which renders the publication liable to forfeiture.

As regards the ruling of the Calcutta High Court in our case in connection with the statement of grounds, namely that it is a mandatory condition of a valid declaration of forfeiture, we are glad to note that neither the Hon. the Advocate-General nor the Hon. the Home Member insisted on the contention that the words in section 12 were merely *directo*. And yet the learned Advocate-General had only four months previously urged at great length before the Hon. Judges of the Calcutta High Court that the statement of grounds was not a mandatory condition, and had with true forensic skill ignored the fact that if this was not mandatory, it was no more mandatory to give a notice of forfeiture in writing to the keeper of a printing press or a publisher under sections 4, 6, 9 and 11, or to state or even describe the words, signs or visible representations which, in the Government's opinion, were of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (1). Had this been the law, the Press Act would have been reduced to an even greater farce than it is at present. An intimation to the offending keeper of a printing-press or publisher to the effect that his security had been forfeited, or even a warrant given to the police to seize the offending printing-press without any further ceremony, would in that case have been enough, for the rest could have safely been neglected at pleasure as "directory" and therefore superfluous. This the Supreme Executive Government of India has evidently come to recognise as an untenable position; but if we turn to their attitude as regards the other conclusions drawn in the judgments of the Calcutta Special Bench, we shall see that this provides no consolation for those who may be adversely affected.

Having tacitly accepted the ruling of the Calcutta High Court that the statement of grounds is a mandatory condition, the Executive Government has refused to accept the ruling of that Court as to what constitutes a proper statement of grounds. The Hon. the Advocate-General who generally "submits" when appearing before the Hon. the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, evidently "lays down the law" when he stands up in the Legislative Council behind the Hon. Members of the Executive Council. In the course of his speech in the debate on the 29th January he said with reference to this matter:

Section 4 contains six clauses which prescribe the various grounds on which a publication may be forfeited. These clauses consist of several sub-heads, and if the section is carefully read and analysed it will be seen that there are some thirty grounds on which a publication by means of its criminal and mischievous tendencies may be forfeited. Now the Government in exercising their power of forfeiture under section 12, has always notified the particular ground in respect of which the matter comes within the section. In Notification of forfeiture of a particular pamphlet or paper it is invariably stated in respect of which particular ground of these thirty in the opinion of the Local Government the document offends.

The Hon. the Advocate-General goes further and declares that the Hon. Judges should have merely said that the forfeiture in the particular instance which was submitted to the Court was valid in law, and all the rest in the judgment amounts to mere *obiter dicta*. Evidently the Hon. Dr. Keurick is not inclined to

have much respect for what he calls the *phitar dicta* of the Chief Justice, and with the assurance born of the occupancy of a seat behind the Executive in the Legislature he brushes aside the whole of that famous judgment.

Turning to the Hon. the Home Member, we find that the same treatment is accorded by him also to the judgment of the Calcutta High Court. He said:

I now pass to the statement that the obligation of the Government in issuing the Notification under section 12 of stating the grounds for its opinion had not been discharged. The learned Chief Justice undoubtedly said that the Court had felt some embarrassment from the absence of these stated grounds in the Notification. But it has always been understood by local Governments that, when ordering the forfeiture of a publication under section 12, it is sufficient for the Notification to specify which of the four clauses in section 4 and the sub-clauses attached to those sections (say) were held to be applicable to the particular

Now there is these deliberate expressions of opinion even a syllable to show that either of the two speakers had ever heard of the unanimous judgment of the three seniormost Judges of the peer or High Court of India to the effect that what they still declare to be grounds of the Government's opinion are *not* "grounds" in the sense required by the law, whatever the Local Governments may or may not have always understood, and that they do not constitute *facts*, but are "merely a citation of the words of a section which are invoked," or, in other words, "the specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow." The law, even as it stands, requires the Government before it declares a forfeiture to state not only *which* of the forty-two, or thirty—according to the Advocate-General—offences contained in "the six clauses in section 4 and the sub-clauses attached to those sections" has been committed, but also *why* it thinks so. When a Local Government issues an order of forfeiture, it does so because in its *opinion* at least one of the forty-two offences mentioned in section 4 (1), which it specifies, has been committed. This *opinion*, if it is to have any value, must be based on some *grounds*. Unless these *grounds* are stated the reference of the order of the executive to the judiciary can have no reality, and the High Court can perform no function. There may be reasons why a certain publication of an offensive character which it would be quite *legit* to proscribe should or should not be proscribed by the Executive at a particular time. That is a matter not of law but of statesmanship. The High Court does not lay any claim to pronounce on "the wisdom or unwisdom of executive action." But if it is called upon to pronounce on the *legality* or *illegality* of executive action which the Legislature has authorised it to do, then it must have before it not only the *order* of the executive, and its *opinion* that one of a number of offences described in the various clauses and sub-clauses of section 4 (1) has been committed, as the basis of that *order*, but also the *grounds* that are the basis of the Government's *opinion*. Take a parallel case. If an ordinary citizen commits an offence for which the Indian Penal Code provides a punishment, would it be sufficient for Government to *order* his arrest and make a statement declaring that in its *opinion* the offence is one under the section which it specifies, and having done so, leave it to him to go to a law Court and satisfy the Judges that he has not committed that offence? Would not the Government be required by the Court to state what *grounds* it has for its *opinion* that that particular offence has been committed by the accused, and why the *order* of arrest should not be cancelled and the accused discharged and set at liberty? It is true that the burden of proof has in the Press Act been curiously enough put on the person adversely affected by the order of the Government and the benefit of doubt is to be given to Government. But that is all the more reason why Government should place the person adversely affected by its order, and the Court which entertains his application, in possession of the *grounds* on which it has based its opinion. Surely it is absurd to think that in the parallel case which we have suggested the statement that an offence mentioned somewhere in the Penal Code has been committed by the accused is the *opinion* of Government while the specification of the section of that Code applicable to the particular case is the *ground* for that opinion. Ye that is exactly what the learned Advocate-General and the Hon. the Home Member have declared after four months' deliberation over the judgments of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the Hon. Sir Harry Stephen.

In view of the declarations of Dr Kenrick and Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon. Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar was, we believe, fully justified in saying in the course of the Council debate that the position taken up by Government, "if it means anything clearly, 'practically amounts to saying 'We do not care what the High Court has said and we will do as we please.' . . . What the Government say amounts to this: 'The High Court may say "and do what they like, but we will pass our own orders as we have been hitherto doing under the Act.'" Every reasonable man would agree with this speaker's observation that "the Act has been construed and declared to have a particular meaning by the High Court, and I believe even the Executive Government is bound to abide by that declaration and interpretation—unless and until it amends the Act itself." If the Government is not willing to amend the Act with a view to validate for the future its practice in the past, and yet refuses to abide by the in-

terpretation of the existing law by the judiciary, it will most assuredly be guilty of bringing into contempt the administration of justice in a part of British India, unless it thereby brings its own self into contempt.

That may be its own concern, but what we have to see is that the only Court to which a very limited jurisdiction is permitted in the Act should be able to perform the duties cast on it under section 17, and the person adversely affected by an order of the executive could go up to the judiciary to contest the legality of executive action with some hope of a fair trial. According to the Hon. the Chief Justice of Calcutta, "it is intended that the Court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any 'proscribed thing', and unless this is done the reference to the judiciary would have no reality at all. In the words of Mr. Justice Waddroffe, 'the less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 12,' so it follows that to be put to a person adversely affected by its order Government should give as full a statement of the grounds of its opinion as possible. On the other hand, in the opinion of Sir Harry Stephen, 'it may be the case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under 'section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the 'requirement of section 12,' and we have seen that those appearing for Government in a Press Act case are not averse to arguing that 'nothing need be set out at all.' Under the circumstances it is not desirable that the Press Act, if it is still to remain as a stain on the statute book, should be so amended that the statement of grounds should be obligatory on Government in *all* cases of forfeiture; that it should be as full as possible; and that the benefit of doubt should be given not to the Government but to the person adversely affected by an executive order. In fact, the burden of proof should be on the Government, for the onus of proving a negative is even in ordinary cases an unfair burden with which to saddle the individual in contesting a case with the State.

It may, however, be stated that the Hon. the Home Member did make some attempt to convince the Council that nothing could be done to remove these defects of the Act. He said:

But although the Chief Justice complained of embarrassment, neither he nor the Judges who sat with him indicated precisely what kind of facts or what information would be held to comply with the letter of the section.

Now, in the first place, it is not the duty of the judiciary to declare beforehand on what grounds a forfeiture for any offence under the Press Act must be based for it to be upheld by the judiciary. In the course of the hearing of our appeal the Hon. the Advocate-General, on being pressed by the Hon. Sir Harry Stephens, admitted that the Notification was "not satisfactory," that it was "loosely worded" and that it "could not have been drawn up by a lawyer." This is a pretty confession, indeed, of the ways of the Executive when out on a raid on people's property armed with "loosely worded" Notifications which "could not have been drawn up by a lawyer." The learned Advocate-General was willing enough to have the Notification amended, but the question which the Hon. the Chief Justice put to him was unanswerable, and we make a present of it to the Executive Government. "Do you want us," asked Sir Lawrence Jenkins, "to order the Executive to amend its order?" What more does the Hon. the Home Member want? Does he, the custodian of the power and prestige of the all-wise and all-powerful Executive, want the much-maligned Judiciary to suggest on what grounds the Executive should base its opinions of the character of publications?

In the next place, even if the Judiciary was inclined to advise the Executive on the subject, it *could* not do so for the obvious reason that it is, in the words of the Chief Justice's judgment, "no more informed than the man in the street." In the course of the hearing the Chief Justice had clearly intimated that "we do not know the facts: only the Government has the facts." Obviously, therefore, only the Government could declare on what facts its *opinion* was based. Where the work of the Executive ends the work of the Judiciary begins. Having decided what to disclose as the basis of its opinion and what to keep secret, the Executive must retire, and must leave it to the Judiciary to pronounce, not upon the wisdom, but upon the *legality* of the order of forfeiture, in the light of the facts disclosed. "We can do nothing," said the Chief Justice, "except in the eye of the public. Whatever our convictions 'may be of the character of the Government, we cannot form any 'opinion apart from the facts.'" If the Executive was convinced that it would be called upon to declare the forfeiture of publications, societies and printing-presses on information that could not be disclosed in a law Court, that it would be moved by impressions and personal experiences to which no expression could be given in a law Court, and that its action would be based on considerations forbidden to law Courts, then its obvious duty was to ask the Legislature for powers to declare such forfeitures without having to submit its orders even to a subsequent judicial scrutiny. Regulation III of 1818, as we know, is still extant, and only in 1878 the Vernacular Press Act had freed similar executive action from all judicial shackles. What was it, then, that prevented our progressive executive in 1908 from progressing backwards to 1818, or applying permanently to a far more developed profession, which now included in its ranks some of the ablest and best educated men in the country, the law applied in 1876 only for a few years to far less informed and far

less developed vernacular journals only? In a word, it was a wholesome fear of public opinion in India, and still more so of public opinion in England. Well, it is to the same authority that we appeal to-day. If it could not tolerate such a retrogression openly, it should tolerate still less the same retrogression under false pretences. And is there the least doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that the sole safeguard under the Press Act, namely a reference to the judiciary, is a sham and a simulacrum and a piece of imposture, if unintended, hypocrisy?

The Moslem University.

Among the things that really make a searching test of the mental virility and strength of purpose of a people, the project embodying the desire of the Mussalmans to have a University of their own is one. Our chief concern at present is not to examine the ideals underlying the project, which have moved the Moslem community for upwards of a generation and sum up its finest hopes about the future. Aims and ends have been discussed threadbare in the course of the last thirty years, and practical unanimity had been reached about them even before the organised effort about ways and means came to be launched in 1911 under the guidance of H. H. the Aga Khan. The prompt and enthusiastic response to appeals for the Moslem University Fund furnished a measure of the popularity that the ideals had achieved with the mass of the community. When it became apparent after the first appeal was made for the collection of funds that the spirit behind the movement was earnest and resolute and public response ungrudging, the project of the early seventies, which had germinated in the brain of the late Sir Syed Ahmed and to which clung the aspirations of his life time and of those who had hoped and striven with him, emerged from the dreamland and began to be hammered into shape to suit the exigencies of the day. The framing of a suitable constitution for the Moslem University was not an easy task, but it was tackled with great thought and care and with the united labours of the ablest and most experienced Mussalmans in the country. No time was wasted in unnecessary delays. The Moslem University Constitution Committee did its work in a business-like way, and the draft Constitution that it finally drew up, though not ideally perfect in all respects, was, nevertheless, the fruit of a monumental task broadly conceived and carefully executed on lines generally approved by the Moslem community. But before the Constitution Committee had finished its labours, it was borne in upon its intelligence in a dramatic manner that it had left certain "exigencies" out of account which if not properly met might wreck the whole University scheme and condemn the Mussalmans to wild and bitter dreaming for another generation. These "exigencies" were set forth in a remarkable letter which was received all of a sudden by the President of the Constitution Committee from the Head of the Education Department of the Government of India. This amazing communication called the attention of the members of the Constitution Committee for the first time to certain "final decisions" beyond which they were warned not to go. For the members nothing could provide a more disillusioning experience than this new situation. They had entered on their task with strong faith in their ideals and full confidence in the sympathetic attitude of the Government. They had consulted the wishes of the Member for Education at every step and had tried to mould their scheme in the spirit of their own ideals and in the light of all the reasonable suggestions they had received from their friends and advisers. And now, that they had matured their scheme and were almost at the end of their labours and imagined the fruit to be well within their grasp, came the sudden intimation that they would have to recast their plans and radically change their whole design to suit official pleasure. It was a rude awakening to the Mussalmans in general, for they had fondly imagined that purely educational schemes based on the needs and prompted by the united wishes of a whole community would be immune from arbitrary official checks. But they learnt at the right psychological moment in their educational history that they were mistaken.

What "the final decisions" of the Secretary of State communicated by Sir Harcourt Butler have achieved needs no telling. At the time they were first made public the whole community was filled with dismay. It seemed as if the cup of its hope, which had taken years of devoted service and sacrifice to fill, was suddenly dashed to the ground. The disappointment was naturally as bitter as the enthusiasm had been keen, and it sank deep into the hearts of the people. Only those could measure the shock with accuracy who had known exactly what the ideal of a Moslem University had meant to the Mussalmans. It had been their one infatuation, their supreme hope for years, the master-purpose that had sustained and inspired them for a full generation. They had dreamed and toiled for it in utter disregard of everything else, and had been waiting in glorious contentment to see it grow into bodily shape as the crown of their endeavour. And just when the goal swam into their ken and they were hurrying to reach it with sure and joyous strides, "the final decisions" were flung across their path like some dark and dismal finger of fate. The result has been no better than what would have been were these "decisions" a mere caprice of a despot. The clear motive and purpose that the University scheme had evoked have been turned into doubts and misgivings. The scheme itself has not been definitely abandoned—we hope it never

will. But the energy needed for its practical realisation is being just now wasted in pathetic attempts to devise some means for propitiating the Fates that preside over its destinies. The wave of genuine enthusiasm evoked by the movement would have been an asset of incalculable value in the growth of Moslem education. The wave, however, has almost spent itself against the formidable rocks that have suddenly risen across its path. The effect of reaction has been felt all along the line. The bitter disappointment of the University muddle has had the most depressing effect on the Moslem educational effort as a whole. The workers everywhere have been forced to pause and wonder in blank surprise what sort of a coping-stone they would be ultimately allowed for the edifice, or whether they would have to shift as best they can without a coping-stone at all. It is worth remembering that the announcement of "the final decisions" led directly to the immediate stopping of all further contributions to the funds for the proposed University. If adequate funds had not already been collected the financial aspect of the question would alone have proved a great handicap. As it is, the University funds have been deprived of a sum, at least equal to half the amount already subscribed, which could have been easily collected but for the general pessimism that has settled over the community. Those who are tempted to accuse the community of lack of sustained zeal and purpose, would do well to bear in mind that no people in the world can be induced to waste their hard-earned substance in pursuit of shadows or on mere caricatures of their blasted hopes. If the Mussalmans had been quietly told at the start that they would not be allowed to have the sort of University they were hoping for, there would have been deep disappointment indeed, but they would have been spared the anguish of wasted efforts and the sense of balked desires. The decisions formed and announced almost at the eleventh hour have changed the whole aspect of the situation. Not only the Mussalmans have failed to create the University for which they had been striving with a singleness of purpose rare in the recent history of India, but their whole educational effort has also received a serious moral check. The leading spirits that were actively helping forward the movement have been everywhere depressed. The funds of the University have been deprived of almost all further help, at any rate, till the scheme is finally disposed of one way or the other. Even the Aligarh College has suffered materially in this period of general bitterness and dismay. All these results are the direct outcome of the "final decisions" which the Secretary of State had been pleased to impose on the Moslem University. It is not very difficult after this to realize why the Mussalmans of India have been forced to cogitate inwardly as they had never done before. During the past two years the world has witnessed a variety of events that have deeply stirred Moslem feelings. The most prominent among these have been the wars of aggression against Moslem States and the terrible sufferings to which they gave rise. The excitement amongst the Mussalmans of India was due chiefly to their deep grief for the distress and misfortunes of their co-religionists abroad, and it was so general and great that their own grievances and disappointments were for the time being forgotten. But it should be worth while pointing out that the real thing that has festered in the Moslem mind is the treatment meted out to their deep-cherished scheme for the Moslem University. If anything could really affect their attitude it is this all-important question. Let those who wander far and wide in quest of "reasons" for a supposed change of attitude amongst the Mussalmans ponder this carefully.

Now, what are these "decisions" which the Government calls final and which would shatter Moslem hopes altogether if there is to be no limit to their finality. Briefly, they are that the proposed Moslem University shall have no powers to affiliate schools and college outside Aligarh, that it shall have as its Chancellor, not the Viceroy, but the Governor-General in Council and that it shall be styled, not "The Moslem University", but "The Aligarh University." As regards the last we would not say anything except that only those who have little sense of the value of sentiment would cry out: "What is there in name." The questions of Chancellorship and of affiliation are of vital importance. The framers of the Moslem University Constitution vested large powers in the Chancellor solely on the assumption that the office would be held by the Viceroy in his ex-officio capacity. The substitution of the Governor-General in Council would practically mean that the powers of the Chancellor would be exercised by the Education Department of the Government of India. This would constitute a grave departure, for it would result in bringing the administration of the vital affairs of the University directly under the control of officials with their fixed standards and ideas and pre-conceptions formed in a wholly different educational atmosphere. The proposed Moslem University would be nothing if not a novel experiment on new educational lines. The lines are to be laid down by the Moslem Community and nobody else. But if it is to sink into the commonplace pattern and become another copy of the State Universities, it had better be not created at all. Yet this is exactly to what the control by a State Department would finally and inevitably tend. If the Government of India or the Secretary of State cannot eventually agree with the Mussalmans on this point, the only course open to the latter is either to have an unofficial Chancellor or to revise the powers reserved for the Chancellor, as it would otherwise be impossible to guarantee

reasonable freedom for the success of the University experiment on lines laid down by the Mussalmans themselves.

The question of affiliation is not less important than that of the Chancellor. It is an integral part of the scheme matured by the Mussalmans mainly because it lies at the root of the whole question of Moslem education. Moslem disappointment is keenest on this point, and as far as present indications go the community is in no mood to change its attitude in the matter. We need not argue why. We have said enough on the subject, and those who care to know Moslem standpoint would not fail to do so for want of adequate material for knowledge. For the present we are only concerned with seeing if it is at all necessary or desirable for the Government to persevere in its existing attitude. The question of efficient control of affiliated institutions and the supervision of teaching would not prove an insuperable barrier. The State Universities somehow contrive to exercise efficient control and supervision, if we are to believe the best official testimony; and why it should be an impossible task for the Moslem University we fail to see. Let the standards be as high as possible, the rules as stringent as you please. The University would have to provide itself with a competent inspecting staff, and for its own reputation and convenience as well as for the sake of Moslem education generally, it would weigh every case on its merits and exercise the utmost care before it decides to grant affiliation. What effect a separate inspecting staff and examinations simultaneously conducted at different centres can have on the teaching spirit and tone of the college or colleges at Aligarh it is difficult to conceive. Aligarh will retain its own atmosphere and its own traditions, and by the facilities for higher studies and research that it would provide on a generous scale it would attract the most promising boys for post-graduate study at the seat of the University. It would at the same time transmit its spirit and energy through innumerable channels and co-ordinate Moslem educational effort throughout the country. In view of these considerations we fail to see why the Government should insist on depriving the Moslem University of the powers of affiliation.

Rumours of compromise on this question have long been in the air, and we are told the Government would be willing to grant the University the power of affiliating high schools. This would be an important concession, though it is not clear to us why permission should be withheld in the case of a few Moslem colleges which exist or are likely to come into being in the near future. In fact the arguments that might be urged against the affiliation of schools lose all their validity and force when applied to affiliation of colleges. The only consideration that should weigh with all reasonable men is that the Moslem University should, so to speak, find itself, before it can be fit to exercise efficient control and supervision outside its locality. The best safeguard in this case would be to grant the powers of affiliation to the University with the stipulation that they should be exercised, say, five or six years after it comes into being. We trust the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler will reconsider the whole matter in the light of the observations we have made and let the Mussalmans get out of a state of suspended animation. Their whole educational programme is hanging on the fate of the Moslem University. The Moslem University Foundation Committee had decided at its last meeting to appoint a deputation of representative Mussalmans from every province to submit the views of the community to the Government and ascertain the latter's wishes in regard to the points requiring settlement. The deputation has not been given a blank cheque, but it would be composed of some of the best and most trusted men in the community and its united and considered views should carry weight with that Government as they do with its own people. We hope that the necessary steps will soon be taken to carry out the resolutions of the Moslem University Foundation Committee, and an endeavour will be made to rescue the University project from the *impasse* into which it has fallen. No time should be lost. The delay that has already occurred has wrought incalculable harm to the best interests of the community.



Crusade Against Islam Planned.

The rapid growth of Islam is causing a great alarm among the great leaders of the Christian World these days. Well-constructed plans and elaborate schemes are being made in Europe and America to thwart this progress. At a special committee of the World's Sunday School Convention, appointed this week in New York, it was decided that an attempt should be made to conquer Mohamedanism by educating children under Christian guidance. The modern crusade will be conducted not by the sword, but by the primer and the blackboard. Sensational reports are being published in the American and European newspapers, and a great enthusiasm is shown by the people. The furious storm is coming with great threats, and if we, True Believers, fail to hold our positions, destruction

is sure and certain. The enemy has got to be faced and a fierce battle has to be fought. It's up to you, brother Moslems, to realize the gravity of the situation.

Here is the exact copy of the plan your enemy has worked out to carry on the warfare against your faith. Read it over and again, and ask yourself what you should do to avert the danger:

A modern crusade against Mohamedanism more sweeping than the crusades of the Middle Ages may be the result of plans elaborated this week by the Special Committee of the World's Sunday School Association in New York.

Alarmed by the rapid progress of Mohamedanism which is far outstripping Christianity in Africa and some parts of Asia, the continuation Committee on Mohamedan lands of the World's Sunday School Convention held at Zurich last summer has undertaken to make a religious and social survey of the Moslem World. The survey will be conducted along scientific lines by special investigators, and the findings will be reported at the World's Sunday School Convention to be held in Tokyo in 1916. The results given in the report will be placed at the disposal of all the missionary boards as the basis for a concerted campaign against Islam.

Missionary leaders of world-fame will make a tour of thirteen cities, from February 2 to 11, holding conferences and public meetings to lay all the details of the plans before the denominations.

Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, Dr. S. M. Zwemer of Egypt, and Dr. E. F. Freese of North Africa are members of the Continuation Committee. Mr. H. J. Heinz, Mr. E. K. Warrens and Mr. M. Lawrence, as officers of the World's Sunday School Association, will assist in directing the survey. A general secretary for the Committee will be appointed with headquarters in Cairo, and it is hoped that special secretaries will be appointed for Egypt, Turkey and Albania.

TO WORK THROUGH CHILDHOOD.

To capture the Mohamedan world by capturing the childhood is the ultimate project for which the survey will be a preparation. Since it is believed that illiteracy and ignorance are the chief bulwark of Mohamedanism, special study will be devoted to ways and means of introducing modern educational methods under Christian direction in Moslem countries. The modern crusade will be conducted not by the sword, but by the primer and the blackboard.

The survey experts will co-operate on inter-denominational lines with representatives of different missionary boards in Moslem lands and with the Government officials in arriving at the best types of childhood literature, picture tracts and simple textbooks, suitable locations and buildings and the most effective methods of teaching. The results from time to time will be published and placed at the disposal of all the missionary forces and public authorities, pending the final report in 1916.

"Mohamedanism is having a larger success than the Christian religion especially in Africa," said Bishop Hartzell, chairman of the Committee, in discussing the prospective survey. "One eighth of the world's population is Moslem. The proportion is increasing yearly. To-day nearly all the sacred places named in the Bible are under Mohamedan rule."

ISLAM OUTSTRIPPING CHRISTIANITY.

"In Africa Islam is leaving Christianity far behind in the race. Mohamedanism is absolutely dominant in the Persian Empire. Many more native Indians are becoming Mohamedans every year than Christians."

"There are eighty million Moslem children. The vast majority of them are stunted in mind and body as a result of ignorance, superstitious practices, early marriage and licensed immorality, which are incident to the Mohamedan religion wherever it has prevailed. Infant mortality is enormous, due largely to the prevalence of sex diseases. In Algeria it is said to be 60 per cent., in Sierra Leone 50 per cent., in Egypt 75 per cent., in Morocco over 75 per cent."

"In Egypt during the year 1911, 74,000 children were born. In that same year 22,000 or nearly one-third, died at less than twelve years of age. It is estimated that in Persia only one child out of ten reaches the age of 20."

"Only the best modern education, by elevating physical, intellectual and moral standards can change these conditions. No immediate results can be looked for. We cannot be too conservative in forecasting the outcome of the present survey. Illiteracy, ignorance and fanaticism are to be fought down and this will take many years."

"Statistics of illiteracy in all Moslem lands are alarming. Careful investigation shows that from 75 per cent. to 95 per cent. of the Mohamedans in Asia and Africa are unable to read and write."

Univ. of Washington }
Seattle, U. S. A. }

SAIYED M. MAHMOUD.

'Seed Capsules of Thought.'

UNDER the auspices of the Bombay Students Brotherhood the Hon. Mr. Justice Beaman delivered a few days ago a lecture on 'Seed Capsules of Thought' in the Wilson College Hall, Chowpatty, Bombay.

Commencing his discourse, Mr. Beaman said he did not intend to preach a sermon or deliver a college lecture to enable them to get so many marks in their next examination paper or better evade the wiles of the devil; but he wanted to talk to them in the friendliest spirit for half-an-hour or so of anything which came uppermost in his own mind while he was thinking over what they should talk about. For after all there was only the thing (although its complexities and wide ramifications were almost inexhaustible) that was worth talking or thinking about, and that was—Life and how to make the most of it. He then proceeded to deal with the philosophy of life in its various phases.

'Earnestness,' he said is one of the dominant notes of the day. Almost every one I have listened to, addressing you from this platform has been very earnest and has exhorted you to be very earnest. Usually the exhorter was, let us say without offence, middle-aged; but you are young and I wish your teachers and preachers would not insist so much upon the need of this earnestness. Is the round world about you very earnest? Not at all, Nature is full of humours, rude jests, earthquakes, storms, avalanches, alternating with smiling almost purring moods of quiet happiness, and again riotous exhilaration as when a fresh wind is blowing over a laughing sea, and kissing every dimpling wave. People who are always in earnest usually have little imagination and no humour. Earnestness without humour is like lamb without mint sauce and young men really have no business to be earnest; they should be too full of the joy of life for life's sake and the desire to live out every hour of it in its fullest intensity. If all the world were filled with earnest folk only, we should indeed be a drab and scentless flower on the top stalk of evolution.

NO NEED FOR SERIOUSNESS.

It is a dreadful thing to have a serious purpose too young, to fondly devote yourselves while still in the class-rooms to some High sounding mission. I mean of course, any serious purpose outside the most serious and at that time important of all the development of your own faculties to the utmost pitch of receptivity and powers of assimilating all the healthy and normal life with which you come in contact, and also of giving out again enriched by your own personalities all the best of life you have taken in. What are we to say of those good attenuated souls, who profess to have devoted themselves to the cause of humanity? Frequently indeed while under the influence of this high-sounding but rather nebulous notion they may be very nice and kind to humanity but extremely disagreeable devastating fellows in the family circle. Let me remind you in this connection of Ruskin's 'Brandt.' It is not in the least incompatible with expressing the best within you to open yourselves in youth to all the glory and the gladness and the laughter of the world as naturally as the sunflower turns to the sun. Benvenuto Cellini was perhaps the greatest master of his own craft yet observe how high the sap of life rose in him, how full his veins were of its richest, most exuberant wine.

Life needs to be affirmed not denied, and the ascetic idea with its teaching of renunciation and a pallid selflessness is the negation of all natural life. Altruism in concept is an absurdity. If everyone were equally altruistic the word would have no meaning and life, as we know it, would have no meaning either. But every reality if recognizable at all, must be recognised in universals, and a universal altruism is a contradiction in terms. The notion of altruism is only intelligible because the majority of men are not altruistic and those who are, are only partially so. The virtue of altruism, like a chalk mark on a blackboard, is thrown into relief by the mass of non-altruism and, it thus becomes clear that in proportion to its relative exiguity is it to be apprehended and admired. The greater its extension the more rapidly it approaches annihilation.

PHRASE WITHOUT MEANING.

'And I should like to remark that while a great many of us are very fond of talking about loving humanity, although that sentiment is prominent in a great many slightly overwrought societies where the freest play is given to all amiable emotion, it is a phrase without a meaning. Love is a very easy thing to profess but a thing not so easy to feel. You can promise conduct but you really cannot promise sentiments. Thus you can promise to love a woman from the age of say, 20, to the end of your natural life, and if you are a man of your word all that means is that you will promise to act towards her as though you loved her. But you might as well promise not to have a toothache in the next twenty years (provided you have any teeth of course) as that you will not cease to love her during an equal period. But if it is so difficult to command love even in the closest and most intimate personal relations, it is merely absurd to talk of loving millions and millions of human beings whom you have never seen and never will see. If you mean that you are in love with the abstract notion of humanity, all that I can say is that having tried as

an honest man very hard to make out for myself what this means, I have been forced to the conclusion that it means nothing.

'The plain truth is, no one ever has loved humanity and no one ever will; and the 'great cause of humanity,' though it is sometimes a convenient and compendious expression for a group of commendable purposes, is just nonsense. For this—for no other reason—I am speaking of course of what we as human beings are capable of knowing and experiencing not of what may or may not be under other conditions of which we have not, and as men never will have any knowledge—this reason then that human life is so ordered that radically like all else in the organic world man depends for his very existence upon conflict. The struggle for existence, to use a hackneyed phrase from the vocabulary of a happily moribund evolutionism, implies this much at least, that practically everything which religion calls evil is inseparable from organic life.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

Preceding, the lecturer said:—'In these sentences very colloquially worded I have been hinting at rather profound things, sowing I hope seed capsules of thought which may bear fruit in some of your minds later. There is hardly a topic of the many I have just touched upon which I could not have spoken to you for several hours at a stretch, if I had wished to exhaust it or really lecture you. But that is exactly what I don't want to do. My idea has been to take your various knowledge boxes and give them a good shake up so as to set the contents in motion, set you thinking again for yourselves about so much that I fancy most of you are rather apt to take for granted. Take such a word, for example, as democracy and what does it mean? We all placidly resign ourselves to the growing power of democracy, but does anyone pause to reflect what a perfected democracy would be? Just as a single man may impose laws on himself, which are very good laws as long as he chooses to obey them, but no longer, so now we are invited to witness the spectacle of a people imposing laws on itself. This means one of two things, that no one ever would obey the laws, or that the laws will be enforced by majorities. That is to say 100 persons will hodgepodge 99 persons into obeying them. It is quite possible that the 99 may comprise all the wealth, talent, intellect, ability of the total 100, but still they must obey, for this is democracy. Could you imagine any worse, more intolerable tyranny in the world? Happily it always breaks down long before it reaches perfection and begins to breed all sorts of inferior bureaucracies or plutocracies or other 'cracies.' But the only 'cracy' that is etymologically and practically sound is aristocracy. Rule by the best. You young gentlemen, of India, historically and constitutionally the most aristocratic country in the world, would do well to think out seriously each for himself the full content of those words now glibly bandied from lip to lip, democracy and socialism.

WISDOM OF CASTE SYSTEM.

The great cause of Negro emancipation anti-slavery with which England was athrob and America worked to such a white heat of zeal all through the middle of the 19th century produced mighty results. Millions of lives were sacrificed, hundreds of millions of money spent and a very ancient and respectable institution was overthrown. It may be doubted whether the Negroes of America are really much better off as free men than the majority of them used to be as slaves; it cannot seriously be doubted but that the great white people who wrought so strenuously and fiercely to set the negro free have suffered to grow up in their midst, in every one of their great cities and centres of industry forms of slavery worse socially and morally, harder to bear, harder to eradicate because masked under the smug conventions, the high sounding shibboleths, and the bourgeois hypocrisy of republican plutocracy. I must own at the risk of some unpopularity to an ever-growing admiration for the wonderful system of caste finely conceived and admirably adapted to social needs by your sagacious and most rightly venerated ancestors. Proof, if any were needed, of its essential soundness, is best given by its long duration and the general social stability which it ensured. Not the least popular of current, and 'causes' in the abolition of caste, and a philosopher may be permitted a large note of interrogation. A vast amount of generous, high enthusiasm, is being focussed upon the demolition of this stately old edifice. When these amiable and high-minded zealots have accomplished their work, when the venerable and imposing fabric of Indian society lies about them in ruins, I suppose they are much too earnest to be able to spare a moment for nursery rhymes or possibly they might pause upon the sad fate of Humpty Dumpty. For the simple truth is that men are not free and never can be free, as long as they group themselves in societies, that men never were, never are and never will be equal and that universal brotherhood is a chimera, a more emotional mirage.

PERFECTION OF SOCIETY.

'But do not misunderstand me. Try to distinguish. I am not disparaging genuine purpose, and lofty enthusiasm, least of all do I wish to undervalue ideals. It is only against an ebullient, impetuous and sometimes rather premature determination to force our own notions of heaven upon the world that I venture a gentle warning. The direction, not the quality of the effort, may sometimes give rise

to misgiving and doubt. And surely before squandering ourselves in modern 'causes' we may well remember the sonorous and stately words, 'No man may redeem his brother for it costs more to save his own soul so that he must let that alone for ever.' The psychology of crowds has long been the subject of curious study; the psychology of much social 'reform' is perhaps closely allied with it. The mottoes, formulae and war cries of all militant organizations in proportion as they prove to be intellectual anodynes, prove to be in other directions, the most powerful emotional stimulants. It is only by a gradual change of moral climate, that the worst moral weeds can be extirpated, and the fairest moral flowers brought to perfection. I do not wish to dogmatize, because I particularly dislike anything like dogmatism, pedantry and pedagogism in the fine regions of thought in which I would fain greet you. And as you may have guessed I should be the last to lay profane hands too rudely upon any arc of the covenant. But I may I hope make this suggestion for what it is worth without giving offence to any of my listeners that you can hardly put your lives to a better or more useful purpose than by each striving in life, every detail and part, as well as in the whole shown forth in conduct and the man's total reaction upon the universe about him, to be the best possible exemplar of your type or race. In this way by first perfecting yourselves working upon material within your own power and control, you may surely hope to help on the perfection of the group or society in which you live and of which each of you is an integral part. Life is I believe given to us, that we may make out of it the highest and the best we are capable of, by the ray of the Divine within us.

England and Egypt.

By ALI FAHMY MOHAMMED.

I write these lines at a favourable time, when England, the dominant Power in Egypt, and Turkey, the nominal suzerain of Egypt, would appear to be drawing together more closely after a period of estrangement; when England seems really desirous of giving satisfaction to the Egyptian people, if she can find means of doing so, as compensation for the use of their country as a military post in her scheme of Imperial defence. I believe that the British Government were perfectly sincere in their desire to get rid of the Egyptian muddle in 1887, when Lord Salisbury declared in the House of Lords (January 15) that the object they aimed at was "the neutralisation of Egypt." I believe they are still anxious to find some plan that may at the same time safeguard their Imperial interests and satisfy the aspirations of the Egyptians. I believe, too, that England is in Egypt not to exploit the resources of the country to her own advantage, but to protect the high road to her Indian Empire. Nor do I forget that the Occupation costs her a round sum for the maintenance of her garrison. If the Egyptians are prepared to accept the inevitable, I think that the British authorities and the British public are no less prepared to do so.

So much for one side. On the other side, I feel confident that no reasonable Englishman would blame the Egyptians for disliking the occupation of their fatherland by foreign troops. And if the Egyptians have been humiliated in this way for more than 6,000 years, that is no reason why they should be humiliated thus for ever. The masses, no doubt, do not yet grasp the idea of political independence. But the educated classes are ever ready to appeal to their sentiments, even to their sentimentality, to drive "the unbelievers" out of the country. Another side of the question is that Europeans, particularly those English who possess a good knowledge of the country and a perhaps better experience of the modern Egyptians, believe, rightly or wrongly, that were the British to leave the Nile valley it would at once fall into a state of chaos and disorder, fomented to their own advantage by the "enthusiasts." The Europeans, I recognise, truly believe, in the words of a former correspondent of the *Times*, that "Egypt for the Egyptians" means Egypt for a handful of people, some of whom are not Egyptians at all." Nevertheless, the Egyptians are aspiring to a noble purpose, but our efforts to attain it seem to be altogether ineffective, and "the sum of energy expended" (to quote the same *Times* correspondent again) "in vainly crying for the moon would be a mighty force for good, if directed in other channels." But recent experiences and developments seem to me to prove that Egypt could be regenerated by one of two alternatives—(1) That the country should be handed over to a powerful and benevolent despot, such as Lord Cromer, but devoted to her cause, irrespective of all considerations of *haute politique*; or (2) that it should be entrusted to some superior surveillance inspired by foreign advisers or bodies, also entirely independent of colonial obligations.

I have no intention of dwelling here in detail upon the issue that it is believed in Europe would follow upon the British evacuation of the country. Nor would any worthy Egyptian wish to substitute another foreign supremacy for the British. For, then, as Shakespeare well said:—

"Thus must we from the smoke into the smother."

My contention is that England is tied hand and foot by many restrictions and considerations in preparing us for self-government until the Grand Egyptian Question is settled on some permanent basis.

"Our promises of conditional evacuation," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "are on record, and whether the Egyptians prove capable or not, we may be sure that other nations at times, when it suits them to do so, will not fail to remind us of our engagements; at these times they will insist that, whatever experiments we may make in fulfillment of our promises, law and order shall reign in Egypt."

In this sense M. de Freycinet wrote:—"L'Europe le ferait-elle? Nul ne le sait. Mais ce dont je ne doute pas, malgré les apparences contraires, c'est qu'à un moment de l'histoire l'Egypte cessera d'être sous la domination anglaise." Once I formulated "Proposals for the Solution of the Egyptian Question" (dated September 7, 1908). The essence of those proposals is the substitution of an international garrison for the British Army of Occupation for a limited period, after which the peace of Egypt would not be threatened from within or from without, and the substitution of a temporary international control for the British Administration—the whole arrangement would finally result in the neutralisation of Egypt. This solution seems now, however, to be less than possible, despite the fact that the proposal was received with appreciation by many high authorities on Egyptian and international affairs, among them one no less than Lord Milner, who wrote to me: "Although, as you say, your point of view is different from mine, still, you argue your case in a reasonable manner."

The solving of the Egyptian question is looked upon now by British statesmen and diplomats as a question of "life and death." They are naturally afraid that Egypt might fall into other hands. "When I speak of the loss of Egypt," says Lord Cromer, "I do not mean the withdrawal of the British garrison and the establishment of a purely indigenous Government in that country. I allude to the much more probable contingency of the withdrawal of the British garrison and the establishment in its place of a military force belonging to some other European Power." In this sense the *Times*' military correspondent says:—"We can never for one moment dream of accepting the arrival of the foreigner in Egypt without giving him a fight which will make the welkin ring... The vast importance of Egypt as a link between East and West makes it not impossible that a great contest for the Empire may be decided upon this historic ground, and it is not too much to say that the Minister who loses Egypt will deserve to lose his head."

Now, in the face of these declarations, coming from such competent authorities, it is idle to ignore that, by the logic of facts, England is determined, if not to retain her hold over Egypt, at least to oppose, at all hazards, any other ascendancy in the land of the Pharaohs. We all, Egyptians, quite realise that this is our ideal too, and therefore there is common cause and common interest between England and Egypt. As I have pointed out, England is in Egypt not to profit materially from her, but to keep other foreign comers out and to safeguard her high route to India. These being the advantages and disadvantages of the situation, I believe the following suggestions may be of interest to English and Egyptian politicians and statesmen. The question, being of vital importance, necessitates much sacrifice on both sides. There was never a nation that did not pay dearly for her national emancipation, and, till now, we Egyptians cannot claim to have offered the sacrifice. Moreover, it is a monetary sacrifice, which will not affect the economical condition of the taxpayer. Nor do I think the British authorities would hesitate to offer the required sacrifice in exchange for the political and military support and co-operation of Egypt in Imperial defence. We have seen them inviting their colonies and dependencies to co-operate in that Imperial defence. And I think it would prove ultimately fatal to their cause if British diplomats attempt to incorporate Egypt within the British Empire. I firmly believe that if the relations between England and Egypt are carefully developed into mutual cordiality and help, British statesmanship will only be doing its duty towards human progress and Imperial defence. There is now a growing desire to promote good understanding between England and Turkey; and Egypt might well serve as the link of Anglo-Mohammedan co-operation. It is not for me to dwell here in detail upon the concessions that may be exchanged between the principal contending parties; but, as an Egyptian, I put forward certain suggestions which directly concern the destiny of my country.

A.—ON THE PART OF EGYPT.

1. The equipment of an Egyptian army from 300,000 to 500,000 men strong, to be employed, in the first place, for the defence of Egypt against any foreign aggression, and, in the second place, for safeguarding other clauses of the proposed Anglo-Turkish Alliance. This army should be commanded by two British and Turkish generals and officered mainly by Egyptians.

2. The expenses of the proposed naval station at Alexandria to be borne by the Egyptian Treasury, as well as all other expenditures found necessary for the naval defence of Egypt.

3. The construction of an Egyptian fleet to co-operate with the British squadrons in the Mediterranean.

B.—ON THE PART OF ENGLAND.

1. The withdrawal of British troops from the capital (Cairo), and their restriction to the ports. These troops are to be gradually replaced by Egyptian troops within a reasonable time, during which political confidence should be established between the two countries.

2. The proclamation of a moderate and reasonable Constitution.

3. The attempt by England to abolish the Capitulations or, if that be not possible, to transfer the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts to the Mixed Tribunals.

4. The revision of the schools programme and the re-organisation of the Egyptian University and the University of Al-Azhar.

5. The unification of the Egyptian Public Debt and the reduction of the interest thereon.

6. The gradual but steady decrease of foreign functionaries in the Government service.

These are my ideas, which I publish for consideration. I hope they will make others endeavour to find some way out of the muddle, without being objectionable to either side. Lord Kitchener seems anxious to give satisfaction to our legitimate desires; he is busy in developing the material and economical resources of the country. But it is not merely by materialism that a country can be regenerated. It is essentially by the uplifting of its moral and social conditions that a nation can revive. By various restrictions, which it would be out of place to cite here, England is tied hand and foot in dealing with these questions, unless and until the Grand Egyptian Question, in its international aspect, is solved one way or another on a permanent basis. *The Near East.*

The British Control of Egypt.

From Sir Harry H. Johnston.

To the Editor of *The "Near East."*

SIR,—I think you have rendered a service to all who are studying the problems of the Near East by publishing Mr. Ali Fehmy Muhammad's suggestions for a permanent settlement of the relations between Britain and Egypt. These suggestions aptly illustrate the utter impracticability of the Turkish or the so-called Egyptian Nationalist point of view. I write "so-called" because the "Egyptian 'Nationalist' Party" contains very few descendants or representatives of the Copts and the Fellahin, and mostly consists of men of Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, or Syrian race.

There is no reason whatever, based on the past history of the British Empire, why Egypt should not, as a protected kingdom, come within the recognised limits of the British Empire, on the same lines as the more notable of the great Indian feudatory States, as Sarawak, the Malay Sultanate, the Kingdom of Buganda, or the Sultanate of Koweit. Egypt can never become a British "colony"—no British statesman has ever conceived of her as such—though she is probably destined to be a European health resort and to accommodate an even larger element of Levantine Christians than she possesses at the present day. But an Egyptian kingdom entirely uncontrolled by some European Power is an impossibility, not only now, but for fifty or perhaps a hundred years to come. And the only alternatives to the present form of British control and protection are a re-incorporation in the Turkish Empire or the transference of the European supervision to France, Italy, or Germany. Such alternatives would carry with them the break-up of the British Empire in East Africa and the Sudan, and in Southern Asia; so it is a waste of time for an Englishman to discuss them. That it is the duty of Britain at the earliest opportunity to abolish the Capitulations in Egypt and to organise instead a well-equipped national administration of justice, dealing alike with natives and foreigners, no one on this side is inclined to dispute, any more than another of Mr. Fehmy Muhammad's propositions—the unification of the Egyptian Debt and reduction of interest thereon (as a set-off against increased security of payment)—would be scouted by British reformers of Egypt. But the foreign capitalists would never agree to this last measure of reform if the British troops were to leave Cairo.

Of course, there will gradually grow up a form of native constitutional government, responding more and more to the needs and aspirations of the masses of the people, above all of the eight and a half millions of patient agriculturists; in the same way that under the British ægis in other dependent States constitutional government is being gradually and reasonably established. The decrease of the non-Egyptian officials, especially in all the lower grades of employment, is a matter which depends largely on the progress of real, practical, twentieth century education in Egypt, the education which will impart a sound knowledge of history, geography, zoology (especially etymology), botany, engineering, chemistry and sanitation. This together with the drastic reform of the Al Azhar University and the rescue of the funds of religious foundations from greedy misappropriation by fanatics or corrupt functionaries, is a

direction in which the Egyptian Nationalists might bestir themselves, to the great advantage of the country they profess to love. When a Mohamedan Egyptian is found showing an intelligent appreciation of the beauties and the history of Saracenic art, or becomes an apt pupil in Egyptology of Flinders Petrie or Maspero, or initiates or prosecutes some additional great discovery *i.e.*, palæontology, or finds a seam of coal or a well of petroleum or vein of emeralds, it will be time to talk of filling the great educational and industrial posts in Egypt with natives of that country. I write without a sneer and with some hope, for I know that in medical science Turks and Kurds have risen high in the Egyptian service, and have received full recognition of their attainments and abilities at the hands of the British Government. But amid all their clamour in the Press and on the platform, what Mohamedan Egyptian has ever referred with legitimate pride to the results of British and German discoveries by which Egypt has been shown to have had a wondrous past as a creative centre, to have been the theatre in which not only the whales and the elephants, the hippopotamuses and the manati, the old and new world monkeys and anthropoid apes, but possibly even man himself have been evolved? No "Nationalist" Egyptian I have ever met has once referred to the amazing developments of human genius which took place in Egypt between 10000 B. C. and 100 B. C., or has in any way identified himself with the glories of his country prior to the destructive invasion of the Arabs in the seventh century A. C.

If the Mohamedan Egyptians prefer to regard the Quran and the medieval elaboration of the Quran as the last word, the dominant and ultimate authority in law, science, sanitation, morals, and social economy, so long will Mohamedan teaching institutions be utterly futile in coping with the requirements of the twentieth century, and so long will Mohamedan peoples be unfitted to govern themselves and still less to govern more intelligent fellow-citizens of more enlightened faiths.

But it is in the proposal to revive Turkish militarism, to saddle the revenues of Egypt with the upkeep of an army of "300,000 to 400,000 men" and the creation and maintenance of a navy, that Mr. Fehmy Muhammad's letter reveals most clearly the discrepancy between the outlook of the Young Turk and the Egyptian "Nationalist" and that of advanced European statesmen. So long as the present British control lasts Egypt needs little more in the way of internal protective force than a good constabulary. The power of the British Navy and the efficiency of the British and the Indian Armies are sufficient guard against aggression from any outside direction; so that the mass of Egyptian manhood can devote its muscle and its energies to the fight with nature, to conquering the desert and the marsh, the rock and the mud, and to making Egypt ten times more productive and populous than in any previous period of her history. From out of this prosperity and increase there may slowly be built up once again a real Egyptian people, no longer miserable serfs under the brutalising tyranny of Arab, Turk, Kurd, Circassian, Armenian, or Levantine renegade; a people worthy of a Rameses for king, worthy to be the ally and no longer the ward of the British Empire.

H. H. JOHNSTON,

The Irrigation of Mesopotamia.

THE greater part of Lower Mesopotamia may be regarded as a gift made by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris to man; and thanks to the composition of the alluvium, which provides a soil of extraordinary fertility and richness, it is a gift of the highest value. To-day the great mud bar at the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab bears witness that the rivers are still building up the land at the head of the Persian Gulf; they have never ceased from piling up the riches they have plundered from the Armenian mountains; but for many centuries man has been too busy, or too careless, to take advantage of the opportunities they have offered him. Lately, however, he has bestirred himself in the matter. East and West have taken counsel together. And with the opening of the Hilloh Barrage, last month, the reviviscence of Babylonia may be regarded as having begun.

The temptation to draw the strongest possible contrast between Past and Present is always a strong one; and by their free use of hyperbole the Assyriologists have perhaps invested the days of the Babylonian rulers with a false glamour and accustomed us to estimate that period of the country's prosperity by a distorted scale. The discoveries of the last twenty-five years enable us to see the facts in truer perspective, and to-day we can hardly accept as literally correct the description of the plain in old days as "one wide-stretching field of splendour and blooming gardens," which is how an enthusiast described it. In point of fact it would appear to have been a patchwork of cultivation and wilderness, just as it is to-day; but in the past there was more cultivation and less wilderness, while nowadays there is much—very much—more wilderness than cultivation.

Ancient inscriptions leave little room for doubt that in the past the cultivator was faced by the same problems as is his successor of to-day—how to get the water where it is wanted in the dry season, and how to keep it from finding its way where it can do nothing but harm in the season of flood. Thus, among the records unearthed by the American expedition on the staff of which I worked at Nippur—in the very heart of the country—were found official reports upon the “shutting off” of canals and the inundation of districts, and the destruction of cities by floods. Again, a tablet discovered at Abu Habba, by Professor Schiel, contains the complaint of an official who, being “stationed at Dur Sin, on the canal Bitimsikirim,” can find there no food that he can eat. This hardly seems to indicate a land of plenty, “one wide-stretching field,” etc. Finally, we have it on the authority of Sir William Willcocks that “never in the history of Mesopotamia has the whole of the country been under irrigation at one and the same time,” and that “the whole of the area of 5,000,000 hectares in the Delta is not capable of being irrigated at the same time.” The brightly coloured picture presented to us by the Assyriologists must, then, clearly be regarded with some scepticism. At the same time it is beyond question that both in Babylonian days and in the times of the Abbasside rule at Baghdad the country was in a very much more prosperous condition than it is now. The fields and gardens did undoubtedly exist in plenty in those times, and though the cultivated lands were not unbroken by patches of waste, they were very extensive, and capable of supporting a large population.

Such being the case, it appears almost incredible that the greater part of this fertile country should have been allowed to fall out of cultivation and to deteriorate into a wilderness in which the Bedawi wandered at will, grazing his flocks and herds where he pleased and pillaging his more industrious—or less adventurous!—brother who sought to follow an agricultural life of sorts at one or other of the small villages that lie on the banks of the rivers or the chief canals that have survived the silting-up process. Yet such was the state of the country when I knew it. In crossing the plain one saw long lines of mounds that marked the course of old canals, numerous other mounds, of varying size, that covered long-dead towns and cities; but save for Baghdad, Nejef, Kerbellah, Hilla, and Busrâh there were no towns of importance in all the district, and even villages were far scattered and pitifully poor. As a rule the Bedouin and the Ma'adan (half-settled) Arabs had things pretty much their own way; night was right; law and order ran only where the Vali of Baghdad felt himself safe in sending troops. The whole region was a wreck of its former greatness. And the trouble was nearly all due to the water, too much, or too little, as the case might be.

To do them justice, the Turkish governors saw this, though dimly; and from time to time they made efforts, feeble and erratic, to remedy the existing evils. Unfortunately, owing generally as much to lack of funds as to lack of thought, these efforts usually did more harm than good. An example of this is afforded by the case of the well-meant but, as the event proved, disastrous closing of the Saklawia by the too energetic and unlucky Midhat Pasha, and the subsequent tinkering with the Hindieh Barrage. Cynics declared that the Turk would “never make a job of it,” and it almost looked as if their cynicism would be justified.

It remained for the Young Turks to tackle the problem, which (with others, no less difficult) formed part of the legacy they took over from their predecessors. And the fact that they lost no time in grappling with it is infinitely to their credit. They set about it in the right way—calling in the best advice obtainable, and following it as far as their resources would permit them to do through times of extraordinary stress and difficulty. That they should have found the help they so urgently needed in this country is a point on which both they and we are to be congratulated—they because the advice that has been given them and the service they have been accorded have been as disinterested, as honest, and as skilled as they could possibly have obtained anywhere; we, because in helping them we have carried on a tradition of service in Mesopotamia which rests upon a very solid foundation indeed. The work on the Hindieh Barrage is the first step towards restoring Irak to prosperity. The work on the Habbaniya Escape will be the second. I should like to see the work of preventing the wastage of water on the Tigris (which constitutes such a serious difficulty to navigation) made the third. Beyond that one can hardly see at present. The work of providing Mesopotamia with a perfect system of irrigation is too vast to be undertaken all at once. The country must grow up to it gradually, the tract opened up by each new section being developed before other sections are put in hand. But it has been begun. Turkey has put her hand to it at last, with British help. I hope that Turkey and Britain together will see it through.

Valentine Geere, in the *Near East*.

The Opening of the Barrage.

(BY AN EYE-WITNESS)

Baghdad, December 31, 1918.

About forty-five years ago Midhat Pasha, the then Vali of Baghdad, closed the Saklawieh branch of the Euphrates in order to avoid floods which frequently inundated the district between Baghdad and Felooja. In doing so he did away with an escape for the flood water of the Euphrates and gave that river more water than it could carry. The original Euphrates divided into two at Hindieh, and the two branches were known as the Hilla Branch and the Hindieh Branch. The Hindieh Branch had the lowerlying bed, and the result was that most of the surplus water went down the Hindieh, and the higher (Hilla) branch gradually silted up. Some twenty-eight years ago the Turkish Government attempted to dam the mouth of the Hindieh Branch in order to raise the level of the river sufficiently to keep the Hilla Branch supplied with water at all seasons of the year. This Barrage was designed by Mr. Schoeneder, who commenced the construction of it. He was succeeded by Mr. Mougel, who in his turn was succeeded by Mr. Cugnin. The Barrage was built out into the river from both banks and it was intended to join the Barrage in the centre. As work proceeded and the distance between the two ends of the Barrage decreased the strength of the water increased, and the three above-mentioned engineers found it impossible to complete the Barrage.

In 1909 Sir William Willcocks was asked by the Turkish Government to close the opening in the centre of the Barrage. A Mr. Medlicot was put in charge of the work, and in 1910 he succeeded in the closing of the opening and thus increased the level of the water by two metres, which was sufficient to divert it down the Hilla Branch.

Sir W. Willcocks had grave doubts about the strength of the Barrage, and suggested to the Turkish Government that a new Barrage should be built about 800 metres above the site of the then existing Barrage, and that a canal should be dug above the proposed Barrage to take the water into the Hilla channel at a point some distance from its old mouth, which was very much silted up. This proposal was accepted by the Turkish Government, and the work was commenced and handed over to Sir John Jackson, Limited, in about March, 1911.

On December 12 the construction of the Barrage and the subsidiary works were completed, and Mohamed Fazel Pasha Daghistani performed the ceremony of the opening of the new Hilla Canal. The system followed in the carrying out of the work was as follows. The new Barrage was built on dry land on the left bank of the Euphrates River with a bed about one metre lower than the bed of the existing river.

The ground in front and behind the Barrage was dug out also to a depth of about 2 metres, below the existing river to a distance of about 500 metres in front of the Barrage and 400 below the Barrage so as to make a new river-bed. A thin strip of land was left between the new channel and the river.

When the construction of the Barrage was completed and the excavation work finished this strip of land was taken away both above and below the Barrage, and the water flowed into the new channel, which was one metre deeper than the old river. A large embankment was then constructed across the old channel so as to divert all the water into the new one. This embankment consisted of a number of large sausage-shaped rolls of mats and reeds measuring about 20 yards long by 9 feet high. These were rolled into the river one after the other and gradually packed up with brushwood until an embankment was formed. This embankment was then filled up with a large quantity of earthwork, and it is now about 20 metres wide and appears to be quite strong enough to prevent the river returning to its old bed.

While the excavations were going on at the Barrage the canal which connects the river above the Barrage with the old Hilla Branch was being dug. This canal has a width of 30 metres from the top of the banks, but shelves down to about 20 metres. At the head of this canal there is a regulator which consists of six doors of 5 metres each and one lock of 8 metres wide. When the works were completed some of the doors of the Barrage were closed, and the level of the water above the Barrage was gradually raised by manipulating the doors of the Barrage. When the level had been raised about one metre the water was allowed into the Hilla Canal, but at a distance of about 200 metres from the mouth of the canal a temporary earthen dam was erected.

When the Vali, his staff, and guests arrived at Hindieh on the evening of the 11th inst. they were provided with accommodation in the engineer's houses. About half-past nine in the morning a company of about eighty infantry and a troop of about fifty cavalry lined up near the house in which the Vali was staying.

There was a large marquee where the guests awaited the arrival of His Excellency. When he arrived he greeted the guests, and accompanied by the soldiers walked up to the temporary earthen dam on the Hilla River. Mr. Whitley, the manager of Messrs. Sir John Jackson, Limited, made a speech in which he intimated that the work of construction was now finished, and that he had pleasure in handing over the Barrage in working condition to His Excellency the Vali as the representative of the Turkish Government. Mr. Whitley mentioned the difficulties that had to be overcome by the Deftardar of Baghdad and the Minister of Public Works at Constantinople, and pointed out that the works had extended over a longer period of time than was anticipated owing to financial difficulties.

His Excellency the Vali replied in a short speech in which he expressed pleasure at having the honour of assisting at the inauguration of the first of a number of schemes for irrigation, which, when all completed, would bring Irak back to the position she had at one time held in the universe. A well-known Mullah said a prayer, and His Excellency the Vali was handed a spade, with which he took one or two spadefuls of earth out of the dam. The Kadi followed his example, and Mr. Whitley, also at the invitation of the Vali, removed a spadeful. The Arabs sacrificed some twenty sheep on the top of the dam, and after the carcasses had been removed about forty Arabs lined up and at a given signal commenced to dig away the dam. The Arabs entered into the spirit of the thing, and the water soon found its way through the dam. As soon as there was a fair amount of water on the lower side of the dam a number of Arab women dashed in and washed their faces in the hope that by so doing they might eventually be blessed with offspring. The whole scene was most picturesque, but owing to a heavy mist the photographs taken are not too clear.

After the ceremony Sir John Jackson, Limited, invited the Vali and his guests to a most excellent lunch, at which various speeches were made, including one by Mr. Edmond Bechara, the Chief Irrigation Engineer for the Turkish Government in Mesopotamia, who spoke in four different languages—Arabic, Turkish, English, and French. The most interesting item of his speech was the figure he gave as being the total cost of the Barrage, namely, £380,000, this figure including the expenses incurred by Sir William Willcocks while he was preparing his various schemes for the irrigation of Mesopotamia.

The water arrived at Hilla about thirty-eight hours after the opening ceremony, and we understand that there is now 1½ metres of water at Hilla, and that this level is maintained down to Diwanieh. The water, at its present level, enters the Hilla Canal at a depth of about 1'30 metres. This will gradually increase as the floods come down. It is very interesting to remark that the level of the Hindieh Branch has not been materially effected by the opening of the Hilla Canal. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the waters in the Hindieh are held up by the lake at Shenafieh.—*The Near East*.

Mr. Balfour on Theism.

The Plain Man's Picture of Philosophy.

Mr. Balfour delivered in Glasgow in Mail week his Gifford lectures. A special correspondent of the *Times* writes:—

The first lecture was introductory and expository. Mr. Balfour attempted to do no more than to indicate the topics to which he would devote the 20 lectures, 10 in two successive years, which are required by the Gifford trust. He spoke of the great problems which every man has to face, and he admitted the failure of philosophy to solve these problems to the general satisfaction. Hardly any man of science treats philosophy seriously, and the plain man feels that philosophy does not meet his difficulties or even look at them from the same point of view. The plain man's picture of philosophy was of men generally quarrelling in an unknown tongue. He himself had never been able to accept any of these great systems. He had none to offer, and he did not intend to devote much time to showing where he differed from those of others. At this point Mr. Balfour told his audience that his subject is to be Theism, and he felt it necessary to say at once that he could not be satisfied with the conclusion that from the very notion of experience the idea of God could be extracted by a logical process. "When I speak of God," he said, "it is not the absolute of which I am speaking. It is the God Whom a man may easily love and adore, not merely the end or conclusion of the logical process." Some critics might describe his statement as anthropomorphism, but he hoped to commit worse crimes than that in their eyes if modern man's idea of God was descended from ancient and corrupt myths, the very permanence of that was proof that it could not be ignored; and it was inadequate, but not untrue, to say that God takes sides, and works with Him. The plain man's conception for great ends and asks us to work of God and the philosophical conception must ultimately be brought into harmony and connexion.

THE ARGUMENTS FROM AND TO DESIGN.

Mr. Balfour began his second lecture by remarking that his view that beliefs can best be treated as reasonable in a theistic setting might seem to carry us not further than the argument from design, the drag of old-fashioned apologetics, and a discussion of that argument would form the preface to his lecture. If the argument from design was sound, what, he asked, could it prove? It could

of finite creatures due solely to matter? But its reply to the question did not carry us very far for the mere belief that mind lies behind matter is compatible with the wildest heresies in the development of thought. Yet the idea of mind as existing behind matter is a big step towards natural theology, and there is force in design when we do not consider matter by itself and when the design we find is a design which has value for sentient beings. He believed that the heavens do declare the glory of God, but only if there are men and if there is a God, and he held with Bacon that if the universe is the result of blind chance the glory vanishes.

But this is an argument, not from design, but to design. The 'argument to design' became the key-note of the lecture. The two arguments are, Mr. Balfour insisted, vitally different, and he would have frequent occasion to refer to the latter, but he had still something to say about the former. The argument from design is from an adaptation to a contriver, it has force in dealing with organic life. Recent advance in biology has increased its force a thousand times. Why, then, do we not agree that we cannot be dealing with mere chance? The answer is that Darwin has shown that, given certain conditions, you could build up an infinite wealth of varied organic life. Natural selection shows a method by which design can be mimicked, given the premises of life and variation, and yet he thought that Kelvin's view still stands, that if we trace back the present distribution of energy into the past, we come to a time when our arguments fail us. There was a beginning of the physical universe as we know it, and we are approaching a time, not to be absolutely reached till after an infinite duration, in which there will be no more transformation of energy out of which work may be obtained. We have regular process before us, after which we can infer nothing. In the middle we have life, feeling, thought, the equations of which settle the relations of energy, and matter remained the same, but there were added the feeling of feeling beings and the thought of thinking beings. This fact of importance from the point of view of the argument from design, was, he said, still more important from the point of view argument to design, for it is reasonable to conclude that because matter cannot make will and reason, then will and reason must have made matter.

THE RATIONAL VALUES OF OUR BELIEFS.

Unless behind our reasoning there is ultimately a rational cause, behind our ethics a moral cause, and behind our belief in beauty, a belief in a God who cares for beauty then our scientific, our ethical, and our aesthetic beliefs all lose value to a degree which nobody can seriously contemplate. It might be asked, 'Cannot natural selection which can mimic design mimic also creative reason. This, said Mr. Balfour, is an important objection which he proposed to keep in view, but for some reason or another all things which have the greatest value for thought, for morality and for beauty seemed to him to have no survival value at all and they cannot be mimicked because they do not affect the survival of the fittest or the multiplication of the race.

Emotion and Belief.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Glasgow, Jan. 16.

Even a Glasgow fog had no appreciable effect upon the numbers who waited in the cold corridors outside the Bute Hall to-day to listen to Mr. Balfour's third Gifford lecture. They were rewarded by an address which excited in enthusiasm with which philosophical disquisitions are rarely received, and the cheers, which on Wednesday emanated from youthful anxiety to find a joke, came to-day in more suppressed volume from eager listeners glad to discover that a Gifford lecturer could defend what they themselves had the wish to believe.

Mr. Balfour began by referring to the classification of beliefs with which he concluded his last lecture. He had, he said, adopted that classification because of the varying degree to which emotions are associated with our beliefs. In aesthetics, with which he proposed to deal to-day, emotion absorbs almost the whole of the belief, for the sense of beauty is an emotion and its value lies, not in the judgments, but in the emotions associated with the judgments. In ethics judgments are of fundamental importance, yet the emotions or moral sentiments must be there also. In science emotion is the vanishing quantity: there is an emotional element, but it is of little value.

ORIGIN OF AESTHETIC EMOTION.

What, he proceeded to ask, are aesthetic emotions? And he described them as always existing in contemplation and never leading to action. He admitted, of course, that beautiful things might be used for practical ends, that the creative effort which produced the beautiful thing was not included in his definition, and the very act of contemplation itself requires much effort and preparation. But when a great artist had put a great effort of concentrated will into a great work of art, and when the observer had put himself into harmony with it, the result was not action but contemplation. It had been said that the essence of tragedy is that it "purifies by terror and pity." The pity," said Mr. Balfour, "does not suggest assistance: the terror does not prompt to fight. Nobody rushes to rescue Desdemona." How did these aesthetic beliefs, and the contemplative emotions associated with them, come into existence? Are they due to any process of natural selection? He believed, with regard to ethics and knowledge, up to a certain point the beliefs and the emotions connected with them are due, or may be plausibly

attributed, to the general process of organic evolution. But he could find no such pedigree for the æsthetic emotions. They cannot be shown to have in any effective sense their root in the attributes bred into the race by the struggle for existence. Herbert Spencer had tried to contribute to the explanation of how we of the 19th or 20th century feel in the presence of a great work of art by saying that our ape-like ancestors howled in moments of emotion. The audience laughed, and Mr. Balfour told them that to ridicule Mr. Spencer was not his object. If Mr. Spencer could have shown in the anthropoid ape an element of musical appreciation, and traced its development into our elaborate appreciation of a symphony of Beethoven, he would have produced a causal connexion between the two. As it was, he had mistaken an historic account of origins for a theory of genesis, and the two were in this instance unconnected. From the naturalistic standpoint, Mr. Balfour insisted, the whole psychical complex of æsthetic emotions and beliefs is a chance by-product, a happy accident of evolution; and the geniuses themselves who produce works of art are equally accidental products, for poets and artists did not greatly contribute to the destruction of tribal enemies and the survival of the fittest. This view, he held, really destroyed the values of æsthetic beliefs. He did not refer to the minor manifestations of the æsthetic emotions, and he admitted that a cinematograph can be enjoyed without reference to cosmical theories.

THE SPIRITUAL INTUITION.

It is the æsthetic emotion in its highest manifestations that has most to lose from a purely naturalistic origin. The poet or the artist is generally supposed to have an insight into reality. The men who are most alive to the higher æsthetic emotions feel that their emotions open up something that contains an intuition greater than knowledge. There is always in a work of art the sense of communication from its creator. Behind the poem, the picture and the symphony are the poet, the painter, and the composer, and works of art must be communications from one spirit to another spirit. The most perfect kaleidoscope could never be a work of art or convey æsthetic emotion. Could they, he asked, accept this view for works of art and deny it for the manifestations of natural beauty, before which, he thought, the greatest works of art faded into insignificance? Were there two principles of æsthetic? Beauty moves upon the surface. Only what appears is beautiful. If we could perceive the æther and the scattered electrons which are the real facts, such insight would merely excite curiosity and wonder. We must regard the beauties of nature as signs, as symbols, as a language, just as we do chords and colours. The entire value of the glories of nature is lost unless we conceive behind nature one who has designed it. Art, he pointed out, clings obstinately to personification, in spite of the teachings of science. We live and move and have our being in available energy, but we cannot write an ode to it. Poetry clings to personification, not by the staying power of long tradition, nor by a feigned literary conceit, but because the naturalistic explanation is felt to be intolerable, in that it destroys æsthetic values. It is, of course, possible for a reader of Wordsworth to accept conventionally the notion of a God of nature, while he is reading Wordsworth, just as a man who does not believe in ghosts may read a ghost story with a conventional belief sufficient for his artistic purposes. But it is not possible to enjoy the best of Wordsworth as it should be enjoyed unless you take the same general view of the universe as Wordsworth did.

Mr. Balfour had now reached the culminating point of his argument, and he drove it home in some eloquent sentences. He argued that what is true of Wordsworth is true also of natural beauty, and he invited his hearers to recall the moments, too rare in any life, when the sight of some magnificent spectacle seems to drive out not merely all the smaller cares and anxieties of life, but all the smaller pre-occupations of art itself. At such moments it is true that a man has something better to do than to think of cosmogony. But, just as no pain is so severe but that it leaves a man some corner of consciousness in which to ask how long it will last, so there is no beauty, however overpowering, but allows of the thought that it means something and is not simply a matter of æther and electrons and brain and visual nerves. To persuade a man to attribute no such significance is to weaken fatally those æsthetic values which can only exist if, behind that great appearance, is a reality, and if it contains a message from spirit to spirit. If we desire to preserve those values, to argue to design from value, we can say that, unless men are willing to sacrifice the æsthetic emotion in its highest development and in its greatest examples, we must believe in a Great Spirit whose manifestations those things are.

Limitations of Natural Selection.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Glasgow, Jan. 19.

Mr. Balfour devoted his fourth Gifford lecture to demonstrating that our ethical ideas can retain their value only in a theistic setting. He began by admitting that natural selection has played a large part in the development of our ideas of right and wrong, for ethical values, unlike æsthetic values, do not hang loosely upon the evolutionary process, but are up to a certain point dependent upon it, while the æsthetic emotions lead only to contemplation. Ethics has essentially to do with action, and if there is any truth in the modern theory of evolution, it would be strange indeed if ethical beliefs and emo-

ALTRUISM IN MAN AND ANIMALS.

At this point Mr. Balfour introduced a distinction similar to that on which he based his argument regarding æsthetic values. The whole stress of his reasoning was laid upon the higher values in the ethical scale, and these higher values he defined as being those dependent upon the group of altruistic and unselfish feelings which operate for the interest of other individuals or of the family or of the State, or of mankind. How far, he asked, are our altruistic values the result of the mimicry of design by natural selection? How far can they retain their value if we refuse to put them in a theistic setting? Mr. Balfour began his answer to these questions by pointing out that we find no altruism in the lower organisms; only certain powers of reacting to environment for the benefit of the individual. There is no effort of the individual to serve the species other than instinctive efforts under the impulse of selective forces. Such instinctive efforts were not, indeed, the limits of the power of natural selection. Animals higher in the scale show parental, and especially maternal, love and sacrifice, and give examples of altruism in one of its purest shapes. We cannot, of course, say what goes on in the consciousness of the animal, but we cannot deny it something of true altruism marked by the higher qualities which we admire in the devotion and the self-sacrifice of men. This, however, did not amount to social instinct, for it did not outlast the early days or months after birth, and it did not help towards the social organization which is essential for human existence.

It is true that bees and ants give a resemblance to social organization, but each bee has only one desire—that of subserving the good of the whole hive. In the bee self is lost in the interest of the society, and the very mechanical perfection of these amazing societies impaired their interest. There can never be a conflict of impulse in the case of a working bee, never the problem of the self against the whole, or the more difficult problem of the divergent interests of two wholes to each of which the self belongs. Such conflicts we cannot avoid, because we have a choice of ends. Here Mr. Balfour explained that he used the word "whole" to mean such a collection of other individuals as a family, a town, a state, a profession. It is not simply a choice between self interest and one of those societies to which a man may well, and even a selfish man constantly does, sacrifice his interests, but it is a multiple choice, because the interests of these wholes come into collision. Mankind must have progress, not unchanging perfection. Loyalty to family or tribe is essential to progress, and it was essential to very early and primitive progress, and is therefore a direct product of the individual. The argument that it is folly because it involves a loss to the self-regarding instincts was an appeal from the later stages of evolution to the earlier.

EVOLUTION AND MORALS.

Coming to the central point of his argument, Mr. Balfour said that the essential point is the answer to the question whether, granting that selection has improved the altruistic feelings in their earlier stages, we can attribute the growth of morality and the higher ideals to the continued action of natural selection. The higher emotions, he argued, can have no effect upon the struggle for existence. Nobody could maintain that in that brute struggle the virtues of mercy, charity, and loving kindness are to the advantage of the race from the point of view of a biologist, who studies what it is that enables one organism to out another. For this view, the lecturer said, he could quote high authority. Nietzsche was perhaps the best known in this country by the references to superman made by a brilliant dramatic writer, but he had many disciples in his own country. Nietzsche held that the higher virtues are what he called denaturalized—that they have no place in the natural development of morals, and that they have only been made possible by religious beliefs. Mr. Balfour summoned him as a witness to his premises, not to his conclusions, because Nietzsche's conclusion was that the higher virtues are not merely express products, but even harmful products, of the biological process, and ought to be stamped out. His own conclusion was diametrically opposite, but he agreed that the higher virtues cannot retain values if they are to be judged simply as helping or hindering the internecine struggle for existence.

As another Witness Mr. Balfour quoted Huxley's Romanes lecture delivered in 1893. It was, he said, an impressive and a pathetic lecture, because, while Huxley accepted no form of religion and was an agnostic, and, indeed, the coiner of that convenient word, and while he took a purely naturalistic view of the universe, he felt, as Mr. Balfour himself felt, that the higher values cannot be hitched into the evolutionary process, to which he assigned everything around him and behind which he saw nothing but energy and matter. It was with the utmost diffidence that he differed from so eminent a biologist, but he thought Huxley went too far when he said that all that is ethically best is opposed to success in the cosmic struggle. In opposition to this unhappy conclusion stood maternal love, one of the highest things in the ethical scale, and still unsurpassed. He could not himself pass upon the evolutionary process the same heavy condemnation which was passed on it by that great man, who had done so much to make it intelligible to the world, but he asked how any one who takes Huxley's view even in a less extreme form could imagine that the higher scale of ethics is going to retain its value as a by-product or a dangerous product of evolution.

In an impressive passage Mr. Balfour then reminded his hearers

nature." If the simple teaching of nature is that the higher virtues are useless and noxious, is not the teaching of Nietzsche an inevitable conclusion? Men will argue that if development and the course of progress must always be the result of constant internecine warfare, then they must pin their faith on the untrammelled licence of that struggle, and the return to nature would mean the abandonment of all the higher and tenderer virtues in which the value of life entirely depends for us.

THE RELIGIOUS FRAMEWORK.

In conclusion, Mr. Balfour referred to the efforts of philosophers and preachers to show that there is no real discrepancy between self-interest and altruism. Such efforts are not founded on past experience; they represent the ideal of a future reconciliation. Such an ideal has no meaning on a naturalistic basis, and we wish to keep and to improve their higher values. If we feel that progress in ethics has been as great as in knowledge and in the arts of life, we cannot rest content with the belief that ethics has now no survival value and no root in some higher moral purpose which, as the world goes on, will ever give it more and more meaning. "If," said the lecturer, "we are to keep the highest of all values in the scale where religion has placed them, and where we instinctively feel they ought to be, we cannot tear away that religious framework and suppose that the ideas remain." A theistic setting, he again insisted, is a necessity for ethics. The argument from design, he added, might show the ingenuity of the contrivance, but it required such an argument as he had been placing before them to add to the conception of a powerful and, if he might say so, an ingenious Deity, the conception of a God, the author of all that is beautiful and of all that is good.

The Paris Press.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Jan. 2.

To those who are accustomed to the aspect of English or American newspapers the Paris Press, including those journals which have adopted big headlines, seems at first sight quiet and unenterprising. This, however, is far from being the case, and it may be questioned for example whether there are half a dozen journals in the world that give such elaborate and up-to-date information on foreign affairs as does the *Temps*, which sometimes by half-past four in the afternoon produces with the aid of the telephone the greater part of a debate that has begun in the German Reichstag at 1 o'clock. The *Temps* is one of the few Paris journals which retains its old literary, philosophic, and scientific flavour, while keeping pace with modern demand for full and early news on all the events of the day. The *Journal des Debats*, with a considerably less elaborate news organization, likewise retains many of its old traditions, but there are a number of flourishing halfpenny journals. The *Matin*, the *Journal*, the *Petit Parisien*, and the *Petit Journal*, which relegate both literary form and party politics to a second place, and frankly devote themselves to purveying fresh and lively news.

The history of Parisian journalistic enterprise during the last 60 or 70 years reveals the fact that a great many innovations which are supposed to be English or American in origin originated in *la ville lumiere*. Take the great news agencies of the world; Havas is the father of them. The *Agence Havas* was founded about 1835 by an enterprising translator, M. Havas, who used to select the most interesting news from foreign journals and supply it to the *Constitutionnel*. He subsequently opened a little office in the Rue Jean-Jacques-Rousseau, and began to supply his foreign news to all the Paris newspapers, but his first great success was the establishment of a service of carrier-pigeons between Paris, London and Brussels. His pigeons left London at 8 A. M., and he got his news culled from the English Press at 2 P. M. From Brussels to Paris the pigeons only took four hours. M. Havas likewise was first in the field in the employment of railways and telegraphs for news purposes. The founder of Reuter's Agency, it is believed, came from his office, as did M. Wolff, who established the agency of that name in Berlin.

THE ORIGIN OF "LA PRESSE."

These and a great many more interesting details of Press development in Paris are given in a comprehensive article by M. Louis Latzarus, the first part of which is published in the current number of the *Revue de Paris*. M. Latzarus traces the editorial and business history of modern Paris journalism from what he describes as the decisive date of July 1, 1836, when de Girardin founded *La Presse*. Up to that date the Paris newspapers had been essentially organs of opinion, and addressed themselves exclusively to the well-to-do classes. The annual subscription was uniform and it was 80f. (£3 4s.). Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, de Villele, when proposing for revenue purposes to raise the newspaper postage, calculated that a journal with only 3,000 subscribers made a profit of £2,000 a year. At that time there were about a dozen daily papers in Paris which led a tranquil existence and realized what their proprietors regarded as a reasonable profit, ranging from the figure just mentioned. Here is de Villele's calculation of the cost of production for the *Constitutionnel*, with 20,000 subscribers. According to his calculation, the production of the first 1,000 copies cost annually just under £2,000 and that of the remaining 19,000 about £4,350. The total cost of production was thus about £6,350 a year. The stamp tax was six millionths of a penny, and the postage for the provincial sub-

these two items together amounting to about £21,480. The total expenditure was thus about £27,800. The subscriptions produced £57,600, so that the net profit was about £30,000.

The *Constitutionnel*, however, challenged these figures in its own interest, and made out its profits to be only £14,000.

In any case, there was a great opportunity for a newspaper which would appeal to a wider circle of readers, and de Girardin seized it. He founded *La Presse*, and reduced the subscription by half—to £1 12s.—calculating that with 10,000 subscribers he would lose £8,000 a year, but counting upon making good his loss and securing a handsome profit from advertisements. He soon had 10,000 subscribers then 20,000, and ultimately 25,000. The paper, instead of expressing political views of its own, invited contributions from all political camps. It introduced the *feuilleton* and the column of daily gossip, and it had among its contributors Balzac and Victor Hugo. There were scientific, agricultural, and industrial reviews, and general articles on various aspects of life in foreign countries. The modern journal was thus established.

The later development, after the *Presse* had been freed from the stamp duty and also from the censorship during the Second Empire, is marked by the foundation of the halfpenny Press in the form of the *Petit Journal* in 1863, a paper containing such petty news touching all sides of practical life and giving no place to polemics or even discussion. The *Petit Parisien* followed on the same lines, and these two papers soon ran neck and neck with a circulation of over 500,000—"records" in the period between 1880 and 1900. Here is M. Latzarus's explanation of their success:—

These two papers are intended for the mass of the people—peasants, workmen, and *petites gens*. They give these classes exactly what they want—a popular, easily-read article on some incident of the day, a sentimental *feuilleton*, a full and moving account of all the dramas of the police-court, reports of the proceedings in the two Chambers without comment, and very little foreign news. The assassination of a dairymaid has more chance of interesting readers than a Speech from the Throne.

CIRCULATIONS TO-DAY.

The *Matin*, somnolent when it was bought by M. Poidatz in 1898, soon adopted a still more ambitious programme, and became a six-page paper. In three years it attained a circulation of nearly 286,000. M. Poidatz then thought that it had its utmost development and parted with it, but he was mistaken, as the *Matin* has altogether increased its circulation by 1,000 per cent. In Paris the circulation of newspapers, in addition to their own calculation, forms the subject of police statistics. The *Matin* produces good evidence that its average and normal circulation is a million copies; the Prefecture of police says 640,000 copies. Similarly for the *Journal*, the police estimate is 997,000, but M. Latzarus has "sure information" that its circulation is over 1,200,000. In the case of the *Petit Parisien*, the two estimates are 1,090,000 copies and 1,550,000. There are now 65 daily so-called political newspapers published in Paris, and it is calculated that their total circulation is six million copies a day, of which no fewer than 4½ millions are accounted for by the *Petit Parisien*, the *Journal*, the *Matin*, and the *Petit Journal*. Among the remaining 62 papers there are 25 which have only the appearance of life. Some of them do not issue more than 200 or 300 copies, and there are others which have only an issue of 100, 50, or even 25 copies.

"They have neither an office," M. Latzarus says, "nor a staff nor readers." They have only a name, which may once have been famous, and it is mysteriously added:—"To issue a dead journal is nevertheless a fairly profitable occupation." The method of making it so is not explained.

The great journals which cost more than a halfpenny, the *Temps* and the *Figaro* in particular, do not require a circulation counted by hundreds of thousands in order to pay. The class of readers to whom they appeal makes them most potent mediums for advertisers. Many of the smaller journals live upon the *Temps* in respect of their information, as it has a splendidly organized news service both at home and abroad, besides its special scientific and literary articles by eminent writers, who place their pens at its service. M. Latzarus considers that there are only three Paris halfpenny journals which have a permanent organization that renders them independent of the *Temps* news. These are the *Petit Parisien*, the *Petit Journal*, and the *Matin*. The *Petit Parisien* publishes six and sometimes seven editions a day, of which five are dispatched to the provinces, the first at 6 p. m., and the fifth at 11 p. m.; the Paris and the suburban editions appear at 2.30 a. m. and at 4 a. m. The *Matin* contents itself with publishing a special edition whenever there is any piece of news of quite first rate importance. The *Petit Parisien* and the *Petit Journal* require to have an editorial staff at work all day, in addition to their night staff.

There is a great deal of further interesting and detailed information in M. Latzarus's article. He shows, for example, how the *Petit Parisien* was the first halfpenny paper to devote systematic attention to labour movements and trade unionism. Its halfpenny contemporaries soon had to follow its example as their circulation increased and an ever-growing proportion of their readers belonged to the working classes. He traces the development of newspaper photography, which was begun by M. Poidatz, of the *Matin*, in 1903. That paper can now produce a *sine cliché* ready to be inserted in the form in 82 minutes. The methods of the newspaper photographer as well as of

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Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Week.

Frontier Outrage.

(FROM THE ENGLISHMAN'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Peshawar, Feb. 19.

A report has come in that the Sussex Regiment now under canvas at Jelasai, on manoeuvres, were fired on by a band of men said to be two hundred who are known to have been in that neighbourhood some weeks.

Army bearers have been sent out in case of eventualities and artillery horses are kept in lines, pending orders.

Nothing authentic is known as to casualties, but the Cantonment is practically on the *quatre vive*.

On Monday night raiders attacked the west abutment of Attock Bridge. The police resisted wounding some raiders. After a fusillade of some hours the raiders retired.

Noushera, Feb. 23, 7 a.m.

The greatest excitement prevails here and at Peshawar and all kinds of rumours are afloat regarding a pending expedition. Nearly all the troops in Noushera have marched for Hoti Mardan where a whole Brigade is now encamped. The official explanation is that the troops are engaged in manoeuvres. It may be remembered that the same explanation was offered in 1908 prior to General Willcock's raid into the Zakkha Khel country. Colonels Murray and Roddy, Supply and Transport Corps, have arrived here from Peshawar to superintend their department. Additional troops have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness at Peshawar, including two companies of the 14th Sikhs, who are under orders to move to Hoti Mardan when required.

I am informed that no general advance will be made till Friday. The opinion is that the troops are off to wipe out the tribal raiders, but cannot advance till the sanction of the Home authorities to the move has been obtained.

The roads are bad for mobile columns.

Aegean Problem.

London, Feb. 16.

The replies of Turkey and Greece regarding the Aegean Islands, each making reservations, leave the situation much what it was prior to the presentation of the Notes. The Porte's reply is somewhat strongly worded, and expresses keen regret that the Powers have not taken into consideration the vital interest of the Turkish Empire.

Greece and Turkey.

London, Feb. 16.

A telegram from Athens states that M. Venizelos has returned from his European tour and has told the Cabinet that the close understanding between Greece, Rumania and Serbia has secured the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans and has rendered complications between Turkey and Greece impossible. The Greece Cabinet to-day discussed various matters, including the immediate strengthening of the Navy.

Turkey.

London, Feb. 16.

The Ottoman Bank Public Debt and the Tobacco Regie have advanced the Porte £400,000 to pay one month's salary to officials in Constantinople which are three months in arrear, excluding the salary for December which has been abandoned to help the increase in the Navy.

Constantinople, Feb. 16.

An Infantry Captain, Djemal Eddin Bidhri, has been sentenced to death and his property confiscated on a charge of attempted revolution and participation in the assassination of Mahmud Shekhet Pasha.

London, Feb. 16.

Colonel Aziz Ali Bey, the distinguished Egyptian Arab officer who revived Arab resistance in Cyrenaica after the departure of Enver Bey, has been arrested in Constantinople on arriving from Egypt. He will be court-martialled, being suspected of belonging to the Arab Political Association, the object of which is to undermine the authority of the Committee of Union and Progress. The greatest indignation prevails in Cairo where the arrest is attributed to Enver Pasha's jealousy.

Constantinople, Feb. 23.

Lieutenant Kemal has been court-martialled for deserting his post at Janina, and furnishing the enemy with plans of the forts. He was shot this morning.

Servia and Bulgaria.

Belgrade, Feb. 18.

King Peter to-day received in audience M. Tchappachicoff, Bulgarian Minister, in the presence of the Premier and Foreign

Minister. Speeches were made referring to the benefits resulting from the renewal of diplomatic relations.

Greece and the Powers.

Athens, Feb. 22.

The reply of Greece to the Powers was presented yesterday. It declares that Greece is ready to conform to the decision of the Powers. It assumes that the Powers will decide that islands which they do not allow to be fortified will never be the object of attack, and agrees to evacuate the territories assigned to Albania within the time fixed. It also undertakes not to encourage resistance to the decisions of the Powers, but urges the incorporation in Greece of certain villages in the Argrocastra Valley, for which Greece is prepared to pay Albania 2½ million francs and accept modification of the frontier extending from the Albanian coast to Cape Paganis.

Greece thanks the Powers for an equitable solution of the question of the islands, and assumes that Turkey will not be allowed to fortify the coasts opposite the unfortified islands. Greece is prepared to give Turkey guarantees on this point and will also effectively prevent smuggling between the islands and the mainland. Greece will likewise guarantee protection for Mussulman minorities in Greek islands, and hopes that the Powers will demand a similar guarantee for the religious and educational liberties of Greeks in Imbros and Tenedos.

Albania.

London, Feb. 16.

The Prince of Wied will visit London to pay his respects to the King, and to confer with Sir Edward Grey, prior to leaving for Albania.

London, Feb. 18.

Prince William of Wied lunched with the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace, and conferred with Sir Edward Grey. He also visited various ambassadors. The Prince of Wied has been invested with the G. C. V. O.

London, Feb. 21.

Prince William of Wied has received the Albanian deputation and formally accepted the throne of Albania.

Newspier, Feb. 22.

The Prince of Wied was ceremoniously received to-day by an Albanian deputation led by Essal Pasha, who said that the deputation, on behalf of Albania, asked the Prince to accept the throne of free and independent Albania. The Prince replied that he would devote himself with heart and might to his new country, and hoped, with the support of the Albanians, to lead Albania to a glorious future.

Berlin, Feb. 22.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* announces that the Prince of Wied will visit Petersburg on the 26th instant, and meet the Tsar and Russian statesmen.

Bagdad Railway.

London, Feb. 16.

The French and German Governments will now deal directly regarding certain details of the agreement on the Turkish Railway, and financial questions which will not take effect until both came to an understanding with Turkey.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* adds that the next steps will doubtless be the completion of the already practically perfect agreements between Britain, Germany and Turkey regarding the Bagdad Railway and the Gulf, and the early arrangement of a Turkish loan in Paris with Djavid Bey. The ostensible object of the agreement is to prevent all further disputes about rival railway rights and claims. The real effect will doubtless be to settle the whole railway map of Asia Minor, establishing Russian and French claims in the north and French claims throughout Syria, leaving Germany free from all possible interference over the whole Bagdad Railway sphere of action, including various northern branches, but precluding access to the Black Sea.

Persia.

Teheran, Feb. 18.

Fighting with the Baluch raiders ceased this morning when the Gendarmes returned to Bam owing to insufficiency of ammunition. It is hoped that it will be possible to obtain reinforcements from Kerman.

It is stated officially that the Russian troops at Kazvin will begin to leave in April, and it is explained that the new force recently landed at Enzeli was to replace troops whose time had expired.

Arnold Appeal.

London, Feb. 16.

The appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold against his conviction for libelling a Magistrate in Burma in 1912 was before the Privy Council to-day.

Sir Robert Finlay, opening on behalf of Mr. Arnold, reviewed the case at length. He had not concluded when the Court adjourned.

London, Feb. 18.

The hearing of the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold was resumed before the Privy Council to-day. Sir Robert Finlay argued at some length that the Magistrate should not have ignored the petitions against his hearing the original case as he was a friend of the accused, McCormick. Mr. Andrew should have held his hand until the Chief Court had disposed of the application that another Magistrate should hear the case. Sir Robert Finlay maintained that Mr. Arnold had acted in good faith.

Indians in Africa.

Capetown, Feb. 19.

The Rev. C. Andrews will sail for England on the 21st instant. He has paid a farewell visit to General Botha and General Smuts on behalf of the Union Government, they both warmly thanked Mr. Andrews for the services he has rendered towards a peaceful solution of the Indian question. General Smuts assured Mr. Andrews of his sincere desire and hope for a speedy settlement, which he would do all in his power to realise.

Allahabad, Feb. 20.

It is expected that the South African Commission of Enquiry into the matters connected with Indians in the Union will reassemble on the 23rd instant and be able to finish their report early in March. Thereafter it will have to be considered by the Union Government.

Posts and Telegraphs,

(FROM THE ENGLISHMAN'S OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Delhi, Feb. 21.

Information has been received that the scheme for the amalgamation of the Post Office and Telegraph Department has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. This scheme has been prepared on the lines of the experimental amalgamation under trial in Bombay and Central Circles since 1912, which involves a complete separation of the engineering and traffic duties. The Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs will be assisted at headquarters by a Chief Engineer and a Deputy Director-General for telegraph traffic. All traffic work, throughout the country will be transferred to the control of the Postmasters-General. For engineering purposes India, excluding Burma, will be divided into three administrative charges, controlled by Directors of Telegraph Engineering, who will be responsible for all technical and engineering work. In Burma the Post Office and Telegraph Department will be placed under the control of a Postmaster-General, who will be a senior Telegraph Officer. The scheme involves a considerable reduction in the sanctioned number of superior Engineering appointments in the Telegraph Department. Adequate measures have, however, been taken to safeguard the interests of all officers now in the service. An offer of special pensions will be made to a certain number of these, but the scheme will not involve any compulsory retirements. A new branch called the Superior Traffic Branch, comprising forty appointments on liberal rates of pay will be created and it will be recruited mainly from the subordinate staff as the existing surplus of superior officers is reduced. One-fourth of the superior engineering appointments made in future will also be open to the subordinate staff. The scheme will be introduced from the 1st April next, or as soon after as possible. Full details will be published later.

Press Act.

London, Feb. 24.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Morrell asked questions with reference to the right of appeal to civil courts, under the Press Act and quoted the Chief Justice of Bengal as saying that the task imposed on the applicant to courts who must show that his pamphlet did not contain words falling within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act was almost a hopeless one. Mr. Roberts said that Mr. Morrell was extending to all actions taken under the Act certain remarks regarding the action taken under section 12. Lord Crewe, after careful consideration of the recent debate in the Viceroy's Council held that the powers of appeal provided by the Act might suffice to supply a remedy against an arbitrary administration of the Act. Mr. Morrell asked whether Lord Crewe would direct further enquiry into the forfeiture of the Lahore daily paper *Zemindar*.

Mr. Roberts replied that Lord Crewe had seen the articles which had led to the forfeiture of the paper. The Editor was entitled to appeal to the High Court. Lord Crewe would await the result of any such action before considering the matter further.

South Africa.

Cape Town, Feb. 23.

The Rev. Mr. Andrews, in a letter to the "Cape Times" on the eve of his departure, warmly acknowledges the generosity with which he has been treated in South Africa. He expresses the opinion that the atmosphere with regard to the Indian question has wonderfully improved since the beginning of the year. He says that Mr. Gandhi's chivalrous attitude during the January strike and General Smuts' great consideration at a time of overwhelming pressure, brought about a very conciliatory and reasonable spirit, which was needed. Mr. Andrews suggests that a minor measure of relief might be introduced in Parliament during the present session. An

indicating that if outstanding questions were arranged the settlement would be final, he states that the moment that a settlement has been reached Mr. Gandhi will depart for India. The main points are the £8 tax, with regard to which Mr. Andrews anticipates no difficulty, and the marriage question, in connection with which he says that they have still sufficient faith in the omniscience of lawyers to be certain that they will find a phrase to meet the situation. The only rock ahead is on the side of the Mohamedans. "Let there be no compulsion in religion," is one of the most admirable precepts of the Koran, Mr. Andrews points out. If the Union Government legalises and registers one marriage, and one only, there will be no objection made, but if the State goes beyond and attacks, or appears to attack the Mohamedan religion itself, there will be endless trouble and endless misunderstanding.

The Indian Commission resumed the hearing of the evidence to-day.

The President of the Cape British Indian Union complained about the Immigration Department interpreters and accused them of extortion. He further expressed the opinion that Parliament should legalise polygamy, stating that only about seven per cent. of the Indians had more than one wife.

Three-Pound Tax.

Capetown, Feb. 24.

Before the commission to enquire into the grievances of Indians to-day, Mr. Meyler, member of the Assembly, and Senators Churchill, Winter, and Johnstone gave evidence in connection with the Three-Pound Tax. Mr. Meyler and Mr. Churchill favoured the repeal of the tax, but Mr. Winter and Mr. Johnstone its retention.

Cost of Delhi.

(REUTER'S SERVICE.)

London, Feb. 23.

In the House of Commons in reply to Sir Charles Hunter, Mr. Charles Roberts, the new Under-Secretary for India, said that according to the estimates of engineers and architects which the Government of India was now examining, the outlay on all Government buildings in Delhi would amount to £2,800,000.

Delhi, Feb. 24.

With reference to the statement made in the House of Commons regarding the cost of new Delhi by Mr. Charles Roberts, no information is available here regarding the Government of India buildings which the estimate of £2,800,000 is supposed to cover.

Apparently the orders have been given that no information of any kind is to be given to the public, as all the authorities concerned with the construction of New Delhi practically decline to answer any queries, and questioners are referred to the recent answer given to a question in the Legislative Council by Sir Robert Carlyle.

March of the "Guides."

Delhi, Feb. 23.

In consequence of two serious raids recently committed by Bunerwals in British territory, the first on 4th January at Balagardhi and the second on 6th January at Chena, near Rastam, in which altogether eight British subjects were murdered, it was decided to move the Malakand moveable column to-day over the Malandri Pass into Bunar, with a view to rounding up two of the villages most concerned, viz., Nawa Kili and Langi Khan Banda, a distance of a few miles from the frontier and taking hostages and moveable property as security for the due settlement of these cases. At 8.15 this morning the Malandri Pass was occupied by the Guides after slight opposition. The troops had a tiring night march and the country beyond was enveloped in mist when they reached the top. The troops succeeded in taking the villages and in securing a number of prisoners. No casualties have been reported on our side and the column is on its way back.

Our London Letter.

London, 6th Feb. 1914.

"THE PROBLEM OF ASIATIC TURKEY."

This month's number of the *Contemporary Review* contains a very interesting article on the above subject by Mr. M. Philips Price, which is not only characterised by perfect reasonableness of attitude, but is equally saturated with a degree of impartiality which is seldom witnessed in most of the communications on this and kindred subjects, which have been rather frequently appearing in the numerous monthlies, quarterlies, and other periodicals of late. It is a curious fact that writers, who usually deal with the Near East, the Middle East and, as a matter of fact, the Oriental questions in general, are broadly speaking, either so heavily steeped in their hatred and prejudice for the Orientals or, on the contrary, are so excessively sympathetic towards the peoples of the East that, on carefully perusing their articles, one cannot sometimes help feeling that their authors have unconsciously been carried away by their sentiments, one way or the other, occasionally even at the risk of sacrificing deep conviction and honest opinion. For the ordinary reader, in such cases, nothing will be more difficult than to succeed in arriving at a reasonable decision.

It is therefore, with particular pleasure that those who are in any way interested in the question of Asiatic Turkey will welcome

Mr. Philips Price's article on the subject. The authoritative personality of the writer and the breadth of view which so forcibly tinges his remarks, added to which is an extraordinary amount of local knowledge and absolute fairness, will undoubtedly proceed far in dispelling the deep-rooted ideas, which are held in certain quarters as regards the so-called Armenian question, with which Mr. Price deals in his article with such lucidity and impartiality.

A more clear statement of facts concerning the re-occupation of the sacred city of Adrianople has never been made before. That step was absolutely imperative for the very existence of European Turkey, and whether it was in accordance with or against the terms of the Treaty of London, had to be taken under the circumstances, and so no reasonable critic could find faults with the Turks for having taken the right step at the right moment. We need not here enter into the vexed question whether the Turks are the only people in modern times, who have not fully observed the terms of a Treaty!

Mr. Price's words on the Armenian aspect of the question are full of significance and should be read carefully. He goes fully into the various modes and methods in which the Armenians are rendering themselves a 'general nuisance' to the authorities.

The writer quotes a happy little instance in which he found the Armenians and Turks assembled under a common roof—this happened on every Sunday—for religious purposes, when perfect harmony and good-will prevailed between the followers of Christianity and Islam, and goes on thus: "All of us, whether Christian or Mohamedan, were worshipping at the same shrine, and whatever may be said against Islam, this incident is enough to prove that there is no other religion which shows more tolerance for the rights and customs of other faiths." Incidentally, what a magnificent and generous tribute to the tolerance of Islam is so truly embodied in these simple yet charming words of Mr. Philips Price!

"Such," the writer goes on, "is the paradox of Eastern life. But no one who visits Lesser Armenia can say that the Armenians are crushed under the heel of a tyrannous Turk. In Zeitun at least, it is the other way." The writer recommends as a remedial measure the employment of European advisers, from the neutral States, to help the Turkish authorities in the solution of this problem, which alone would, according to him, render the administration of this part of the Turkish Empire successful. But he is emphatic on the question of "retention" of Turkish control over Armenia, for the sole benefit of the Armenians themselves, if not for any other reason. With that view it is difficult for any fair-minded person to disagree.

"LIFE IN THE HAREM."

Your lady-readers may perhaps be interested to know that, under the above heading, a series of articles, from the pen of an English woman, Grace Ellison, have recently appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, which has been giving an unusual prominence to the communications. It is satisfactory to note that on the whole the tone of the articles has been friendly and the writer has certainly rendered a useful service to her Turkish sisters by removing the deplorable impressions which unfortunately exist in Europe concerning the "harem" and Moslem women. Grace Ellison has been in close touch with some of the best families in Turkey, with whom she is on terms of intimate friendship, and so she can speak with an authority seldom possessed by the thousand and one European women, who have in the past attempted to write on this important subject from "personal experience."

"The Turkish woman," says Grace Ellison, "does not often open the doors of her home to the foreigner, not for lack of any friendly feeling towards her, but because the foreigner has lost her confidence, the foreigner has made fun of her, and, above all, the foreigner 'pities' her. But when the Turkish woman opens her door to the foreigner, she opens her big, generous heart too. Always and always, however intimate may be their conversations, the honoured guest stands on a pedestal, and the generous hostess is at her feet, longing only for an opportunity of showing courtesy and kindness. In no other land have I met such a lavish hospitality—hospitality even that makes one feel a little uncomfortable, especially when one realizes how little one has done to deserve it. The courtesy also is almost overwhelming. Every time I go in and out of the room the assembled company, men and women, stand, and every time coffee, cigarettes and sweets are brought by the slaves for the guests, my hostess rises to serve me herself. It is the custom, too, for the master of the house to pay all the visitors' bills. That I should have proposed to stamp my own letters hurt my friends more than anything I could have said or done. I feel almost guilty when I accept all and give nothing in return, and always I have before me the haunting fear of the terrible disappointment my friend will have when she visits my country, for our hospitality cannot be compared in any way to this."

The writer goes on "But cleanliness, as every one knows, is godliness itself in the Moslem religion."

The Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, a man of surprising energy with a clear understanding of men and things, a real God-send to this country in its present state, encourages any work for the advancement of women, and he is paying particular

attention to their education. The dawn is coming slowly; but it will come if the Turkish woman really wishes it and works always with that aim before her—the uplifting of her sex.

Every time coffee is served—and coffee is offered to every visitor—I take a cup, it gives me a better chance of studying the curious scene in which I am playing a part, and the more I look, the more beautiful it seems to me, and it makes me almost sad to think I cannot meet with this spirit of democracy in any other land. But the most beautiful part of it all is the absolute 'naturalness' of the situation. The rich woman has not the patronising attitude of the Western woman towards her humble sisters, the poor woman has not the cringing gratitude of the West for favours received; each knows her part, each is fulfilling her destiny, each is content with her lot."

WESTERN MISCONCEPTIONS.

Grace Ellison's own words, in her noble attempt to remove the sad misconceptions prevailing in Europe as regards Turkey and the Turks, are precise and full of significance. "I do not swear" she writes, "by everything Turkish, much as I love the Turks. They have their faults; which nation has not its faults? But as a woman, who has led the life of a Turkish woman, surely I am privileged to point out to the reader the most beautiful features of this life as I see them. We have been unjust to Turkey; we have for so long condemned the Turkish subjects with the cruel despotisms of the Hamidian regime; we have for so long now condemned wholesale everything Turkish, and the novel-writers of the day describe a Turkey which certainly does not exist to-day. . . . And the word 'harem'!

When will Europe understand the meaning of that unfortunate word? An Arabic word, meaning "sacred" or "forbidden," it is used to describe those rooms in a Turkish house exclusively reserved for the women. Imagine for a moment a Konak (Turkish palace, a large Turkish country-house), situated on a hill, and with a magnificent view over the sea of Marmora and its picturesque islands. The wooden gates are always open, the beggars enter at leisure and loiter in the carriage-drive, and walk along the garden-paths, and sit under the trees and eat the fruit; so that unless you notice you have entered a gate you would imagine yourself still on the road. To the ordinary tourist this garden would seem a mass of ruins, a waste heap, a place most shamefully neglected. But the connoisseur knows at once the priceless treasures this garden contains, relics of Byzantine fountains, caves, cornerstones, for which Western museums would give a fortune. There are two entrances to this Turkish house. One leads into the selamlık, and the other leading into the harem is at the side. In the selamlık or men's quarters, there are reception rooms, a dining-room and bed-rooms for the unmarried male relations living here. A door in the selamlık leads into a big saloon, and a door also from the harem leads into this same big saloon. It is here that European guests are received, having entered by the door of the selamlık, and this is all they see of a Turkish house; it is here they must find all the material for their romances of Turkish life. Occasionally through the open door they catch a glimpse of some of the ladies of the house, who pass by the door, and who strictly keep their hair veiled. They see, perhaps, the slaves in their picturesque costumes, and immediately the thought of "polygamy" enters their minds; all these ladies must be the wives of the Pasha.

Polygamy does not exist nowadays in Turkey, or at least it is very exceptional. Even the members of the Imperial Family content themselves with one wife. The Turkish woman is exceedingly proud, and insists that her honour be respected, and personally I know few would put up with the "polygamy" which women of the Latin races are obliged to accept. The Turk, as a rule, is a good husband and father; perhaps it is that he sees in his wife a charm the European does not possess. . . . All these reforms she concludes "are going on in what Europe considers an almost bankrupt State. Education, new roads, industries, a new navy, everything is needed; but Turkey will pull herself together if only she has confidence in herself."

"ASIATIC IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES."

A Bill to prohibit Asiatics from settling down in the United States of America, according to Renter, has been rejected in the House of Representatives at Washington. Though the object of the Bill was obviously to arrest the growth of the Japanese colony on the Pacific coast of America, the main plea put forth by the Government as warranting its rejection was the consideration that, bearing in mind the fact that Great Britain, who is about to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Ghent, which has given a century of Peace to her and America, had millions of Asiatics under her rule; it would not be a friendly act on the part of the Americans were they to introduce and pass legislation forbidding Asiatic immigration into American territory. It is, no doubt, a cruel irony of fate that, at the present moment, hundreds of loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty are being treated with open antagonism, if not with actual brutality in certain parts of the Empire itself. The situation is indeed extraordinary and requires the highest statesmanship for its definite and permanent solution.

TETE À TETE



A VERY grave situation has come to exist in the Lahore Medical College which is causing serious public anxiety in the Punjab and calls for immediate intervention on the part of the local Government. Practically the entire body of the College students decided some days ago not to attend their classes as long as certain complaints of theirs remained unheard, and after submitting their complaints in writing to the Principal they carried their decision into effect. We received a copy of the students' representation at the time, but we preferred to wait and see the things settling themselves amicably without being drummed and shouted abroad. When the alumni of a public institution find themselves at cross-purposes with their teachers, one's natural wish is to leave the things alone lest by keeping up a running fire of excited comment at a distance one might only injure where one meant to serve. We regret, however, that it is no longer possible in the public interest to ignore the serious *impasse* that has been reached in the affairs of the College mainly, it would seem, through the stiff and unbending attitude of the Principal. Several days have passed since the students ceased to attend their lectures. They have made some earnest attempts to settle the matters and return to their studies, but they seem to have failed. Public anxiety has, in the meantime, been growing and signs of excitement are manifesting themselves in the Lahore student world. A big public meeting recently held in Lahore showed in an unmistakable manner what gravity is generally attached to the situation. Yet the Principal has proceeded with supreme nonchalance to tell the students that their names have been struck off the College rolls and for readmission they will have to apply individually to him presumably bearing in mind his earlier reminder not unlike a threat that each one of them will have "his case considered on its merits." And all this, we may presume, has been done in the name of discipline. We need not say that we know the great value of a regulated educational regime even if it is a little austere on occasions. The maintenance of authority and strict control over students is a postulate that has seldom been questioned in India. But unfortunately we have been accustomed in this country to hear the cry of discipline mostly in cases where common tact and sympathy have been conspicuous by their absence.

We must, however, see what it is that drove the students into a course that can be justified only in rare circumstances. We have before us the representation submitted by them to their Principal, and if half of what they complain of is true, their case is indeed deserving of sympathy. They say, in brief, that the treatment accorded to them by the Principal himself and several members of his staff is such as would be intolerable to any person not wholly devoid of self-respect. They have invariably to face brusque and contemptuous manners. They have even to put up with vulgar epithets and abuse, "as if the students were the vilest worms and not respectable youngmen of high University education." The treatment accorded to them by the head of the institution has, they say, lowered them in the eyes of the clerks, the nursing staff and even the menials of the hospital. The only thing they want in this connection is that "we should at least be shown the same consideration as the students of the Arts Colleges are shown by their principals and professors." Then, again, they complain of various disabilities they have to bear in the prosecution of their professional studies, which are both serious and manifold. They complain also that the number of scholarships has been reduced and that the system of taking bonds amounts in actual practice to a mere "hindrance against prosecution of higher studies abroad." There are still further difficulties that are placed in the way of those who wish to go to England for higher studies.

The Students' Grievances.

training. The students proceed to say, however, that "we might have perhaps still put up with the disadvantages from which we have so long been suffering, but the climax was reached on Wednesday last. As the proceedings of the London Hospital students were unfair and unwarranted as condemning the whole race of Indian students and as we feared that their example might be followed by other institutions, we approached you with a request to preside at a meeting we proposed to hold in order to protest against the resolutions of the English students of the London Hospital. . . . We were grieved to learn, however, that you refused to entertain the application and help us in the matter, but added to our chagrin by endorsing the opinions of the London Hospital students and in addition insulting us by condemning our own character, making remarks about our behaviour towards the nursing staff, which we beg to say were quite unjustified." This, as the students say, was the last straw that broke the camel's back. They decided at last in a body to stay away from the college intimating that "we will be only too glad to return to the college when we are kindly given distinct assurance that our grievances will be redressed and no punishment of any sort will be inflicted on any one of us for our staying out of the college." The Principal returned to this representation a curt reply saying that each student's case would be judged on its merit and fixing a date for the unconditional return of the students to their duties after which no roll-calls would be taken.

Now it is obvious that the students alleged inconsiderate and harsh treatment at the hands of the Principal himself. They also urged a number of other complaints of a decidedly serious character.

And they asked for nothing beyond a "distinct assurance" that their grievances would be properly dealt with. The proper course for the Principal was to give the assurance and let an independent inquiry be made into the complaints of the students. The allegations about ill-treatment are serious enough in all conscience, and if they could be shown to be groundless the students should have been punished as they deserved. We know what is the usual fate of such grievances when those against whom complaints are made themselves sit in judgment. We can well understand why the students held back. When the date fixed for their return to the College was over, the Principal issued another notice based on the decisions of the College Council, that "the students have severed their connection with the College by their own action" and that they shall be re-admitted only if a fresh application is made by each individual in person not later than the 1st of March. He further stated that the students had made allegations of ill-treatment against the professors and the Principal which shall have to be proved or denied. So there the matter rests. We wonder why the local Government has not yet intervened to save the situation from becoming still more scandalous and grave. It is essential to hold a prompt, thorough and impartial inquiry into the matter and to allow the students in the meantime to go back to their studies. Their time has been wasted enough already. If their grievances are found to be baseless and there action frivolous and unjustifiable, let them by all means bear the consequences. But it is not in all fairness for the Principal of the College to determine whether the students' complaints are just and their action a measure of extreme necessity. Frankly, we have not been impressed with the manner in which the Principal has so far handled the situation. The Indian student is not an unmitigated young barbarian who would kick at the traces for sheer love of revolt. He is by nature docile and patient and has not yet shed his traditional reverence for his teacher even in this irreverent age. The Principal of the Lahore Medical College is reported to have said to the representative of a local paper that he had remarked to the students' representatives "that there was a good deal of truth in what had been said in the report of the meeting of the London Hospital students, although the language used was diabolical and possibly a misinterpretation or a misrepresentation of what actually took place." Perhaps it would not be wholly unprofitable to ask the Principal to reveal the measure of "truth" he sees in the resolution of the students of the London Hospital. It may prove a new illumination to those who have been told with such engaging frankness what the London Hospital students think of them. Rumour hath it that the anonymous author of "Sri Ram, the Revolutionist" and the *Times* reporter at the last Indian National Congress session at Karachi are one and the same person who has the further glory of being the preceptor of India's youths. What a remarkable combination we have in this instance of a friend, philosopher and guide. Such combinations are not very rare. Unfortunately they burst on our intelligence only when we have to lament with the poet :

من از یگانگان مرگم نه نام * که با من مرگم کرد آن آشنا کرد

(Do not shed tears on account of strangers; all that has been done to me has been done by that one who knows me.)

The immediate cause of the trouble at the Lahore Medical College is still more serious in some respects than the situation to which it was given rise. As it has already been stated, the students wanted to hold a meeting of protest against a resolution passed at a meeting of the English students of the London Hospital, and asked their Principal to preside at the meeting. The principal, however, refused and added to his refusal certain *obiter dicta* which the students considered to be insulting and altogether unjustified. The arguments advanced in support of their solution are reported to be as follows :—(1) That it is detrimental to the proper government and discipline of India that youngmen who are by no means regarded as equals by whites in that country should come to England and be treated as such and that it is stated on reliable authority that these students on their return to their native land become discontented and often seditious by reason of this fact; (2) that as an inferior and subject race they have not the rights of Englishmen; (3) that medical study can be pursued excellently in India and at less cost; (4) that Indian students are undesirable as a whole, do least work, and are frequently sent back to India in disgrace for having got some poor innocent English girl into trouble; (5) that these students benefit little by their stay in England, adopting the white man's vices without his virtues." It is further stated that the meeting at which the resolutions were passed was presided over by the Head of the London Hospital who sympathised with and supported the English students' demands to impose stringent restrictions on the admission of Indian students into the Hospital. There were several speakers who opposed the resolution, but it was carried with a large majority. We need not set about to examine the contemptible aspersions cast on the characters of Indians as a whole. We are sure all fair-minded Englishmen view such exhibition of petty insolence with disgust. It must, however, be noted that the spirit of racial hatred and intolerance of which the Indians have been made helpless victims in some of the British colonies, is beginning to be manifest in strange forms in the heart of the Empire. The virus has been exported from abroad. The microbe that is the transmitting agency is not always of the colonial type. We are told that a former member of the Indian Medical Service was one of the prominent speakers who urged the exclusion of Indians from the London Hospitals. The fact is significant and should carry its own lesson. As regards the English students who have so shamelessly traduced Indian character, the least that can be expected is that they would be debarred from competing for the Indian Medical Service. India and the Empire would both be better served if all avenues are shut on the men to fatten on the substance of the people they have abused.

We have received the following very interesting letter from Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell of O'Donnell for publication. The writer is a distinguished politician and journalist, having been a Member of Parliament for ten years and bring at present the Foreign Editor of the Tory weekly, *The Outlook*, which has so splendidly championed the righteous sense of Turkey during her recent troubles and which equally splendidly championed the righteous cause of Indian Mussalmans in the Cawnpore Mosque Case. Mr. O'Donnell's is indeed a unique personality. He is a Catholic and an Irishman, but is the Foreign Editor of a Tory paper and has distinguished himself as a valiant champion of "Clean Government" in the recent controversies about the American Marconi Shares and the purchase of silver by the India Office through the firm of the Montaguos. During the stay of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali he contributed several articles on Indian affairs to the *New Witness* edited by Mr. Cecil Chesterton, the brother of the famous "G. K. C.", which is the organ of the "Clean Government" movement. In particular Mr. O'Donnell wrote on "The Colour Line: the Negation of God", a subject on which he addressed a meeting also held at Essex Hall under the Chairmanship of Mr. G. K. Chesterton. We value greatly the first contribution of Mr. O'Donnell to *The Comrade* and trust it will not be the last. We write a discussion on the subject by our readers and reserve our comments for the present. Mr. O'Donnell writes as follows :—Dear Sir,—

"I have read with great interest recent publications of the Indian Press, including in the first place, your well-informed and able newspaper. Many English friends of mine regretted that Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan were obliged to quit England so soon; as their clear, eloquent, and very instructive lectures and speeches were of great assistance towards the better understanding of the Indian questions of the day. When the Moslem delegates were in England, they brought home to the minds of many Englishmen the danger to universal liberty which must arise from lawless outbreaks of tyranny as have been exercised by the South African Government towards the Indian settlers in Natal and the Transvaal. Englishmen can now reflect upon the brutality with

"which native Englishmen have been treated within the last few days by the same South African Government, without the slightest regard to any principle of the Constitution or any tradition of English liberty. When Indian settlers were exposed to every brutality of lawless force, few Englishmen expected that it would so soon be the turn of free natives of England to be treated as outlaws like the settlers from India themselves. It is in this manner that license for tyranny in one instance soon becomes a general disregard of human right and liberty. I have often regretted that the Nations and Princes of India have not established long ago a general office and mansion in London for the permanent representation of All-Indian interests in the British Capital. Something after the manner in which Canada and Australia possess their central offices and their Agents-General for the representation and protection of Australian and Canadian interests, so those native Indian interests which are so deeply concerned with questions of commerce, education, public reform and other concerns of general importance, would have much to gain in possessing a permanent centre of business and patriotism in London as well. A large and well-planned house, with Indian reading rooms, with commercial offices representing the Indian Native Chambers of Commerce, with an office for educational information for the benefit of Indians resident in England, with two or three halls for social, literary and scientific meetings, would be an immense assistance both to Indian gentlemen of distinction, and to British friends of India desirous of a centre of Indian information close at hand. A joint contribution to the support of what might be called 'The Indian Empire House', on the part of the Princes, Nobles, Chambers of Commerce and general public of India, would be a matter of very small expense, that would be hardly noticeable when spread over so great an area; and it would be conducive both to the dignity of India and to the better knowledge and understanding of the just requirements of India among intelligent and enlightened Englishmen. It would bring the public opinion of India in contact with England, and it would enable Indian visitors and residents to acquire a better knowledge of British civilisation and progress. With renewed expressions of the great interest derived from the leaders of Indian opinion whom I have recently had the pleasure to meet, and with especial recognition of the valuable Indian newspapers and Reviews, I remain, Yours faithfully, F. Hugh O'Donnell of O'Donnell."

distinct social atmosphere which comes indelibly and imperceptibly to mould purpose and desire after a certain stage of social development has been reached. India can never be democratic as long as she does not come socially into line with Western Europe. When that time comes she will naturally breathe what is called the democratic spirit, i. e., she will have certain social values and needs, and organise her social energy in certain ways peculiar to her stage of evolution. As a system of government democracy is said to be blundering, slow and inefficient, and logically the most perfect instrument for the coercion of minorities. But it is conveniently forgotten that democracy, like the socialism of the greatest thinkers of to-day, postulates a certain degree of trained intelligence and moral culture, certain social habits and ways of thought, which are the fruits of education and freedom to make "earnest" experiments in pursuit of social "causes." In Europe itself democracy is yet on its trial, for the simple reason that the education of the masses has not yet reached a sufficiently high level. How far it is just or relevant to confound the nascent social purposes of a people still on the lower stages of social efficiency with the errors of the imperfect democracy of Europe we need not pause to consider. Mr. Justice Beaman seems to think as if some kindly Fate intervenes perpetually to save mankind from ever attaining perfect democracy, for it would, in his opinion, be a condition of perfect tyranny. Perhaps the fate of social experiments in Greece and Rome and elsewhere in a remote period of human history haunts his imagination. The simple fact is that democracy in the real sense of the term has never existed before. Universal suffrage and equal political status among individuals are mere devices that have often been adopted in the past, in spite of the absence of true democracy. Behind these devices lay a mass of social inequalities, conventions and customs which were as formidable as any "cracy" that rouses the scorn of Justice Beaman in modern times. Equality may be a chimera, but the equality of opportunity is something worth having and not a hopeless quest. It is this condition of things that true democracy promotes, and in fact it is this feature of the modern social experiments which sets them far above all kindred efforts in the past and may ultimately lead to the solution of the terrible riddles that have puzzled the ingenuity of man since the dawn of history. As Justice Beaman says, it is useless to dogmatise—either one way or the other. Enthusiasms, ideals, "causes" may be illusions after all. We would have only to admit in that case that God has chosen thus to fulfil his purposes on earth.

We published in our last the discourse of Mr. Justice Beaman on

"Seed Capsules of thought."

"Opportunities of Life" which was delivered before a gathering of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. To many of his hearers it must have proved a novel treat. The lecturer

avoided the stock banalities of the stump preacher on manners and morals which are frequently inflicted on hapless assemblies of Indian youths. He dived straight into the life-purpose and boldly challenged some of the ideals, enthusiasms and stand-points which carry a great popular appeal in these days. As he said, he hinted at rather profound things, trying to sow "seed capsules of thought." There was nothing intrinsically new or original in what he said. His distrust of earnestness, of sentimental zeal, of humanitarianism and of democracy is of a piece with the general doubts and misgivings which handicap the modern sceptic in his outlook on life in Europe. They have, however, been seldom stated with such directness and emphasis before an audience of young Indian students. If the object of Mr. Justice Beaman was to impress on his hearers the need, particularly in the early stage of intellectual development, to keep an open mind, to cultivate the spirit of free inquiry and to save their young enthusiasm from the snare of cheap formulas and wily catchwords of the crowd, he could not have chosen a better text for the occasion. But the examples with which he sought to enforce his views are not relevant to the condition of things in India. The intellectual scepticism and social heresies of Europe have grown in a peculiar intellectual climate. They are the products of a society that has passed through many a stage of evolution yet untraversed by the people of this country. Humanitarianism with its solemn creeds and symbols, democracy and its weapons, public "enthusiasms" and public "causes" were born under the stress of a peculiar social energy; and if those of Europe who dwell in "finer regions of thought" have discovered that, like everything else that is human, the enthusiasms and devices of the 19th century Europe are not perfect, the discovery has no very great relevance in its bearing on things in India. That humanitarianism is an absurd thing in logic and, according to European experience, can sometimes mean a foolish waste of effort and that democracy may easily lend itself to social injustice and abuse, have little value even as a warning in a place where humanitarianism of the secular type and democracy of some sort have yet to come. And Mr. Justice Beaman perhaps forgets that democracy is neither an institution nor a popular political device. It means a

The story of Snehatala Devi's pathetic end has naturally aroused great pity and horror among social reformers in Bengal and it is possible the woe of a young life flinging itself as a burnt offering at the altar of custom may ultimately scar the social conscience of the Bengali community. The demand for extortionate dowries made by the parents of eligible boys has grown into a tyrannous usage, and murmurs of disapproval were fast becoming audible amongst a section of the educated Bengalis. Snehatala's tragic death has revealed in a flashlight how far this pernicious custom has become a terrible social evil. Her father was not rich enough to provide the customary dowry. He tried to borrow without success, and when all other means failed he decided in the last resort to raise the necessary sum by mortgaging his house. When the girl became aware of her father's troubles and the decision to which he had been driven on her account, she was stung with grief and resolved to quietly end her own life in order to save her father from the odium and humiliation of such a course. She carried out her resolve in the stillness of night and with a terrible, all-consuming earnestness that is the soul of all moving tragedy. If the flames that devoured this young, hapless, devoted thing, because the symbol of a mightier conflagration and set the consciences of the people ablaze, her sacrifice would not be in vain. Nothing can be more fatuous at this time than the petty controversy that is going on in some papers as to whether Snehatala's deed was heroic. The deed may have in it elements of a grave spiritual struggle which ultimately convinced a young, passionate and brave heart that the path of duty lay through self-destruction. Or it may be the result of morbid, brooding of a fragile spirit over difficulties that later were spurning darkly around her. In any case it is tragic enough to rouse pity of and turn in a whole community and set it to seriously examine the plague-spots in its social system. If the demand for extortionate dowries has sprung up because the supply of educated young men is not adequate, the only reasonable way of adjusting the equilibrium is to stop the practice of marrying girls before they are well grown in years. The revision to child-marriage suggested by some orthodox Bengali Hindus as the best way to escape existing evils is a counsel of despair.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VII.

We have dealt in our last two articles on the subject of the Press Act with the discussion in the Viceroy's Council on the question of the statement of grounds in the orders of forfeiture, and we have shown how the Executive in India has practically flouted the highest judicial tribunal in this country in a matter which is entirely within the province of the judiciary. Let us now turn to the second part of the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee's resolution in which he prayed that "section 22 of the Act be so modified as to definitely empower the High Court to set aside an order of forfeiture not made in conformity with the provisions of sections 4, 6, 9, 11 and 12 of the Act."

It will be remembered that although the Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court held in our Pamphlet Case that a mandatory condition of a valid order of a forfeiture under section 12, namely the statement of grounds, had not been fulfilled, the Court felt itself to be impotent before the bar of all jurisdiction under section 22 of the Act except that of the High Court on a single point of fact. The Chief Justice had said in his judgment that—

The Notification therefore appears to me to be defective in a material particular and but for section 22 of the Act it would (in my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. . . . The result is that though I hold the Notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.

It is not difficult to see that this interpretation of the Act is bound to have far-reaching results. It does not merely refer to a particular mandatory condition, much less to a particular case. If the jurisdiction of the only competent court under the Act is so restricted, then every mandatory condition in the Act loses all significance and value. The Hon. Mr. Das in the course of the debate in the Legislative Council very rightly said :

Sir, I have always understood that the mandatory conditions of an Act, especially when the conditions are conditions precedent to any action, or to any measure, or to any procedure, are a *sine qua non* to the validity and legality of what follows. But here we have a case where the mandatory conditions have been differently interpreted. It is admitted that there are conditions of a mandatory character, and yet it is contended that the High Court's power to pronounce on the legality of the forfeiture, by reason of the failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act, is barred. If they are to be at all mandatory conditions, certainly they must be tested by those rules and canons of interpretation which have always been held to be applicable to mandatory conditions.

The speaker asked Government to consider the effect that its novel interpretation of the force of mandatory conditions would have in other cases. For instance, sections 4, 6, 9 and 11 make it a mandatory condition of a valid order of forfeiture that, (1) the Local Government shall give notice of the forfeiture in writing to the keeper of the offending press or the publisher of the offending newspaper, and that, (2) it shall state or describe the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described in section 4 and section (1). If a Local Government fails to observe these mandatory conditions and merely confiscates the security deposited together with the printing-press concerned, the person adversely affected by such action can have no redress of his grievances. As it is, he is not very much the wiser for a "description" of the offending words, signs etc., and it may be that even the formality of a written notice with such a "description" may some day be dispensed with. As the Act stands, what is there to prevent it?

Let us now see what the Executive had to say on this question. The Hon. the Advocate-General who had unsuccessfully contended four months previously in the Calcutta High Court that a similar condition was not mandatory but only directory, preserved a discreet silence. No other Hon. Member spoke on the side of Government, except the Hon. the Home Member, and all that he had to say on this subject is contained in the following significant pronouncement :—

The only issue that it was intended should be submitted to judicial decision, and that only to a Special Bench of the High Court, was the question whether the words, illustrations etc., which formed the subject of forfeiture, fell within the aim of section 4 of the Act or not. . . . It is quite clear that there never was any intention to give any Special Bench of the High Court any other power except to decide Aye or No, whether the words, etc., complained of did, or did not come within the description contained in the clauses and sub-clauses of section 4. Very naturally, the Executive Government will always desire to comply with the forms and prescriptions of the law as to the procedure to be followed; but the vital issue in this case—in all these cases—is whether the document concerned was, or was not, open to the construction placed on it which made its forfeiture proper, whether that writing did, or did not, fall within the terms of section 4 of the Bill. That is the vital issue—vital to public interests and vital

to private interests. If a technical error, and as I said, any irregularity of that kind would be unintentional on the part of the Government, if such irregularity were to come in and if that error in the form of the Notification were to vitiate the action taken, then the most revolutionary pamphlet might have a free circulation while the error was being discussed and rectified.

That is to say, all mandatory conditions are merely "technical" matters, and such "technical errors" as their non-observance are vital neither to public nor to private interests. Local Governments should be trusted not to commit them; but, all the same, if they do commit them in fact, it does not matter a straw. No Court in the world can intervene, and no redress is possible. After this pronouncement what can we do but echo the words of the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahmitoola who said : "I think the Council is indebted to the Hon. the Home Member for having clearly explained that though so much was made of the 'safeguards, in actual practice the safeguards are nil.' In the word of the speaker, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock's speech "completely disposes of the question of safeguards."

If that is so, may we ask why so much fuss was made about the pledges of the then Law Member? Why need Government have discussed at so much length and with so much elaboration whether the so-called safeguard of stating or describing "the offending words, or articles or pictures or engravings or whatever it is upon which the Local Government bases its orders" could, or could not be extended to section 12? In either case it was ineffective, for although Mr. S. P. Sinha was emphatic enough in declaring that "it is of no use to attempt to convince us that it is a very drastic measure, because we have put in all kinds of safeguards," Sir Reginald Craddock tells us that his predecessor and Mr. Sinha's colleague, the Hon. Sir Herbert Risley, had clearly intimated "that there never was any intention to give any special Bench of the High Court any power to declare a forfeiture null and void on the ground that this pledge was ignored." We confess we have never seen casuistry carried to such lengths by a responsible member of the Government of India. When the non-official members remind Government of its own solemn pledge, they are equally solemnly assured that the pledge referred to quite a different matter; but when they ask that whatever the subject on which the pledge was given, it should be made compulsory on Government to redeem that pledge, they are told that there never was any intention of making it legally binding on Government. Are we to understand that this was another "Amichand's Treaty" devised by a "slim" Secretariat? We are fully convinced, and we know what we talk about, and say this with a full sense of our responsibility, that not all the seditious writings in all the seditious newspapers in the world can bring Government into so much hatred or contempt as the least suspicion in the people's mind, justified by any declaration of Government, that it plays fast and loose with its pledges to the people. In 1878 Government had frankly enough asked for and obtained the necessary legislative sanction for executive action designed to suppress seditious writings in the Vernacular Press of India. It wanted no reference to the judiciary and said so. In 1910, too, it had a large enough official majority to pass any kind of Press Bill that it felt disposed to enact into law. Instead of avoiding judicial reference, the Government of the day boasted of "all kinds of safe-guards" which it had provided in its Bill. Does it, then, lie in the mouth of the Government to-day to say in one and the same breath that those safeguards were very limited in their application and that even as they are in practice they are of no value.

It is all very well to talk of the intentions of Government. But when we are told openly enough that even the best of intentions on the part of a printer or publisher do not make him immune from the rigours of the Press Act, what consolation can it be to him to believe that the so-called "technical errors" of Government are unintentional. That brings no grist to the mill, and for all we know the good intentions of Local Governments may serve for gridirons in roasting an equally well-intentioned Press. The Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavarachariar said in the course of the Council debate : "Is it plain that there was a defect or is it plain that there was not a defect? It seems to me that the trend of the argument is this. Apparently there was a defect, but as it suits us we wish to have it. That I understand to be the upshot of the argument in opposition to the resolution." We ask, is Government content to leave the question at that? Not a single Notification declaring a forfeiture has exhibited the least effective improvement consequent upon the declaration of the Hon. the Advocate-General in our Pamphlet Case that in that case the Notification was "loosely worded" and "couldn't have been drawn up by a lawyer," and the Chief Justice's apt retort that "surely, you can't confiscate people's property on loosely worded notifications." In the case of *Al-Hilal* of Calcutta even the date of the issue declared to have been forfeited happened to be one on which that weekly journal was not, and could not have been, published. In the case of the *Hamdard's* translation of the *Macedonia* Pamphlet, three issues out of a total of eighteen were left out.

in the declaration of forfeiture in spite of our having supplied a full list of the "guilty" issues along with all copies thereof when the District Magistrate had gone one better than the Government of the Province of Delhi. That shows the care and diligence with which Government make their declarations of forfeiture and in which we must place our trust for the due observance of necessary and proper procedure. The *Pioneer*, that sturdy champion of *Nadir Shahi* procedure, laughed only the other day at the shifts to which local Governments were put in drawing up Notifications as a lawyer, say, the Hon. the Advocate-General of Bengal, would have drawn them up—not "loosely worded" but as tight, we presume, as a wedding knot. And yet not one could have satisfied the Courts as being in conformity with the provisions of the Press Act. So much for the unintentional "technical errors" of Local Governments. As for the excuse that if such "technical errors" could vitiate the action taken, "then the most revolutionary pamphlet might have a free circulation while the error was being discussed and rectified." Can Government supply many instances of such prompt action as they would like themselves to be credited with? The Macedonia Pamphlet reached India last April and was reproduced by us in May. The declaration of forfeiture by the Government of India did not come till the middle of July, and our reprint was not forfeited for another month. Similarly, the *Zamindar Press* was confiscated nearly two months after the publication of three articles which constitute the subject matter on which the order of forfeiture has been based. These are not rare instances but typical of the "prompt" action of Government. And if these are all the arguments that can be offered in defence of Government's attitude, we fear Government may appear to be altogether bankrupt in every thing save "good intentions."

Member after member rose from his place in the Council Chamber on the 9th January to press for the amendment of the Act, and the still small voice of the Hon. Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana's dissent which alone seems to have reached England, only served to emphasize the unanimity of non-official opinion. One member in particular, the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda, supplied in his short speech the key-note of non-official protest and prayer. Referring to the assurance of the late Sir Herbert Risley to which we have referred more than once in previous issues, he said: "This sacred assurance and promise of complete check was endorsed and supported by the Hon. Law member of the time. We believed in, and relied fully and completely on, the words of the responsible officers of the Crown. But when the first appeal under the Act goes to the High Court of Calcutta, we, to our amazement and disappointment are told that 'the complete check' promised to us and provided in the Act are words without meaning. . . . The Resolution we are discussing is nothing but a request to Government to rectify its unintentional error in an Act which was passed in a hurry and under peculiar circumstances. Sir, pray do not give any one ground to think that the Government can err but it does not possess courage enough to mend that error. Let it not come into the minds of the people that the Government in its assurances and promises plays upon words. Sir, we cannot for a moment suppose that the Government ever says anything to the people it does not mean. . . . It was expected of the Government to come forward ere long with a Bill to amend the Press Act of 1910. Sir, it was a matter of honour for the Government!" Nothing could be more clearly indicative of popular feeling than this quiet but forcible appeal of one of the most sedate and quiet Members of a quiet and sedate Council. And yet the response of the Government of India was what we have seen.

Now comes the response of the Home Government. Reuter tells us that in answer to Mr. Morrell's question with reference to Sir Lawrence Jenkin's judgment, Mr. Roberts, the new Under Secretary of State for India, said that "Mr. Morrell was extending to all action taken under the Act, certain remarks regarding action taken under section 12. Lord Crewe, after careful consideration of the recent debate in the Viceroy's Council, held that the powers of appeal provided by the Act might suffice to supply a remedy against the arbitrary administration of the Act." This is, indeed, most hopeful, for evidently there is at the present moment neither a copy of the Press Act in the India Office nor of the judgment of the learned Chief Justice of Bengal, and equally evidently the Secretary of State for India requires, if not as many readings of "the recent debate in the Viceroy Council" as the Home Rule Bill of his Government has had, at least one more to recognise that the debate here justifies no such conclusions as he has drawn. The task imposed on the applicant to the Courts, who must show that the publication in question did not contain "words falling within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act" was declared by Sir Lawrence Jenkins to be "almost hopeless," because of section 4 sub-section (1) as the very next sentence, and, in fact, the whole judgment clearly indicates,

And if the new Under Secretary has a copy of the Press Act handy, he will find that section 4 sub-section (1) runs through every section empowering Government to declare a forfeiture and not merely through section 12. As for the Secretary of State, it is obviously not for us to question his Lordship's competence for the high office he holds. But we venture to question his ability to reverse the judgment of the High Court of Calcutta. That only the Privy Council can do. But we believe his Lordship harboured no such intention but has been confused by the report of the debate here, for we have shown amply enough that the points at issue were befogged and the two Government Members never attempted to face the situation created by the judicial pronouncements of great value and importance embodied in the judgments in our case. May we not hope that when Mr. Roberts understands the case better and is convinced by a perusal of the Press Act and the Calcutta judgment that it was not Mr. Morrell who was extending to all action taken under the Act the Chief Justice's remarks in our case, but that the Act itself made them applicable, and that the Chief Justice himself applied them, that he would announce in Parliament on the next occasion that he refers to this crude and cruel Act that "the Order of Release" has already gone forth. Evidently Lord Crewe is not quite sure that the Act does suffice to "supply a remedy against the arbitrary administration of the Act." He only held that it might. Well, we think we know better, for in our own case it hasn't. And we live in hopes that his Lordship's present absence of certainty would soon be replaced by the presence of the fullest conviction that the Act supplies no remedy against its arbitrary administration.

Education of Mussalmans.

The Sixth Quinquennial Review of the progress of education in India, which has just been published by the Education Department, is an industrious survey covering a wide range and brings together a mass of facts and figures which afford a useful and interesting study. The chapters dealing with the evolution of the State policy and the general lines and scope of educational advance are interesting in particular and must naturally engage the utmost public attention. We reserve the consideration of these vital matters for another occasion. For the present we would only note at some length the facts, inferences and conclusions set forth in the chapter on Moslem education, especially in view of the fact that we have devoted several articles for some weeks past to emphasising the importance of the subject as the chief factor in the general problem of Moslem advancement. It is essential that the Moslem standpoint in regard to communal education should be tested in the light of the official survey, just as it is necessary to examine official policy and measures with reference to the real needs of the community.

In considering the attitude of the Mussalmans towards modern education it is necessary to bear in mind the general position and distinctive features of the community. The Mussalmans of British India, as is pointed out in the Review, comprise 22.7 per cent. of the total population. They form a large and important minority differing from the rest of the people in religion, tradition, ideals, manners, and the language of their sacred and classical literature. It is rightly held, therefore, that their needs require special measures and the account of their progress demands separate treatment. The earlier attitude of the Mussalmans towards Western education was one of distrust if not of actual hostility. The traditions of their past political power and social influence were still fresh in their minds, and they retained intact a marked individuality in thought, manners and outlook which they had acquired in the atmosphere of a powerful and independent culture. The spread of the ideals embodied in the arts and sciences of the West was, in its earlier stages, a source of great anxiety and alarm to the Mussalmans. They felt as if an irresistible moral and intellectual avalanche was imminent which would sweep away all ancient landmarks and wipe out the symbols of their communal individuality. Time, however, proved a soothing tonic. The earlier distrust began to wear away as experience grew apace. It began to be realised that no community could afford to shew modern education in the new conditions of existence and that the Western culture was neither a thorough-going iconoclast, nor of so insular a character as to be utterly inadapted to the needs of the various communities in India. As this perception dawned and the pressure of circumstances increased, the early Moslem indifference and dislike towards Western education began to give way. The rapid change of feeling has become manifest to a remarkable degree in recent years. The demand for education has grown up enormously; new ideals have taken the place of the old; and active efforts are being organised on a vast scale to bring the community educationally into line with the most progressive races in India.

The problem that now faces the Mussalmans is, as has been truly said, "the maintenance of religious observance and discipline amid the disintegrating influences of higher secular education."

The educational progress of the Mussalmans during the quinquennium (1907-12) is worth noting. The number of Mussalmans under instruction in all classes of institutions in 1912 was 1,551,151 against 1,172,371 in 1907. This increase represents nearly 32.3 per cent. on the previous figure against 25.8 per cent. in the case of pupils of all classes in India. The advance represented by these figures is appreciable and shows that the Mussalmans are becoming increasingly alive to their educational needs. The percentage of Mussalmans at school to the total of pupils of all creeds at school now just exceeds the proportion of the Moslem population to the whole population; the latter is 22.7 per cent., the former is 22.9 per cent. In some localities the percentage of Moslem pupils at school considerably exceeds the percentage of Hindus; thus, in the United Provinces, 18.4 per cent. of the Mussalmans of a school-going age are under instruction, and 9.3 per cent. of the Hindus. Of the total number of Mussalmans under instruction in all kinds of institutions, 1,387,954 are boys and 213,197 are girls. The figure relating to girls represents an increase of over 75 per cent. upon the number of girls in 1907. But while the Mussalmans now fully hold their own in educational institutions regarded as a whole, their proportion in secondary and higher education is still below their numerical strength in the population. But before we set forth this deficiency in actual figures, enumerate the causes and consider remedial measures, it is desirable to show the net actual increase of Mussalman pupils in the various classes of public institutions during the past five years. In the arts colleges the number of Moslem pupils has increased by 97.3 per cent.; in professional colleges by 41.0 per cent.; in secondary schools by 89.1 per cent.; in middle vernacular schools by 6.7 per cent.; in primary schools by 29.9 per cent.; and in special schools by 315.3 per cent. It will be noticed that, while the increase among those in primary school pupils has been comparatively small, the increase in arts colleges and in secondary schools represents not far from a doubling of the pupils, while that in special schools has more than trebled. In professional colleges (save those for the study of law) there has been no decided increase—indeed, there has in some cases been retrogression. Among special schools those for training as teachers and those for technical and industrial instruction exhibit increases of Moslem pupils in the one case from 1,102 to 2,104, and in the other from 1,488 to 2,520; but the great advance in the numbers enrolled in special schools as a whole in reality represents enhanced numbers in *madrassas* and the transfer of *maktabs*, etc., to this class of institution. It is obvious that the growth of Moslem education as a whole has not been in the direction of numbers alone. A far larger proportion of pupils now seek higher forms of instruction than was the case five years ago.

But a comparative study of the statistics of the past five years relating to the progress of Indian education as a whole shows that the proportion of Moslem pupils in secondary schools and arts colleges is still considerably below their relative strength in the population. The percentage of Moslem pupils to the total number of pupils of all creeds in various classes of public institutions is as follows:—In the arts colleges the percentage is 10.4; in professional colleges it is 10.0; in secondary schools, 19.0; in middle vernacular schools, 17.0; in primary schools, 20.5; and in special schools, 66.2. The leeway to be made up in secondary and collegiate education seems particularly great when we bear in mind that the Moslem population of British India is 22.7 per cent. of the total population. The general position of the Mussalmans in all branches of public instruction is not uniform throughout the country. It varies with the conditions obtaining in different provinces. It would thus be observed that according to the census figures of 1911 the percentage of Mussalmans to the total population in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, Burma, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Central Provinces and Berar, Coorg and North West Frontier Province is 6.6, 18.1, 17.1, 14.1, 54.8, 5.5, 58.5, 3.7, 7.5, and 92.8 respectively, while the percentage of Moslem pupils to the total of pupils of all classes in public institutions in these provinces is 9.0, 16.6, 17.4, 15.2, 38.2, 3.6, 52.0, 9.3, 3.2 and 63.1 respectively. In Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, Burma and the Central Provinces, the proportion to the number at school exceeds the proportion to the total population. The advance in the two Bengals has been appreciable, while the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province show marked backwardness.

The causes responsible for the relatively inferior position of the Mussalmans in the educational progress of the country are not far to seek. The Moslem educational activity is only of recent growth. The early attitude of indifference and distrust shown by the community has had a cumulative effect on the proportionate growth of education among the various communities. The start made by the Mussalmans at a comparatively later hour requires a much more accelerated pace if they are to cover the distance that divides them from the other

racess and creeds. Then, the Moslem community has special religious and social needs which can be met only by special measures. It is also comparatively poor. Then, again, over large areas the Mussalmans are included mainly in the cultivating classes who only proceed to secondary schools in exceptional cases. It is plain therefore, that the problem of Moslem education will have to be solved according to the varying conditions of the different localities. The measures to be adopted in each case will have to be evolved after a careful inquiry into local conditions; and we may mention in this connection that we are awaiting with keen interest the results of the provincial inquiries based on the Circular of the Government of India on Moslem education. It may, however, be observed as a matter of general application that an effective increase in Moslem teachers and educational inspectors should be made irrespective of local circumstances. As special measures suited to special provinces, scholarships will have to be increased, exemptions of fees granted in larger numbers, rural schools will have to be opened and school curricula will have to be devised in accordance with the linguistic and other requirements of Moslem pupils. All these questions have been touched upon in the Quinquennium Review with special reference to the existing facts, but little mention has been made of the steps that the Government intends to take with a view to remove the obstacles lying in the path of Moslem education, and no effort has been made to indicate the directions in which Government encouragement and support would seem to be desirable. Perhaps these omissions are due to the fact that the Government of India has already emphasized in general terms its own point of view by issuing a special circular on the subject and is, like the Mussalmans themselves, awaiting the formulation of definite measures by local Governments.

Government help and encouragement is most certainly indispensable in the interests of Moslem education, but the real problem would only be solved when the Mussalmans themselves are allowed to organise the higher education of the community according to its peculiar needs. In other words the creation of the Moslem University is the first and most urgent step that shall have to be taken without delay if the Moslem educational advance is to be assured. We dealt with the University question in our last mainly from the Moslem standpoint and recapitulated the circumstances which have delayed the scheme from coming to fruition. It would, however, be obviously unfair if we only blamed the Government for what is mainly the result of Moslem inaction particularly since July 1912. As a matter of fact the Government of India is not in any way responsible for "the final decisions" which emanated directly from Whitehall. Those decisions were naturally communicated to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee the moment they were received from the Secretary of State for India. They were considered by the constitution Committee at its last meeting in Lucknow in July 1912 and a reply was sent to the Hon. Member for Education that, while these decisions conflicted in some aspects with the principles on which the Committee had based its task, it had no power to accept them, for its mandate was derived from the Moslem University Foundation Committee and it was naturally limited to the framing of a suitable Constitution for the Moslem University. Nothing has since then passed on the subject between the Government and those responsible for the creation of the Moslem University. It rested wholly with the Mussalmans to take early steps with a view to convince the Government or the Secretary of State of the reasonableness and justice of their views. But they did nothing of the kind. The only thing so far achieved is that the Foundation Committee has declared the Secretary of State's decisions to be unacceptable in the best interests of the Moslem community. It was in August 1913 that a resolution was unanimously adopted at the Foundation Committee meeting at Aligarh to organise a strong, representative Moslem deputation to negotiate with the Government, to state and explain the Moslem point of view and to ascertain the views of the former with a view to final settlement. But no effort has yet been made to carry out the resolution. There has been a great waste of time already, and we trust the proposed deputation will soon be organised and proceed to business. We are confident the Government will consider with sympathy all the points that the deputation has been authorised to urge. The Moslem University scheme does not owe its origin to a spirit of adventure nor has it been trumpeted abroad as something desirable for pure communal glory. It embodies the supreme educational need of the community, and the longer it is delayed, the greater would be the general harm to Moslem education. The responsibility of Moslem leaders is heavy in the matter. The question is hanging fire simply through their indifference, weak-kneed pusillanimity or procrastination. If they do not bestir themselves even now, they would have the finger of scorn pointed at them. It would be absurd to blame Government now if the University scheme is indefinitely delayed. It would mainly be another direct consequence of the masterly inactivity of the communal wiseacres and guides.



Snehalata's Martyrdom

Her Letter to her Father.

The *Bengales* publishes the following free translation of a letter reported to have been written by Snehalata Devi to her father before her tragic death:—

"Most Honoured Father,—I cannot bear to think of your mortgaging the house for the sake of my marriage. You shan't do it. You will have no necessity to do it. For, ere the sun shines again to-morrow morning, the troubled spirit of your inauspiciously-born daughter will have winged its flight to where beyond these voices there is peace.

"You have lavished your affection upon me. You have let this tender tendril of love entwine your manly breast. I have been happy in the love of my doting parents, beyond the dreams of Princesses. Am I then to requite all this wealth of love by making myself the cause of the whole family being turned out into the streets and you, my loving father, doomed to life-long penury and misery?

"Day before yesterday, late in the afternoon, when you returned home, lonesome and weary, after having been out the whole day since the break of dawn. I saw your face, saw the world of anguish and despair which was depicted on it and heard with my own ears those fatal words—"all is lost." That face has never ceased to haunt me since. Those words are still ringing in my ears. And I heard the rest of that heart-breaking story, how the big mortgage, which you were so sanguine of your ability to put through and which was to furnish the money required for my marriage, had almost at the last moment been cancelled and how the only way out of the difficulty was to raise the money by a mortgage upon the house.

"Father, I can't bear that idea. What is marriage to me, except as a means of lifting the weight of anxiety on my account, which lies so heavy on your breast? What social obloquy have you not already endured because I am still unmarried? What heroic efforts have you not already made to find a suitable match for me and with what ill success? No, the hall of my ancestors will not be trodden by the feet of strangers nor resound with unfamiliar voices. Not you, adored father, but I am to be the sacrifice.

"Father, I have heard that many noble-hearted and educated young men volunteered for philanthropic work for the relief of the sufferers from the Burdwan floods. God bless their kindly hearts, so full of compassion for their suffering fellow-beings. I have also heard that many young men have taken a vow not to buy *bideshi* articles. Only the other day I heard how bands of noble minded youths had gone from door to door to raise funds for the relief of some people in far away South Africa. But is there no one among them to feel for their own people.

"Last night I dreamt a dream, father, which made me take my vow. To the enthralling strains of a music unheard before, and amid a blaze of light as never was on land or sea, I saw the Divine Mother Durga, with benignant smile, beckoning me to the abode of the blest, up above, and then I thought of you father, of the ever sorrow-laden face of my beloved mother and of the dear little ones who have done so much to brighten our home. And then I resolved to save you all and made a sign to the Divine Mother that I would not delay obeying her merciful call.

"After I am gone, father, I know you will shed tears over my ashes. I shall be gone—but the house will be saved. Since then I have been pondering on the best way of ending my worldly pilgrimage—Fire, Water or Poison. I have preferred the first and may the conflagration I shall kindle set the whole country on fire.

"And now, dear father, farewell. The hour of sacrifice is come. All nature is slumbering peacefully and ere long I am going to fall into that sleep which knows no waking. A strange and sweet sensation overpowers me. Up above, in my new home, at the lotus feet of the Divine Mother and lying within the light of uncreated rays, as I used to lie upon your loving breast, I have only to wait a little while till you and mother come!—Your ill-fated daughter, SNEHALATA."

The Lahore Medical College Strike.

The following application was submitted to the Principal.

To—THE PRINCIPAL, Medical College, Lahore.

SIR,—We, the students of your College respectfully beg to submit that we have been labouring under a number of grievances in the Medical College, which we beg to lay before you in the following few lines:—

1. The first and the foremost grievance from which we suffer is the treatment accorded to us by yourself and some other members of the teaching staff. The Indian student has never been found lacking in due respect to his teachers and the students of your College have never failed in their duty towards their professors. There is moreover a standing regulation in the College to the effect,

"that every student shall salute the professors and the teachers by raising the right hand to the forehead." This regulation is strictly obeyed though the professors, with some noble exceptions, do not show us the common courtesy of acknowledging our salutes. The students of your College have never deviated from the path of duty and have always shown the greatest respect to their teachers. Still, however, the members of the staff have had nothing but the greatest contempt for the students. It is an ordinary thing for them to address us by such insulting names, as bloody fools, donkeys, asses, devils, and slaves, as if the students were the vilest worms and not respectable youngmen of high University education. We have borne these insults as best as we could, but the treatment has now become intolerable and has compelled us to make a practical protest against it.

The treatment accorded to us by the Head of the Institution has lowered us in the eyes of the clerks, nursing staff and even the menials of the Hospital. We are not desirous of any special concessions at your hands, all that we want is, that we should at least be shown the same consideration as the students of the Arts Colleges are shown by their Principals and Professors.

2. Our second grievance is with respect to the disabilities from which we are suffering in the prosecution of our professional studies, so far as the practical work is concerned. Although the practical Examinations are becoming stiffer and stiffer, our opportunities of doing practical work are growing rarer every day. We are neither allowed sufficient use of the surgical apparatus, instruments, models, etc., nor given a fair opportunity to watch surgical operations. There is in fact a strong impression growing up that the staff does not like the idea of Indians attaining any efficiency in the Surgical work.

3. Contrary to the practice in other Colleges the students of the Medical College are not allowed to avail of the Library in the College, as no student is allowed to take out any book for home study on payment of any security whatsoever.

4. The students are always unreservedly suspected of forcing their attention upon the nurses. "The students should on no account talk to the nurses" is the standing order and although every one of us tries honestly to obey this order not only in letter, but in spirit too, yet there are almost daily uncharitable and unwarranted remarks cast against us. Should a student prefer any complaint against a nurse, it is dismissed summarily and the student is never believed whereas immediate action is taken on any report against the students by any nurse. The contemptuous treatment of the nurses therefore towards the students never finds any redress.

5. The number and amount of scholarships has been reduced this year although the number of classes will really increase after two years.

6. The system of taking bonds for merit scholarship is peculiar to Medical College alone. A bond does not entitle the executor to Government service after completion of the College course, but is only used as hinderances against prosecution of higher studies abroad.

7. We also beg to draw your kind attention to the fact that great difficulties are put in the way of students proceeding to England for the prosecution of studies there. Exorbitant fees are charged before certificates in the various subjects are issued. It is after tiring the patience of the applicant that the necessary certificates are granted. The students intending to proceed abroad are discouraged and thus cold water is thrown on their just and noble aspirations.

8. We might have perhaps still put up with the disadvantages from which we have been so long suffering, but the climax was reached on Wednesday last. As the proceedings of the London Hospital students were unfair and unwarranted as condemning the whole race of Indian students and as we feared that their example might not be followed by other Institutions, we approached you with the request to preside at a meeting we proposed to hold in order to protest against the resolutions of the English students of the London Hospital. This, as you would see, Sir, was the best course that we could take. We were grieved to learn, however, that you refused to entertain the application and help us in the matter but added to our chagrin by endorsing the opinions of the London Hospital students and in addition insulting us by condemning our own character, making remarks about our behaviour towards the Nursing staff which we beg to say were quite unjustified.

Smarting as we were under the numerous grievances some of which have been referred to above and were represented to you from time to time directly or indirectly, the unsympathetic treatment we met at your hands was the last straw that broke the camel's back. We did not think it consistent with our sense of honour and self-respect to continue attending the College unless these remarks were withdrawn and our grievances redressed. We ceased to attend the College with the idea that it was impossible to represent the matter to you while staying in the College, as you refused to consider any such applications. We have detailed these grievances for your kind sympathetic and best consideration and we will be only too glad to

return to the College when we are kindly given an assurance that our grievances will be redressed and no punishment of any sort will be inflicted on any one of us for our staying out of the College. Waiting for a favourable and an early decision.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient pupils,
Students
of the Lahore Medical College.

Dated the 13th February, 1914.

The Lapse of Mr. Lovat Fraser.

In Tory circles it goes almost without saying that General Botha is the hero of the hour, just as Lord Morley was in 1909. Mr. Lovat Fraser, who rhapsodises on the theme of "Strong Men and Measures" to the extent of a column in Saturday's *Daily Mail*, is so completely carried away by his enthusiasm that he declares it to be "the real truth" that "the English are not inherently a law-abiding race."

When we see that South Africa has produced one great, clear-headed, determined man who stands for peace and good government and social stability at any risk, we are ready to say he is right without much regard for the lawyers who wag their heads in dismay.

Lord Kitchener, it would appear, is another of the same kidney: although, sad to say, he is "intellectually, not among our greatest men." But his "great merit" is proclaimed to be that "he sometimes cares little about the means he employs so long as he attains his purpose."

He knows something about deportations, for he had a share in the dramatic episode when a dozen prominent agitators in Bengal were suddenly seized one fine morning. Bengal was calmed in an instant, but one recalls the stories of Lord Kitchener's anger when, some months later, the agitators were incontinently released at the bidding of a nervous Cabinet.

Bengal was not "calmed" in any way by the deportations, as Mr. Fraser would have us believe: but what does that matter? Lord Kitchener is admittedly without scruple; and so he is being pushed as a suitable Viceroy for India by Mr. Fraser and his friends. No wonder the "Nation" finds the danger of this epidemic of deportation to lie in the fact that it indicates a relapse into the habit of appealing to force the moment that respect for ordinary liberties becomes in the least degree inconvenient to the governing classes.

For, let it be noted, it never strikes the Lovat Fraser type of critic that peers and privy councillors in Ulster and Unionist politicians in England are inciting the application of exactly the same weapons to themselves. On the contrary, says Mr. Fraser, "had the Liberals a great leader, he would have the courage to tell Mr. Redmond at this perilous juncture that he could not keep his promises, and would take the consequences." That is to say, perfidy is permissible where the interests of a small and privileged coterie are deemed to be endangered: but swift and arbitrary punishment must fall upon men who "create unrest among wage-earners"—which is the main charge formulated against the South African strike leaders in the Indemnity Bill.

Mr. Lovat Fraser concludes his article on a note which must have filled his idol, Lord Curzon, with all the indignation of outraged vanity.

Here in England, with sick longing, we still await the appearance of a man, one who will lead the nation onward, a modern adaptation of Pitt. The present Government is only tolerated because, on the whole, it has some sort of policy, whereas the Opposition is split into secret factions and seems to have no policy at all. Nowhere is the lack of a great and commanding and overwhelming personality more visible just now than in the ranks of the Opposition. With one great man to lead them, the Unionists could sweep the country to-day. Both political parties recognise that the hour is ripe for a Unionist triumph, and only the man is lacking.

"Only the man is lacking." We can imagine the astonishment with which Lord Curzon read these words. He must want to deal with this treacherous panegyrist of his on the lines once adopted by Mr. William Hunter. Readers of Mr. Skrine's biography will remember the passage, which occurs in a letter to Lady Hunter.

I had to smash a nameless individual about his lying letters and telegrams: I did it quickly but pitilessly—a single blow, but one which made him the public scorn of the whole of India, and left the steel quivering in his heart: I hope it will stop his wicked mendacity for a time.

Mr. Lovat Fraser takes good care not to be "nameless": but surely that is all the more reason why he should mingle discretion with his candour.—*India*.

Journalism as a Career for Indian Youths.

Mr. Blair's Lecture at University Institute.

Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair of the *Statesman* delivered a lecture on "Journalism as a career for Indian Youths" at the University Institute, Calcutta, on Tuesday evening. Mr. Justice A. Chaudhuri presided.

In introducing the speaker, the President said that Mr. Blair was an eminent journalist. For some years he had been connected with some of the biggest journals in Calcutta. He was connected at the present time with one of the biggest newspapers in India.

Mr. Blair said that when he was invited to address them on the subject of journalism as a profession for young Indians, he at once thought of the advice to those about to be married "Don't." When he dwelt upon all the draw-backs of journalistic career he did not want to impress on them that he was against taking it up. It was possible that that might be the effect of the remarks he was going to address to them. But they would acquit him of such deliberate intention.

Before entering upon the question of how far journalism was a career for young Indians he would consider journalism as a profession from a general point of view. He would first consider its relation to the civilisation of the world. Newspapers existed, because they served a very useful work. The main function of a newspaper was to keep the people in touch with the events of the day, to break down the limitation of time and space which hedge in every individual and to widen their experience. A regular reader of a daily newspaper is kept acquainted with the leading events not only of his own country but of all countries in the world. Newspapers constituted a great influence. They broadened the outlook and led to unify the races.

The speaker then dwelt at some length on the influence which newspapers had exercised in the international politics of Europe and in removing race hatred. There were, he said, of course other causes at work. But most influential among them had been the newspaper Press. That was a great task to have accomplished.

If there was any aspiring journalist there he would bear in mind that good newspapers were those which were truthful and bad newspapers which could not be relied upon, no matter how well written the articles might be or how distinguished names were associated with them. If newspapers were unscrupulous their value was nil. They were not newspapers, whatever else they might be. It must be admitted that the function of a newspaper was also to influence public opinion by reasonable comments upon the leading events of the day. The greater the weight of their comments the greater were their influence. The function of newspapers were thus divided into two parts—the news service which served the purpose of keeping the reader in touch with the events of the world and then the comments and criticisms of events. The first was generally admitted to be by far the more important. One could not imagine a daily newspaper without comments and a good newspaper was one whose comments were always reliable and whose views were always correct. But newspapers, as every other human invention, had their draw-backs. They sometimes destroyed the sanctity of private life. In India they had not done that to any great extent. In England and in America, especially in the latter country they constituted a veritable bog-beast. In the United States that practice had no limit. Perhaps the President would be able to tell them if there was any law of libel in that country. If there was any it was never called into exercise. It was one of his greatest pleasure, said Mr. Blair, to find that the Press in India was conducted with a certain amount of decency and restraint. Might the Press in India live long to maintain that honourable tradition. Another draw-back about daily journalism was that the editors were compelled to give their views on even an hour's notice on any subject under the sun. With regard to many questions no man could do justice without investigation. But how much investigation was an editor able to undertake when the paper was going to the press—when he was expected to say something about the leading topic of the day? Even with regard to some of his own articles when he came across them casually and read them, he experienced a feeling unlike that experienced by Dean Swift when he read his *Gulliver's Travels*. He said, "Great God, what genius I was in writing that book!" A journalist was not even adroit enough to conceal his ignorance. Newspapers exercised a great influence in moulding the thought of the readers, consciously or unconsciously. When a journalist went wrong, he also led others astray. Whether the draw-backs of newspapers outweighed their advantages, the fact remained that it was one of those things necessary for civilised mankind. If it was an evil, it was a necessary evil and was likely to remain one for a good many years to come.

Coming to the second question, namely how far journalism opened a career for Indian youths, Mr. Blair said that the Indian

possessed a remarkable aptitude for journalism. He took to it as he took to law. Mr. Blair came across a good many Indian journalists of every creed and he could unhesitatingly say that he did not come across one whom he did not admire. Even the lowest among them displayed a power of observation of a high order. While some among them were worthy of respect of the best exponents of Europe. The father of Indian journalism was, he took it, Raja Ram Mohan Roy whose writings were as inspiring at the present time as when they were written, three-quarters of a century ago, then although Keshar Chandra Sen, was not a journalist in the ordinary sense of the term many of his writings displayed the signs which marked the writings of practised newspaper writers. Then coming to latter days they had Shambhuchandra Mukerjee of the *Reis and Rayet* and Kristo Das Pal of the *Hinda Patriot*. Mr. Blair doubted whether among the many able writers that Bengal had produced there ever was any man who had a greater command of English than Shambhu Chandra Mukerjee. He had a command of the English language to which not many Englishmen could lay claim. Kristo Das Pal was above all other things a man of stubborn spirit. A manly spirit breathed through his writings which gave them all their charm. Coming nearer to our own time they had Mr. Malabari of Bombay and Mr. Shisir Kumar Ghose, two distinguished journalists who had recently passed away. Coming still further down we had still living and active journalists—Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Babu Motilal Ghose. It could, of course, be said of Mr. Banerjea that he was more of an orator than a journalist. He had often heard it said that some of Mr. Banerjea's articles were unspoken orations. Moti Babu was more of a journalist and his simple sense of humour was inimitable. Coming to younger class of journalists there was Mr. Mahomed Ali who seemed to combine the qualities of both Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Motilal Ghose. Each of these gentlemen, however, was unique in a way and the fact suggested enormous possibility of Indian journalism. The speaker would hesitate to advise any young man to embark upon the sea of journalism in which there were under currents and hidden rocks for young mariners. The first advice which he would give to the would-be Indian journalist was to be honest. That was a difficult task in most walks of life, especially in journalism. Friends will press a journalist to put back something which ought to appear, or ask him to put in something which ought to be left out. Then, in order to fill so much space in a limited time, a journalist sometimes wrote things which he did not mean. They must resist that temptation. It was better not to write anything which the writer did not mean. The journalist was called upon to exercise the function of a critic. They could not be too careful to see that their criticism was as constructive as possible. To indulge in destructive criticisms was one of the boons of public life in this country. It could not be said that in the writings of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea or Babu Motilal Ghose there was much of constructive criticism. The speaker did not say that no result came out of their criticism. The *Patrika* hammered at the question of water-supply until Government took up the matter in hand. The *Bengalce* kept on agitating over the Partition of Bengal until, according to the Government of India, it managed to persuade the Government to believe that the Bengalees would never be satisfied until the Partition was annulled. For the most part, were the criticisms to which the *Patrika* subjected Government helpful. Did they make any allowance for the difficulty of administration? The speaker was afraid the answer must be "hardly ever." He did not say that Government did not deserve all criticism it got. It deserved perhaps a great deal more. But the man who is a statesman as well as a journalist would try to look at a public question not from the point of view of a critic alone but he must look at it from the point of view as to how far it was expedient for him to criticise. A certain amount of criticism was good for every body including the critic himself. But criticism without offering any hint what was to be done was bad for the critic for Government and also for the people. It was bad for the critic because fault-finding became a habit with him. It was bad for Government because it placed an inferior picture of men and things before Government. It was bad for the people because they obtained one-sided view of things. What is the impression that those editors left upon the minds of the readers? Surely they were that India was poor because of British Government. The European Magistrate was hard upon the Indians when Indians and Europeans were concerned; trade and commerce were practically monopolised by Europeans leaving for Indians nothing but clerkships and jute-growing. That was the impression one could not help carrying. Was that the case? They knew very well that things were not so bad. No one was more aware of the shortcomings of the Government than he was. But it was better than no Government at all. He ventured to say that it was great deal better than what any other foreign Government was likely to be. So long India remained under foreign rule it would not pay her to exchange any other rule for British rule. Those criticisms only made the task of Government more difficult than it need be.

Mr. Blair in passing referred to Snehelata's suicide. How profoundly he said he was moved by the tragic story of the Hindu girl's suicide. He earnestly wished success in the campaign they opened against the evil of extortionate marriage dowry.

Returning to the subject-matter of the lecture Mr. Blair said, "Let your criticisms be constructive whenever possible. Don't merely say this is wrong; but show how it can be put aright with friendly disposition towards Government and towards every body else. Government like individuals are more easily led than driven."

Proceeding the speaker said that it was difficult to establish a reputation for trustworthiness. When one lost it one realised its supreme value. He would say to the aspiring journalist never to get into the habit of doing just what he was to do. They should not do their duty with their eyes fixed on the clock. They must make their paper their first consideration. He asked them to be keen and self-sacrificing.

In conclusion he said to those who were meditating to take up journalism as their profession or those who had already taken the plunge that it rested on them to uphold the tradition of the profession in future. Their admirers—among whom Mr. Blair included himself as he had been an admirer of Bengalee journalists for many years—would watch their efforts with keen interest and applaud your success with heartiest good-will.

Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur in addressing the meeting referred to the work of the late Babus Kashinath Ghose, Kishori Chand Mitra, Harish Chandra Mukerjee, Girish Chandra Ghose and Shisir Kumar Ghose in the field of journalism.

Referring to the lecturer's observation that criticisms in Indian Press were not in many instances of a constructive character, the Rai Bahadur said that it must not be forgotten that they laboured under great disadvantages. How often, he asked, they were placed in a position to offer constructive criticisms? That state of things was due to want of reciprocity between the rulers and the ruled which notwithstanding the progressive age was wanting at the present time. At a time when there was no council and other representative institutions as at present editors of newspapers who were inclined to offer criticism were helped by Government in offering such criticism. He remembered when the Press Commission was established. The first Commissioner he remembered was Sir Robert Lethbridge who interpreted the motive and intention of Government to the Press. But at present the Press was in the dark as regards the intention of Government about the measures intended to be enunciated or the objects which led to such enunciation. The Rai Bahadur did not know what led Government to abolish that institution. Although that institution was abolished certain members of the press had the privilege of close association with members of Government and, therefore, were in a position to know the motive and intention of Government and were thus in a position to offer constructive criticism. But at present, notwithstanding councils and representative institutions they were further off from Government. That was the disadvantage under which the Indian press laboured. The Anglo-Indian Press was situated in a different position.

Whatever might be the motive of the criticisms in the Press it should not be said or thought of that they wished a change of masters. They fully appreciated the benefits of British rule. What they learnt to love and what they wanted were the rights of citizenship of the British Empire. They wanted to enjoy the same privileges as other subjects of the Empire. He hoped that their motive should not be misunderstood.

Babu Janan Chandra Rai B. L. in an eloquent speech thanked Mr. Blair for his most interesting lecture.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri said that the newspaper in India had great possibilities. It was a great power both for good and for evil. That depended on the conductors of newspapers. Mr. Chaudhuri had great faith in their youngmen. He found writings by Indian youngmen which would do credit to any man engaged in journalism in any country. They had great facility of expression—he might almost say a fatal facility of expression. They were blessed with an imagination that helped them and led them to write articles in newspapers which they ought never to have written. The life of a journalist was a strenuous life. He was to write, as they heard from Mr. Blair, on any subject that came before him. That required a great strain. Mr. Blair would bear him out when he said that in England journalists worked for 18 hours a day and that for years to acquire some position as a journalist in England. It was very difficult to acquire a good knowledge of the English language. There was a great scope for them in journalism in the vernacular. Their newspapers should not extend their vision beyond the possible horizon. Mr. Chaudhuri asked them to conduct themselves in a manner which befitted the society to which they belonged. If they could do that they would have done a great deal. They must live according to the circumstances in which they were placed and according to their environments. If they began to do that that would be a great step forward. Having regard to the number of news-

papers in the country one was amazed to think that there was no institution in the country where young journalists could get some help or some books of reference and acquire some knowledge of journalism.

One monthly journal published the sensational news that a youngman fell in love with a young lady at Darjeeling while skating and motoring up and down at Darjeeling. They all knew that there could be no skating or motoring up and down at Darjeeling, there might be love-making. That might be a bit of romance but a news of that kind degraded everybody connected with the journal. In taking up journalism as a career they had to equip themselves with the actual knowledge of things to be able to write truly. What Mr. Blair had asked them to do is to be able to think truly and write truly.

With a vote of thanks to the chair and the lecturer proposed by Mr. R. D. Mehta the meeting came to a close.

Warm Girls.

BY JAMES DOUGLAS.

B-R-R-R ! Excuse me ; I can't help doing it. B-R-r-r ! I am thinking of the weather we are having in London this week. It is real Shackleton weather. I am a fresh air man, as a rule. Every morning, W. P., I take my duty walk in Rotten Row. ("W.P." means "weather permitting.") But just now the weather does not permit me to watch the merry little Amazons cantering on their merry little horses beside their merry little men. I really do not know how Achilles contrives to keep up his circulation in the east wind.

B-R-R-R ! How Nelson keeps warm on his monument without Lady Hamilton I cannot imagine. Some of these days his sword will fall from his frost-bitten fingers. I think the nation ought to send up to him a fur coat and a hot-water bottle. The poor, dear lions might also be supplied with cosy red flannel waistcoats. As for the Griffin of Temple Bar, she ought at least to have a muff, and Boadicea deserves a pair of fur-lined gloves. Fancy driving all day and all night at this time of year !

THERE is only one thought that comforts my shivering heart as I wander about the refrigerator of London. The girls are warm. Do not ask me why or how. The girls of London take no notice of the weather. They go about as if they had never heard of pneumonia, or bronchitis, or laryngitis, or tuberculosis, or phthisis, or cata-r-r-h. Sometimes I rub my eyes and wonder whether I have suddenly gone mad when I behold the girls of London breasting the blizz of the blizzard and the freeze of the freezing-point with one yard of frock round their waist and three yards of fur round their elbows. They might at least wear an evening gown when the climate is fit for nothing but Emperor penguins and Esquimaux.

My teeth chatter when I see the snowy throats of these cold-proof coquettes leaping out of their furs and simply asking for inflammation of the lungs. If I were to lay bare my chest to the breezes of the Serpentine and the Round Point I should not live ten minutes ; but these fearless maidens lower their neck-line faster than the thermometer. At present it is at least eighty below zero, and a further drop is anticipated. It is enough to make the mercury strike and the Clerk of the Weather cut his throat. The provoking thing is that the darlings will wear their furs for decoration instead of warmth. I know that there is a legend which declares that there were two holes in the Ark and that Noah stopped one with a dog's nose and the other with a woman's elbow. But surely the girls of London ought to cover more than their elbows !

WHEN I remonstrate with them, they assure me that they are quite warm ; and, unfortunately, I cannot contradict them. They ought to know best, and certainly they present all the appearance of warmth, for the furs are there or thereabouts, although they are not taking any. I suppose they wear them for publication and not necessarily as a guarantee of good faith. A girl with furs on the horizon may seem to be rockless, but so long as the furs are within call she means you to understand that she can be warm whenever she chooses. When is a fur not a fur ? When it is a furbelow.

One thing puzzles me. Why have men less hardihood than women ? Why is the blood of the Nut colder than the blood of the Flapper ? Every Nut who is seen abroad just now wears a sauge scarf round his dainty neck. No Nut ventures to be a chestnut in the open air. It is not strange that the stronger sex should be forced to muffle itself to the chin, while the weaker sex defiantly unmuffles itself to the—well, let us call it the collar-bone ? Is it possible that women are warmer than men ?

I THINK Sir Ernest Shackleton ought to reconsider his plans in the light of the revelations being made this winter. Why should men be allowed to monopolise Polar exploration, when it is evident that women are far more suitable for ice-work ? I advise him to lead an expedition of London girls to the South Pole. They would not notice the cold. Probably they would travel lighter the nearer they got to the Pole. They are wearing less in Bond Street in January than they wore in July, and they are still moulting. It is a case of the colder the fewer. Their stockings, for instance, are growing thin by degrees and beautifully less. Two skirts are hardly equal to half a pair of trousers.

I AM told that the latest stockings are made of invisible enamel blown through a glass tube. The enamel is made of liquid air. If you fan it gently it vanishes in a cloud of vapour. There is a rumour, that the new spring frocks are to be made of liquid air dyed in fast colours to reduce the diaphany. What will happen when they fade heaven only knows. Mrs. Grundy may see through them. B-R-r-r !—*London Opinion*.

The Ottoman Association.

LORD Lamington, who returned from the Continent specially for this purpose, presided at a meeting of the Ottoman Association, held on the 21st January, at 22, Albemarle Street.

Although the Ottoman Association has been only recently founded, it has already a strong and representative executive committee, composed of Lord Lamington, Lord Bury, Lord Brooke, the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P., Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, M.P., Mr. George Lloyd, M.P., Mr. Harold Cox, General Sir John Brabazon, Major A. Paget, the Hon. Montagu Parker, Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, Mr. L. Wills, Mr. O. Wills, Mr. H. Seppings Wright, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Mr. G. Raffalovitch, Dr. A. Pollen, Mr. E. Pennington, and others while Mr. E. N. Bennett and Mr. W. H. Seeds are the hon. secretaries.

The objects of the Ottoman Association are :—(1) To study the needs and conditions of the Ottoman Empire. (2) To help in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. (3) To promote a cordial understanding between Great Britain and Turkey.

The following resolutions, proposed by the Hon. Walter Guinness M.P., and seconded by the Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, were unanimously adopted :—

"That this meeting views with great concern the proposal brought forward by the British Government that the islands of Chios and Mytilene should become Greek, and is of opinion that such a solution, is likely to be followed by political disturbances in Western Anatolia.

"That this meeting regrets the failure of the British Government to accede to the requests of the Porte for help in its sincere efforts to reform the administration of the Asiatic provinces."

The association has decided to start an energetic campaign to enlighten public opinion on the true state of affairs in the Near East, and to emphasize the political, strategical, and commercial importance to the British Empire of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Memorial to Sir E. Grey.

On behalf of the Ottoman Association Lord Lamington, Sir Thomas Barclay, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., Mr. Walter Guinness, M.P., and Mr. E. N. Bennet have addressed to Sir Edward Grey a memorial upon the subjects of : (1) the Eastern Anatolian vilayets and (2) the islands of Samothrace, Lemnos, Chios, and Mytilene. Regarding the first subject the memorial says :—

"It appears to be the case that the Armenian and Chaldean Christians are generally desirous to remain within the Ottoman Empire provided that in addition to the full religious liberty already enjoyed they are guaranteed sound civil administration and real security against violence and ill-usage at the hands of the Kurds. It seems to be equally clear that deliberate efforts are being made by foreign agents to foment civil discord in Eastern Anatolia and frustrate the sincere endeavours of the present Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the Armenian provinces. Under these circumstances we regret that His Majesty's Government has not seen fit to accede to the Turkish proposal that a number of able and experienced Englishmen equipped with adequate powers should be employed by the Porte for the purpose of restoring and maintaining order in the disturbed vilayets. . . . By acceding to Turkey's urgent and reasonable request we should not only evince our goodwill to the Ottoman nation but secure the grateful approval of millions of our Moslem fellow-subjects in India and other portions of the Empire."

With reference to the second point, the memorial suggests that Sir Edward Grey should press Italy to evacuate the islands that she has held since the war with Turkey. It directs attention to the

opinion expressed by the best naval and military experts (including the association understands, Admiral Limpus, whose services have been placed at the disposal of the Porte by the British Government), that the cession to Greece of the islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Chios, and Mytilene would be fatal to the security of the Dardanelles, the port of Smyrna, and the adjacent mainland. The association believes that the loss of these islands, after the previous surrender of Ottoman territory in Europe and Africa, would produce a bitter feeling of exasperation in the Turkish nation which may compel the Turkish Government, sooner or later, to re-open hostilities with Greece, while, even if war is avoided, Chios and Mytilene may well be made the base of Hellenic propaganda on the mainland on the lines of the former activities of the Greek bands in Macedonia.

Islam.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Near East*.

Dear Sir,—The Ottoman Association proposes to resist encroachments upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. This is only an act of justice and a moral obligation, as all Powers who profess to be honest, and not thieves and brigands, would scorn to attempt to appropriate that which is not their own; but it is astonishing what pretences for robbery they can advance, like the wolf in the case of the lamb, when themselves the dishonest aggressors.

This Association also desires to emphasize the strategical and commercial importance of the Ottoman Empire to Britain. There is no question regarding the necessity of this proposition, as the intrigues of the present day are so far reaching and malevolent that at any moment, if not rendered impossible of fruition, they might develop into something that would change the whole aspect of Europe, even with the disappearance of one or other of the Great Powers, such an intrigue and secret alliance having already been proved to be a fact.

Finally, the Association proposes to establish the most cordial understanding between Turks and Britons on all points, and such an understanding is commendable, morally, politically, and from mercantile points of view.

In all this there is no element of violent propaganda; an alliance is a friendly relation, and should any violence ensue, that would be because some Power with less honest motives objected to it, as being a bar to its dishonesty. The violence would only arise from that source, which would certainly get in return the full allowance of its deserts. It is simply desired to keep a watchful eye, so as to be able to counter-act a mischievous use of the Press for scattering broadcast anti-Turkish views and abusive narratives, wholly fictitious, with the deliberate purpose of ruining Turkey and British interests, the centre of the "army of which" absolutely rests upon Turkey, at least in the Eastern hemisphere. On the whole, we think we can deal efficiently with any adversaries of Anglo-Turkish interests in the British Press. Their malignant aspersions and the purpose of them can be easily rendered ridiculous in the eyes of the British public, but a little more effort will have to be exerted to dispose of similar antagonism in the Continental Press, and to obtain a clear insight into its origin and ultimate purpose. However, there is one way of rendering such intrigues entirely abortive. It is all very well to watch the stable door lest the horse shall be stolen; a watch, however careful may, from some cause or other, momentarily fail, and it is much better to lock the door, with a lock that cannot be picked, and watch as well. The only way to do this is to form an alliance with Turkey, as close as it can possibly be made, fully securing the best interests of both England and Turkey. No other Power has a right to object to this, and none have the power to offer Turkey such good terms of mutual interests, owing to the vast numbers of Mohammedans, who look upon Turkey as both fatherland and centre of their religion, but still are British subjects. Unfriendliness with her is both a weakness and danger to Britain; but bonds of friendship, esteem, and business interests bring the strength of both to a maximum.

We declare for an alliance with Islam. "the principle of obedience to the Divine will," one which does not seem to concern or influence politicians in any way; but we can have no principle a tenth part so good before us for observance, and we can form no alliance to be compared with one that includes that principle.

Insight House, Ingleton,
near Kirkby Lonsdale.

ROBERT R. M. BALDERSTONE,
Ottoman Association.

Russia and Armenia.

"THE Armenian Question," a pamphlet just published by Captain Dixon-Johnson, may be commended to the attention of all thinking people who desire a happy issue for Turkey out of her difficulties in Asia Minor.

Captain Dixon-Johnson commences his booklet with the quotation in extenso of Sir Charles Wilson's figures with regard to the population of Asia Minor. They show that the Armenians are barely more than one-seventh of the population; and that the Ar-

menians are in a majority in only nine out of the one hundred and fifty-nine Kazas or sub-districts into which Turkey-in-Asia is divided. "Armenian emigration to Adana and Trebizond is due," says the writer, "to Russia's future aspirations, and it was owing to her grasp of the situation that Turkey requested the British Government to lend her officials to aid in the re-organisation of the provinces of Asia Minor."

"The reformed Government of Turkey desires to fulfil her part of the Constantinople Convention by re-organising the administration of her Asiatic Provinces with the help of British officials and looks to Great Britain for the help she is entitled to expect; and so long as Great Britain remains in Cyprus she is bound by the Convention to undertake the onerous obligation of a defensive alliance with Turkey if Russia should attempt to extend her annexations beyond the present frontiers which the present negotiations will assign." (*Letter of Lord Salisbury to M. Waddington, July 7, 1878.*)

Russia, continues Captain Dixon-Johnson, is said to have objected to the right of Turkey to select European officials for employment in Kurdistan to carry out the necessary reforms, and suggests as a counter proposal:—

"A scheme of international control which would practically abolish the sovereignty of Turkey in her own dominions and which, as an insult to their national prestige, would be most distasteful to the great majority of the inhabitants and would probably lead to their giving vent to their wrath by persecuting the small minority, whom they would naturally consider responsible."

The writer cites four reasons which he avers actuate Russia in objecting to European officials—namely, that British officials would curtail Russia's facilities for smuggling arms into Kurdistan and for introducing agents-procureurs, that the country would be in touch with the Press of Europe, "and the British officials on the spot would fearlessly report the true facts," that the Provinces would become prosperous and Turkey herself would be stronger; and, finally, that "the excuse for intervention would then cease to exist."

The suggested international control is, he continues, proposed by Russia in the hope that either Turkey will refuse point-blank, and her possible subsequent consent will afford time to promote trouble, and thus create an excuse for invasion, or that her (Russia's) claim as the neighbouring State will enable her to predominate on the Commission for the appointment of the officials, and thus, by a round-about way, give her a pretext for intervention.

The following passage speaks eloquently of the reason of the disturbed conditions of Turkey-in-Asia:—

"Until 1877-78 the Armenian's relations with his Kurdish neighbours were not unfriendly; raids by the latter were non-political and non-sectarian, Moslem and Christian suffered equally. Then until the death of Alexander II there followed a period of active propaganda by Russian Consuls; these agents founded schools, encouraged the Armenian language and inculcated the belief in a future Armenian kingdom under Russian protection, a State in which the minute and despised minority were to lord it over the proud Moslem. Incensed and suspicious, the Kurd no longer regarded the Armenian merely as a beast to be fattened and periodically bled. Indifference turned to hatred, and worse followed when, encouraged by the success of the murderous bands in Bulgaria, revolutionary committees were formed in Tiflis and various European capitals whence bands of Nihilists, financed by blackmail levied on the rich Armenian bankers and traders in Europe and America, were sent into these unhappy districts of Asia to stir up strife and bloodshed."

Captain Dixon-Johnson shows how the Armenian has awakened to the benefit of Russian promises, and how Turkey has always recognised the capacity of loyal Armenians by appointing them to high office, and will not forget the courageous conduct of the Armenians during the past war. Russia fears a settlement, and is therefore entirely working against the Turks, and it is Great Britain's duty to accede "to the urgent Turkish request for support and for administrators." Vital reasons are adduced for British action—namely, that the strategic effect of Russia's advance into Asiatic Turkey would be a menace to our interest in the Persian Gulf and to the Indian Empire, while a strong Turkey "might well deter Russia from making a hostile movement through Persia against the Indian frontier."

The Problem of Asiatic Turkey.

A STUDENT of Eastern politics, whether he has traced its history at home or whether he has watched the course of events upon the spot, is often apt to become a partisan of one or other of the many sects and factions, whose mutual antipathies create the "Eastern question." I am painfully aware of an unconscious tendency on my own part to fall into this error, and to sympathize with this nationality or that creed because I imagine I can detect therein some quality which appeals to my ingrained

sentiment or emotion within me. This is doubtless one of the failings of human nature. But before going further I beg the reader to believe that in spite of this unconscious tendency, which we all have, I have attempted in this article to see all sides, and to form a judgment, which, even if he does not agree with, he will recognise as sincere.

Last autumn, for the third time in four years, I set out on another journey in search of knowledge about Oriental politics, and with the object of touring the Ottoman Empire from Thrace to Armenia. The Balkans had just been swept by a desolating war; Bulgaria was crushed; Albania born; the Concert of Europe was but a name without prestige south of the Danube. Turkey, once humbled, was now returning to her own through victories won by others, straining eagerly to divert attention from her Asiatic disorders by a further dose of "Balkan narcotic." Such was the position when I reached Constantinople last October to begin a journey into Eastern Thrace.

First of all, it interested me to know what was the effect on Turkey of the re-occupation of Adrianople and the surrounding country, and how far this new move would prejudice her regeneration in Asia Minor. In Constantinople I heard the point of view of the civil official, in Adrianople I heard the point of view of the military, and in *bazars* and street-corners I heard the views of Turkish public opinion, as far as this is at present articulate. All opinions, including those of many impartial foreign observers, agreed that the position of Turkey under the Treaty of London would have been one which scarcely left room for the exercise of her independence. It was pointed out to me that the Midia-Enos line laid down by the Powers was strategically indefensible. An arbitrary line drawn without regard for physical conditions across a featureless downland, it would have enabled a Bulgarian force on the Ergene at any moment to cut the communications between Chatalja and Dardanelles. The absence of any means of breaking invasion from the north-west and of securing co-operation between the military forces at these two points would make the capital strategically indefensible. Whatever we may think of the method of Turkey's move last August, it is only fair to remember that by that action she exalted herself from a position which practically meant dependence on the will of neighbouring states. I cannot speak with knowledge of military affairs, but the impression that I gathered from various quarters led me to believe that the re-occupation of Eastern Thrace would impose no extra burden upon Turkish Finance. The problem of the defence of that frontier may quite conceivably be solved, not by fortifications at Kirk Kilisse and Dimotika, but by a re-organisation of the methods of mobilisation which affects the Ottoman Empire as a whole.

After a few weeks in Thrace, I crossed the Straits and travelled down the Anatolian railway through the heart of Asia Minor. Here in the *vilayets* of Konia and Angora the true home of the Turk is to be found. Here live those kind, hospitable, lazy, and long-suffering sons of Osman, who for centuries have borne the burden of empire in order to gratify the greed of tyrants in Stambul. The Turk of Anatolia is the backbone of the Empire, and there he can be seen, living like a highlander in the forested valleys of the Taurus, or on the high plateau of Central Anatolia, cultivating his patches of wheat and maize, and living at peace with his neighbour. His early life on the highland plateau has bred in him a physique fully equal to that of the Cossack, and upon him has fallen the whole burden of military service, which he has borne so uncomplainingly. But in this twentieth century there is at last some sign of material progress, for while other parts of the Empire are distracted by massacres, brigand raids and wars, in Anatolia at least the sword has given place to the plough, and European methods and western education are making slow but sure headway. The great medium of western civilization is Germany whose influence is, I am persuaded, in every way beneficial. By the railways and irrigation works, which her companies and banks are carrying out in co-operation with the Turkish Government, by the building of roads and the establishment of schools, she is, without prejudicing the development of the Ottoman national ideal, introducing European methods into a state of society now worn out and effete. In south-east Anatolia on the plains of Cilicia, western ideas have made even greater headway than on the Anatolian plateau. Here is a large Armenian population in the towns, and the Armenian question has been considerably to the fore of recent years. Unlike Anatolia, which in recent years has never known a massacre, the Cilician plains only a few years ago were the scene of one of the worst holocausts which have ever taken place in Turkey. This was all the more remarkable in view of the growth of western influence, which had undoubtedly got a good footing in those parts even at that time. The massacre at Adana only serves to illustrate the fact that such occurrences as these never take place in Turkey without a direct inspiration from above. But in view of the great crisis through which the Empire was passing at that particular moment, and in view of the peculiarly dangerous form of agitation which had sprung up at the time among the

Armenians, a collision, of some sort was hardly surprising. I think it would be safe to say that the advent of the Bagdad railway to the Cilician plains, accompanied by the rush of modern improvements and European methods, will prevent any artificially-organised reprisals between Mohammedan and Christian in future.

As soon as I left the zone of German influence, I at once observed a change to a more primitive state of society. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that if some of the influence which Germany is now exercising in Anatolia and Cilicia were introduced into the Armenian *vilayets*, we should go a long way towards solving the Armenian problem. Desirous of visiting some of this more primitive country, I made up a small caravan last November at Adana, and tracked into the highlands of Lesser Armenia. The northern parts of the *vilayets* of Aleppo and Adana contain a large Armenian population, severed from their brethren in the north-eastern *vilayets*, and forming part of the ancient kingdom of Lesser Armenia, which was known in history as the ally of the Byzantine Emperors. At the present day the Christian population here is confined to the secluded mountain valleys of the Anti-Taurus Range. Thither they have been driven in times past, while the Mohammedan descendants of Seljuk and Saracen inhabit the plains to the north and south. Lesser Armenia is a striking example of the principle that humanity becomes what its environment makes it, for here we find a semi-independent race of highlanders, with six centuries of freedom behind them, not cringing and whining like the Armenians of the Asiatic coast town, but vying with the Caucasian for bravery, and with the Kurd for rascality. During the few weeks that I was in Lesser Armenia, I visited Sis, Hadjin, and Zeitun, the last two places being noted as out-law retreats for the whole countryside. Situated at the head of rocky gorges, these towns consist of mud houses, literally piled, like packs of cards, up the precipitous mountain slopes, and even against cliffs, for protection from enemies in the valleys below. At Zeitun I found a large colony of out laws and brigands, headed by a bishop who had a closer acquaintance with military lore than with principles of theology. A state of warfare existed on all week days between the inhabitants of Zeitun, headed by its bishop and four so-called noblemen, against the Turkish garrison of fort lower down the valley. Raids and forays were frequent on the rocks above the town, one of which I witnessed one evening from the verandah of the bishop's house, between a Turkish out post and a gang of out-laws. The Armenians of Zeitun were up in arms against anything which savoured of central government control. Nothing would persuade them to pay their taxes, or send a soldier to serve in the Turkish Army, while, of course, any caravan of Turkish goods or a flock of sheep passing from one town to the other, was in their eyes a lawful object for plunder. In fact, here is a country unsubdued by Turkey in the heart of her Empire, living in a tribal state, and one can hardly wonder at the Young Turks taking some steps to bring these primitive tribesmen to law and order. But, as usual, their methods have been clumsy and stupid. One of their methods is to find out the Armenian villages lower down the valley, where the Zeitun brigands and out-laws come, and to put pressure upon these innocent peasants in order to make them betray their brethren. As a result, the latter have to a large extent joined the out laws, and the position is made infinitely worse. There is thus a state of guerrilla warfare continually going on in and around Zeitun, with a truce every Sunday. I witnessed the comedy of Oriental warfare one Sunday morning last November, when I attended mass in the ancient Gregorian church on the rock at Zeitun. The Bishop officiated in full robes, and as I reached the church who should I find at the entrance but the Turkish commander of the soldiers with whom the Zeitunlis were at war on week days, accompanied by the "mufti" or Mohammedan chaplain of the Ottoman forces. I shall not readily forget the sight of that gaunt, bare church, perched upon the cliff, half-fortress like, battered by storm and siege for many a century. Within its walls stood the rude Christian altar with its screen of lattice, behind which went forth the ancient Gregorian chants in shrill, weird Eastern strains, while the incense enveloped the body of the little church in its fragrant haze. It was a display of Oriental Christianity, with all its pomp and mystery. And there, crowded in the nave, were the rude picturesque Armenian highlanders, armed to the teeth with knives and rifles, and standing beside me the representative of the Turkish Government, commander of the forces, with whom these highlanders were at war on week days. All of us, whether Christian or Mohammedan, were worshipping at the same shrine, and whatever may be said against Islam, this incident is enough to prove that there is no other religion which shows more tolerance for the rights and customs of other faiths. After the service, the Bishop, the Turkish officials, and myself, all retired to the vestry, where a spread of rice, mutton, and grease was served with wine and cognac. Speeches of a semi-political nature were accompanied by uproarious toasts, and finally the Bishop became very merry, and

the Turkish Governor required the assistance of a gendarme to get him out of the room!

Such is the paradox of Eastern life. But no one who visits Lesser Armenia can say that the Armenians are crushed under the heel of a tyrannous Turk. In Zeitun at least, it is the other way. In the country of the Geok Su river, the principal brigand bands are all Armenian. In fact, I found just the same state of affairs here as I found further east, in Greater Armenia, when I visited it last year. The only difference is that here Zeitunli Armenians, and to a certain extent Circassians, are the disturbing element, while in Greater Armenia that function is usurped by the Kurds. Gradually the Turks are penetrating both these districts, and indeed, considerable progress has been made in the last ten years in building roads, and in establishing gendarmic posts in these highlands. An Armenian missionary, whom I met at Marash, and who had lived forty years on the borders of this country, told me that he had himself witnessed during that time a great improvement in the social state of the population. Raids on villages by robber bands are less frequent, as compared with former times, the power of the tribal chiefs is less, and gradually the Turkish Government is asserting its control.

Leaving the Armenian highlands, I reached the Syrian plains, and here I crossed the social dividing line north of which the population consists of Turks and Armenians, and south of which the Arabs commence, and form the bulk of the population up to the edge of the Arabian Desert. This line runs from Aintab to Urfa and Diabekr. The Arab-speaking population of the surrounding plains have little in common, either historically, racially, or politically, with the Turk of Asia Minor. The present-day descendants of Seljuk and Saracen have each other but little. The Arab despises the Turk, because he has sharper wit and keener intelligence. Partisans of the Arabs, however, forget that their one great failing is their lack of coherence and of constructive ability, of which the Turk, with all his faults, has some small amount. The Turk is able to govern the Arab because he can conceive a plan and carry it out with a stolid perseverance unknown to the Arab. The result of this difference in character, due I think partly to race and partly to environment, has caused the Arab question recently to become acute, and has threatened to disturb the stability of the Ottoman Empire in a part hitherto regarded as invulnerable. In Damascus and Aleppo I met several members of the Arab party, and from them I gathered the nature of the demands which they are making upon the Turkish Government. The chief points of their programme are: recognition of Arabic as an official language for Government offices and Law Courts; the increase of schools in which Arabic is the medium of instruction; the restriction of the native liability for military service to the Syrian *vilayets*. The principle of all these proposals has been admitted by the Turks, and at present the first two have been carried out, but the settlement of the third is still pending. Thus the Arab and Syrian problem in the south-east of the Ottoman Empire differs from the Armenian problem in the north-east in at least one respect. While the former can only be solved by tactful concessions based on Home Rule for local nationalities, the latter requires a policy of consolidation of the power of the central government, so as to control a still primitive Nomad and highland population. The former problem requires the exercise of a little common sense in Istanbul, but the latter cannot be solved without the application of European assistance to the central Turkish authority. In Armenia an adequate nucleus of European officials must be introduced into the local administration and the gendarmerie, and must be accompanied also by the construction of roads and railways along the principal trade routes. There are two ways of accomplishing this. Firstly, the eastern *vilayets* may be separated from the rest of Asia Minor and put under direct international control, with Russia as the agent of the Powers. This, of course, as the history of Russia in Central Asia shows, would be tantamount to Russian annexation. On the other hand, I can testify from what I saw when I was in the Caucasus and Turkestan in 1911, that those parts of Central Asia which had been definitely annexed by Russia have benefited to a certain extent by the comparatively orderly and peaceful rule which she has brought in her train. But I also did not fail to see that this result is obtained at the expense of local nationalism, and is in direct antagonism to the spread of the Mohamedan idea, and of anything that makes for the regeneration of the east on the lines of native culture. Russia absorbs every race she comes in contact with, and while her expansion has been materially beneficial up to a point, so far as it has gone, nevertheless there is no reason why she should be allowed to acquire the hegemony of Asia and to overwhelm the Moslem nationalities of the east, who are struggling to regenerate themselves, in a wilderness of crude Slavism. It is true that the Caucasus has recently been blessed with a humane and progressive viceroy, but it is not a decade since the confiscation of the Armenian church properties, the massacre of Baku, and the terror of the Galitsia régime. Anyone who knows Russian politics is aware of the constant danger of reactionary upheavals, and of the peculiarly unstable state of that country internally. Moreover, the history

of Russia's Finish and Polish policy is not calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of Russian Armenians. From the conversations I had with Armenian ecclesiastical dignitaries in Turkey last autumn, and also with certain members of the "Dashnakstion," I am strongly under the impression that Turkish Armenians would infinitely prefer to remain under Turkish rule, provided that they can secure benefits of law and order in the remoter parts of Asia Minor, where at present they are at the mercy of Khurdish tribes. They realise, in fact, that under Turkish rule their religious freedom and autonomy are recognised by the capitulations, and that there is infinitely more chance of the development of their national culture than under the Russifying policy of the St. Petersburg Government. Why, therefore, should such drastic measures as a Russian protectorate for Armenia be adopted when the process of civilising the eastern *vilayets* of Turkey is going on steadily, if slowly, under Turkish rule at the present time, albeit under conditions of peculiar difficulty? As I have shown, the independent witness of American missionaries is on the side of Turkey, and after all it is only six years since the Empire has been rid of the corrupt rule of the single tyrant. Now, because a group of enthusiastic, if inexperienced, Jews and Turks have grasped power in Istanbul, and have failed to convert the whole of Asia Minor in six years into a Paradise, is that any reason for allowing Armenia to be crushed under the heel of the Cossack? It is merely exchanging one tyrant for another, without having even attempted to reform the first. When I was in North-West Persia last year, I saw the working of Russian diplomacy at Baku and Kotur, where Khurdish chieftains were being bribed by Russian agents to keep up a state of disorder along the Turko-Persian frontier in order to embarrass the local Persian governors and Turkish *Kaimakams*. A fuller account of my observations was contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1913. I would ask, therefore, has Turkey had a fair chance? It is well known that nothing would assist Armenian reform more than the construction of railways and roads; but a treaty between Turkey and Russia prevents the former from constructing any railways in the Armenian *vilayet* without Russia's permission. Thus Russia, while unctuously pretending to favour Armenian reform, at the same time withholds one of the chief methods of effecting it. Moreover, the recent action of Russia, in preventing British officers from being used to reform the gendarmerie in Armenia, indicates that Russia is interested in Armenia, not in order to reform it, but to make it a stepping-stone for further advance southwards. Mr. Noel Buxton, whose opinions on this subject I cannot share, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, appears to maintain that the north-eastern *vilayets* of Asia Minor could be annexed to the Caucasus without any effect on the political situation in the middle east. He tries to prove at one point that "the boundary of true Armenia is the 'highland, with its borders in the lofty hills north of the Diabekr,'" and argues that she could quite well annex the country north of this point without affecting the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. As one who has traversed a part of the territory in question, let me say that to my knowledge no such natural boundary exists. North-east Asia Minor, like the rest of the central Asian plateau, is traversed by disjointed mountain ranges, cut off at various points so that no definite physical boundary over a large area of the country can be traced. Thus the mountains north of Diabekr are not contiguous with the end of the Anti-Taurus on the west, nor do they form an impenetrable wall to anyone journeying south, since the Euphrates cuts a gap right through them. In fact, the saying of Moltke, who knew that country half a century ago, is full of meaning: "The power that holds Erzerum can control the lower reaches of the Euphrates." Moreover, the whole history of Asia Minor shows that a political power in its eastern provinces must sooner or later permeate the whole of the continent, for the physical conditions are such that access east and west is even easier than access north and south. If Russia advances beyond the Araxes, she will be able to dominate Mesopotamia on the south, and Anatolia on the west. The apologists of Russia in this country fail to realise that an Anti-Turk campaign is merely assisting Russia to convert that country into another Azerbaijan, and to re-enact the tragedy of north-west Persia on the plateau of the Upper Euphrates.

What, then, is the alternative scheme? The most common-sense policy, and the one which seems to be in process of adoption by the Powers at the present moment, is to assist Turkey to reform the north-eastern *vilayets* by supplying her with the means of carrying out reform. The re-organisation of the gendarmerie and of the finances under European officials would be accompanied by the appointment of European Inspectors-General to act in co-operation with the Turkish Governors-General. In the event of disagreement between these two heads, the matter at issue would be referred to the Sublime Porte, and the Powers, if united, would be able to bring diplomatic pressure to bear in the settlement of any such dispute. The Porte is believed to be willing to agree to these conditions, which do not infringe the sovereignty of the Empire, but at the same time introduce the elements of reform. The chief difficulty here is the question of

the nationality of the European officials. Russia objects to any foreign officials in Armenia who are not sub-ervient to her "high policy" and ulterior designs. If England backs Russian diplomacy and becomes a party to an unofficial "triple entente," she will have to sacrifice not only the idea of a reformed Ottoman Empire, but also her duty to the Armenians, to say nothing of her own prestige as an eastern Power. To my mind, the best solution would be found by introducing officials from the neutral States of Europe. The Swedish gendarmes and the Belgian Customs officials in Persia have shown what can be done under most trying circumstances by subjects of neutral nationalities. Moreover, the Dutch in the East Indies have given distinct proof of ability to govern Orientals. In this way, therefore, and by the construction of roads and railways in the east of Asia Minor, the Armenian problem can be solved, and then it will be seen to be only a part of the general problem of consolidating the central authority in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. I maintain that this can be done without infringing the sovereignty of the Sultan, and without giving the already over-gorged Russian Bear yet another slice of the juicy East. History must once again repeat itself, and another wave of western civilisation must sweep across the continent from the Bosphorus to the Euphrates. Asia Minor has had many of such waves before, Aryan, Hittite, Greek, Parthian, Roman, Arab, Seljuk, and Osmanli; all these represent successive waves of civilisations, which have surged to and fro across this highway between east and west. But the new wave of the twentieth century, coming from the west, will, we hope, not be accompanied by those violent political commotions military invasions, and social upheavals, which have characterised the race movements of history, but will rather prove to be a peaceful penetration, which under the influence of western science and industry will herald a new era. What Peter the Great did for Russia in the eighteenth century, when he introduced Germans to reform his Government, can also be done for Turkey in the twentieth century. Previous attempts to introduce foreign officials into Turkey have failed because of the lack of sympathy between Turk and European. Mutual hostility, based on religion, has created a barrier which up to now has been unsurmountable. But the days are at hand when Europe will realise that Islam and Christianity, so far from being enemies, are but different aspects of the same great fundamental truth. The awakening of Islam from the lethargy of centuries will thus be stimulated by its contact with a sympathetic Europe, and will have its first-fruits in the material progress of the continent of Asia Minor, one of the fairest lands of the Ottoman Empire.—M. PHILIPS PRICE in *The Contemporary Review*.

Indians in South Africa.

LORD AMPHILL addressed the members of the United Empire Club on January 28 on the Indian problem in South Africa.

THE SPEECH.

The question, he said, was one of vital importance to the Empire, and not one of a mere strike for the abolition of a £3 poll-tax in Natal. The real origin of the controversy was to be found in the year 1858, when the memorable proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of India established for them the Charter of their rights and their liberties. The Indians of South Africa were not agitating for votes or for equal political rights with the white inhabitants of South Africa, but were only asking for that which had been actually promised to them, not only by the British Government, but by successive Governments of South Africa. If British subjects were ill-treated in a foreign country we should demand that their wrongs were righted, and would enforce that demand with Dreadnoughts and troops, and we should certainly prevent one of our own partners from doing irreparable damage to the Imperial concern. It had been urged that the solution was to be found in deporting the Indians and helping them to colonise elsewhere, but the Indians in South Africa did not want to go, and they had every right to stay there. They had more right than some of the cosmopolitan riff-raff who received an undue welcome there. The Colony of Natal would have been impossible without Indian labour in the fields and in the mines.

With regard to the present situation, after 12 years of persistent appeal, patient endurance of suffering, passive resistance, heroic self-sacrifice and repeated disappointed hopes, an arrangement was made between the Union Government and Mr. Gandhi, the high-minded leader of the Indian community, and if the Union Government had faithfully carried out their part of the agreement the trouble would have been at an end, but they did not do so. It was agreed (1) that legislation should be passed in the following session repealing the obnoxious Act of 1907; (2) that there should be no racial bar in any future legislation; (3) that existing rights should be maintained; (4) that there should be an amnesty for passive resistors. The promised legislation was not passed till last year, and then it did not fulfil the two essential conditions of the compact—removal of the racial bar and maintenance of existing rights.

The Immigrants' Regulation Act, moreover, prejudiced the rights of Indians and brought about a new grievance in failing to recognise the validity of marriage between Hindus and Mohamedans. The poll tax was always oppressive, and it was promised that it should be repealed. That tax was required simply as an instrument wherewith to drive back the coolies into indenture. He reminded them of the public spirit displayed by the Indians when they refrained from taking part in the strike which took place on the Rand some time ago. They were not, he said, contenting for material advantages, but for a high ideal—the honour of their race. The position at the present moment was that a *modus vivendi* was being maintained, pending enquiry into the origin of the disturbance, and all we could do now was to wait patiently for the report of the Commission in the hope that it would lead to a fair solution of the problem. There had been scandalous mismanagement of this question during the past 14 years, which had led to widespread indignation throughout the length and breadth of India. If there were much delay in the settlement of the question there might well be a dangerous agitation in India which would be fraught with the gravest peril. The South Africans were a virile race and had a virile way of managing affairs, as we had seen during the past few days. (Loud applause.) What they wanted was straight talk from the Imperial Government. The people of this country had not the faintest idea what this question meant to them, nor how completely it was within their right that it should be settled with justice, and immediately.

India, from every point of view, was worth more to us than South Africa, and if it were a choice between offending India and offending South Africa, there could be no shadow of doubt which alternative should be chosen; but there was no need to offend either, if wiser and fairer counsels at last prevailed. The real enemies of the Indians in South Africa were not, for the most part, Englishmen or Boers, but the cosmopolitan class of aliens of whom he had some knowledge even in the heart of this great metropolis—people who repaid the protection and excessive hospitality they enjoyed under the British flag by bringing discredit upon the British name. It only required a little statesmanship to bring about a just settlement of this vital problem of Empire.

THE DISCUSSION.

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, this speech placed the members of the United Empire Club in somewhat of a dilemma, for, while they were asked by Lord Amptill to protest against the treatment of British Indians by the South African Government, they were warmly in sympathy, as they testified by their applause, with the "virile" action of the same Government in regard to Europeans during the last few days. The only logical way out of the difficulty was to commend the action of the Government in the case of the British Indians, and this was the course which most of the speakers took, rather to the discomfiture of Lord Amptill.

Lord Amptill introduced the subject as one of vital importance to the Empire, and complained of its neglect by the Press. As a nation we had not yet learnt to think imperially. "It does not pay," he said; "Imperial business does not attract votes." It was said we were unable to fulfil pledges because South Africa was a self-governing dominion. That, he held, was an unsound and cowardly excuse. There was no law of any dominion which could be enacted without the consent of the Crown, and in the new constitution a right in matters of this kind had been specially reserved. If British subjects in any part of the world were ill-treated, should we say we had no power to interfere?

It had been proposed by Mr. Richard Jebb that a solution was to be found by deporting the Indians of South Africa to some tropical territory and starting them in colonisation with an Imperial grant. ("Hear, hear," remarked a member). "If you favour that," replied Lord Amptill, "you should advocate the same solution of the Irish difficulty. (Laughter.) Why not deport Ulstermen to New Zealand or to Botany Bay? It is quite true some such way of cutting the Gordian knot has been advocated in the case of the suffragettes. The difficulties in the way of deporting Ulstermen and suffragettes are precisely the same which are in the way of deporting Indians from South Africa. The Indians of South Africa do not want to go, and they have every right to stay. South Africa is their home. They have more right to be there than the somewhat cosmopolitan riff-raff who receive an undue and excessive welcome in South Africa." ("Oh.")

In the course of discussion, Mr. Richard Jebb maintained that the ultimate aim of the Indians was social and political equality, and that the South Africans had a perfect right to prevent further immigration and to prevent those already there encroaching on the field open to white labour. Did the defenders of the British Indians proposed to send an army to fight the 80,000 burghers who so lately gathered to protect the railways? There was no solution except persuading the bulk of those Indians to leave the country.

Other speakers urged that regard must be paid to the views of the South Africans themselves.

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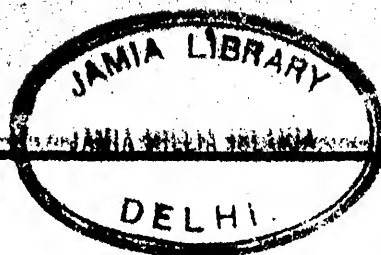
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—Morris.

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The Week.

Epirus Ferment.

The autonomists in Epirus propose to declare a republic so soon as the provisional Government, which is being organised, is complete.

London, Feb. 28.

Valona, Mar. 2.

Mr. Zographos, formerly Greek Governor-General in Epirus, has been elected the head of the autonomous Government of northern Epirus and has telegraphed to the International Commission in Albania, saying that in accordance with the resolutions adopted by Argyrocastro a few days ago, the Epirotes will never recognise an Albanian Sovereign and that even if Greece withdraws her troops, the Epirotes will place every obstacle in the way of any Albanian gendarmerie sent to occupy the territory.

Athens, Mar. 3.

The Greeks have handed over Korytza to the Albanian authorities. An official communique states that there is much unrest at Delvine and Argyrocastro. The Government, while instructing the local authorities not to recognise Mr. Zographos, who has just been elected head of the autonomous Government in Epirus, advises them not to take coercive measures against him as his presence is the guarantee of patriotism and moderation. The Government has given orders to the authorities to prevent the emigration of the population. The flag of autonomy has been raised at Santi Quaranta where the Greek authorities are helpless. Delvine is surrounded by insurgents.

Athens, Mar. 3.

Despite all military measures, 3,000 insurgents assembled outside Delvine.

M. Zographos proclaimed the autonomy of Epirus declaring that the Epirotes were prepared to die in the defence of their liberties, and concluded by calling for cheers for King Constantine. Greek soldiers participated in the demonstration.

London, Mar. 3.

The situation in Epirus somewhat resembles the state of affairs in Ulster. The self-proclaimed autonomous Government refuses to be annexed to Albania, and relies upon Greek troops refusing to enforce the annexation upon their compatriots, and even deserting to help them.

Albania.

Vienna, Feb. 28.

The Emperor Francis Joseph to-day received Essad Pasha's Albanian deputation in special audience. His Majesty hoped that the Altanians were now united. The future of Albania would then be assured.

The deputation afterwards lunched with Court Berchtold.

London, Mar. 5.

Prince William of Wied and his consort embark at Trieste to-day for Durazzo. They will be escorted by an international fleet. The difficulties awaiting the new Sovereign are evidenced by the spread of the Epirote revolt and the outbreak of inter tribal fighting among Albanians.

Cetinje: A telegram also reports that the Mohamedans of Skutari have decided not to send a deputation to greet the Prince.

Persia.

London, Feb. 25.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Morrell, Sir Edward Grey declared that according to the latest information the Russian troops in Northern Persia numbered 14,200, showing a reduction of 3,800 since July 8th last year. Orders had also been issued for the withdrawal of the bulk of the troop from Kazvin.

Replying to a question from Colonel Yate, Sir Edward Grey said that there was no reason to believe that the Persian Government would not readily admit the claim for prolongation of the option concerning the Mohammerah-Khoramabad Railway surveys of which had been delayed by disturbances in Luristan.

London, Feb. 27.

In the course of the discussion in the House of Commons yesterday on the supplementary Estimates for the Treasury, reference was made to the advances to Persia from the Treasury. Several Opposition members criticised the procedure. Mr. Montagu said that a sum of fifty thousand sterling would be reimbursed out of the Foreign Office Vote, and that no inconvenience had been caused by the measure adopted.

London, Mar. 3.

In the House of Commons, Colonel Yate raised the question of Kerman and Persian-Baluchistan and asked whether, if the Bandar-Abbas-Kerman Road was unsafe, Sir Edward Grey would consider the advisability of lending a few British and Mohamedan officers to form a force of Persian levies to protect the road.

Sir Edward Grey:—The new Governor-General, Bakhtiari Khan is proceeding to Kerman, and it is expected that he will preserve

order. Therefore I am not contemplating taking the suggested steps.

Teheran, Mar. 3.

Fighting continues at Kazerun. Two Swedish Captains, Killander from Shiraz, and Lunberg from Bushire, have entered the town with reinforcements.

London, Mar. 5.

Bushire: The gendarmerie has re-occupied Kazerun and it is reported that the tribesmen are fleeing.

Teheran: Nasridiwan and his men have been driven out of Kazerun by the gendarmes.

The Persian Legation declares that Ohlson has not been killed, but that he has gone to Shiraz.

The Estimates for Foreign and Colonial Service include £220,000 for the Persian loan.

H. H. the Begum of Bhopal.

Aligarh, Mar. 1.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has been pleased to make a grant of twenty-five thousand rupees for the building of the central offices of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference at Aligarh.

Aligarh, Mar. 3.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal left here for Delhi by motor yesterday. Her son, Prince Major Hameedullah, invited her as the Captain of the College Cricket Team to an "At Home." She made a permanent grant of two hundred rupees monthly towards the Cricket Club of the College.

Her Highness performed a number of ceremonies in connection with the female education movement and laid the foundation-stone of the new Zenana Boarding House to be named after her the Sultana Boarding House.

An address was presented to Her Highness on this occasion. In replying, she laid great stress on equally looking to both the wheels of the communal cart. She then declared open another boarding house in connection with the Mohamedan Girls' School lately established. Her Highness the Begum of Janjira and a large number of Mussalman ladies from Lahore, Moradabad, Lucknow, Allahabad, Hyderabad, Delhi, Karachi and other places, also some European ladies of the station attended the ceremony, after which the ladies assembled in their Zenana Conference presided over by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and held in the newly opened Zenana School. It was resolved that the Conference be held annually. The other resolutions passed dealt with social reform and the constitution of the Conference. Her Highness then visited the science laboratory of the College, and bestowed *Khalats* on Maulana Haqqi and Qazi Jalaluddin, Professors of the College.

Delhi Estimate.

London, Mar. 3.

In the House of Commons to-day, Sir J. D. Rees inquired respecting the estimated total cost of the move of the capital to Delhi.

Mr. Roberts replied that there would probably be some excess over the original estimate of four million, but how much, could not be said at present. The Government of India was closely scrutinizing the engineers and architects' proposals with a view to effecting all possible economies.



Our London Letter.

London, 13th Feb, 1914.

THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

The State opening of the new Parliamentary Session and the all-absorbing Ulster debate, which has followed the Speech from the Throne, have eclipsed all other matters during this week. The unusual course adopted by the Opposition in forthwith moving an Official Amendment to the Address on the Irish question has naturally deprived the House of Commons of the opportunity for engaging into a general discussion, during the debate on the Address, and thus matters of Imperial interest in other parts of the Empire have been necessarily ignored so far. However, now that the Ulster problem has been for the time being set aside, as far as the Commons

debate on the above Amendment is concerned, it is hoped that the subsequent course of debate in the House will lead to an interesting discussion on matters affecting the British dominions beyond the Seas as well as the numerous important problems in foreign affairs, which are at present in a rather unsettled condition.

The King's Speech has been singularly devoid of Indian interest. Apart from a brief reference to the regrettable failure of the rains in the peninsula last autumn, no mention is made of anything else, though it was fully expected that the Speech would at least touch upon the Indian question in South Africa, which is undoubtedly one of the gravest problems that has ever presented itself to the British Government. The House of Commons, however, will soon be able to discuss this Imperial question, as Mr. MacCallum Scott's Amendment, which "regrets that no mention is made of any amelioration of the position of British Subjects of Indian origin in South Africa," is coming before the House in a day or two. No doubt the debate on this Amendment will be followed with intense anxiety by all those who are fully aware of the importance of the subject to the Empire as a whole.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

It is satisfactory to note that good progress is being made with the project for establishing a School of Oriental Languages in London. The Government have intimated that they will approve of the incorporation of the School in the University of London after the passing of an Act in substantial accordance with the recommendations of Lord Haldane's University Commission; and, pending such legislation, the School is to be established under Royal Charter. According to the "Times," the draft charter has been already approved by the Privy Council and communicated to the various bodies to whom it is proposed to give representation on the governing Council. It is hoped that contracts will be settled in April and that the work will be completed early next year. The Government have undertaken the financial responsibility for the structural adaptation of the buildings, now belonging to the London Institution in Finsbury Circus, which are to be repaired and extensively altered to meet the necessary requirements. It is estimated by the Committee, of which Lord Cromer is Chairman, that the annual cost will be £14,000. The Government grant will be £4,000 and that of the India Office from Indian revenues £1,250. An appeal is to be made for an endowment fund and for annual grants and subscriptions.

This School will certainly provide an institution here, which has been a long-felt want. Curiously, though England's interests in the East are enormous, she has been sadly neglecting to place suitable facilities before the large number of Englishmen, who are serving, or about to serve, in India and other parts of the East, for acquiring an adequate knowledge of the Oriental languages. In Germany and France, however, the case is quite different, as Berlin and Paris can already boast of excellent Schools, where Oriental languages are taught by efficient teachers.

The scheme has the best wishes of all those who have the true interests of the British Empire in India at heart. Efficient knowledge of Oriental languages, particularly those spoken in India, on the part of British officials cannot but lead to that desirable degree of mutual understanding and promote that harmony and concord between the Indian and the Englishman, which are so essential for the successful administration of that great Dependency of the Empire.

CAMBRIDGE: APPOINTMENT OF ORIENTAL TEACHERS.

The Foreign Service Students Committee have appointed the following gentlemen as University teachers:—Shaykh Ahmad Abdul Khayr-ud-Din in Arabic; Husayn Kazim Zade in Persian; and Ali Riza Bey in Turkish.

INTEGRITY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

A meeting under the auspices of the Ottoman Association was held in Cannon Street Hotel on the 11th inst. with the object of arousing public interest in the importance of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Sir Thomas Barclay, who was in the chair, moved the first resolution opposing the interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey, and declared that from the outset of the Balkan crisis, even from the beginning of the Turco-Italian War, business in the city of London had been placed at a standstill. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall read a letter from a Turkish business man, who complained that Turkey was in the hands of a gang of shady and unscrupulous foreign speculators. The motion, which was seconded by Sir J. D. Rees, M. P. and supported by Mr. T. Harper and Mr. Darvaz, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Harold Cox moved "That this meeting regrets that the recent policy of Great Britain has the appearance of having been persistently directed against the Turkish Empire." He admired Sir Edward Grey as a man and a speaker, but could not admire his foreign policy, which had been marked by a long series of blunders and disasters. The whole policy of Great Britain, since Sir Edward Grey went to the Foreign Office, had been marked by deliberate subservience to Russia, and the intention appeared to be to keep Turkey weak to be ready to be swallowed by Russia. Sir Edward Grey was unable to move hand or foot until he received his instructions from St. Petersburg. A similar policy had been followed in regard to Tibet and Persia. There had been a complete departure from the traditional policy of this country.

The Hon. Walter Guinness, M. P., seconded the resolution, which was supported by Professor E. G. Browne and passed unanimously.

The meeting has made a profound and sympathetic impression in the City.

SIR EDWARD GREY AND TURKEY.

The Ottoman Association has forwarded to Sir Edward Grey a memorandum on the situation in Eastern Anatolia and the Aegean Islands, maintaining that attempts were being made to "frustrate the sincere endeavours of the Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the Armenian provinces."

To this Sir Eyre Crowe writes on behalf of Sir Edward Grey: "I am directed to inform you that Sir Edward Grey has under his consideration the memorial of the Ottoman Association. I am to state that he is in full accord with their desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by your Association have been duly weighed by His Majesty's Government in the efforts they are making, in conjunction with other Powers, to secure a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the questions still outstanding in the Near East."

PERSIAN PROBLEMS.

The Times publishes a long conversation which its Tehran correspondent has had this week with M. Korostovetz, the Russian Minister in the Persian capital. According to *The Times*, M. Korostovetz, though somewhat reticent in the expression of his views, has impressed its representative with his sincere desire to deal with Persia and the Persian problem in a sympathetic and enlightened spirit.

His Excellency, according to the report, has said that both he and the Viceroy of the Caucasus, with whom he had spoken at Tiflis, thoroughly approved of the policy of the withdrawal of Russian troops now in Persia. The withdrawal, which had already begun, would be continued in the spring. There were, however, many Persians who feared a recrudescence of unrest in Azerbaijan Province.

In response to a suggestion that the Swedish Gendarmerie organization should be extended to fill the void, the Minister replied that the Russians would naturally prefer the Cossack Brigade to be entrusted with the task of preserving order in the Russian sphere, though he was well aware that the question of an increase in the numbers of the Russian officers in Northern Persia was a delicate one. He added that it was the policy of his Government to maintain the Anglo-Russian Convention, to support the Constitution, and as much as possible to smooth away all difficulties.

In regard to the question of the Azerbaijan elections and of the support alleged to be given by Russia to Shuja-ed-Dowleh, His Excellency said that the Russian Consuls in Azerbaijan had been instructed not to interfere with the course of the elections. He thought it unlikely that any question of a revision of the Anglo-Russian Agreement would arise out of the situation in Azerbaijan.

M. Korostovetz expressed scepticism with regard to the immediate realization of the scheme of a Trans-Persian Railway, though he was in favour of the more practical project of a railway from Astara or Julfa to Teheran. Progressive schemes were, in any case, well able to take care of themselves without pushing. He further expressed himself in favour of a loan to be made as soon as possible, as he thought that the country could not go on much longer without money. He was also concerned to place the Russian Bank, which for some time past had not been in a flourishing condition, on a firmer and more business-like footing.

Though the above statement of M. Korostovetz is on the whole reassuring, our past experiences of Russian diplomacy do not unfortunately render us very hopeful as to the future of Persia. We shall wait and see.

THE LONDON INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

The Executive of this Association have decided to give informal dinners periodically, at which the members may meet one another, with a view to promote social intercourse between them. The

scheme is a happy one and is certain to meet with the hearty approval of the general body of members.

The first dinner, under the new scheme, was held last Saturday and was largely attended. Subsequently those present were entertained to a very interesting programme of music and singing. The intervals provided ample opportunity for social intercourse and the most cheerful and pleasant feelings prevailed during the evening. Judging by the success of the 'opening night', there is every reason to look forward with no little interest to the subsequent periodical dinners, the most happy feature of which will be their purely informal character. The Committee of the I. I. A. are to be heartily congratulated on the step they have thus taken.

AN EGYPTIAN "BLUE."

The most interesting person in last Saturday's 'Varsity Soccer match at Queen's Club was an Egyptian undergraduate, H. Hegazi, who played for Cambridge, the winning team. He is, I believe, the first Egyptian to get a Blue, and though he is only in his first year at the University, his name is quite familiar in the sporting circles, as he has already established a reputation on the Football-ground. Hegazi plays forward and is an excellent shot. The Light Blues were looking to him more than any one else to win the match for them, and though he certainly did not do full credit to himself on that occasion—and it must be remembered that the weather was not ideal by any means—he undoubtedly proved himself a pillar of strength to his side. Hegazi plays in very light soft kid boots, without toe-caps, which give him a remarkable control of the ball: he gets the "feel" of it. The Young Egyptian is most popular with the crowd whenever he appears on the field, and the London Press has lately been full of his praise. Hegazi's future career will be followed with very great interest by every lover of the game.

WOMAN IN TURKEY.

A leading article, under this heading, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* this week. The communication, which is based on the series of articles, which Miss Grace Ellison has lately contributed to the columns of this journal, dwells upon the various aspects of the Turkish woman, who, it must be at once admitted, is very favourably treated and dealt with in this article. It is highly encouraging to notice that after all the true virtues and the real worth of the Turkish woman have been driven home to the Westerners with such force and emphasis, and no little credit is due, as I have said in my letter of last week, to the efforts of Miss Ellison, who has thus rendered a great service to her Oriental sisters. Turkish women will no doubt remember her with nothing but genuine affection and esteem.

To those who have been closely in touch with the national movement for liberty and freedom in the Turkish Empire, the unique patriotism of the women in Turkey has struck them as the most hopeful sign of Turkish regeneration. A similar spirit has likewise been manifest in Persia among the women, to whose strong sense of patriotism Mr. Morgan Shuster bears ample testimony in his "Strangling of Persia." Nothing can extinguish this fire of patriotism and liberty which has been kindled in the bleeding heart of these women in Turkey and Persia and the torch of light and guidance with which they are determined to proceed on the path of national freedom and national salvation will be in time productive of stupendous results and substantial consequences for the ultimate welfare and prosperity of their countries. It is indeed a magnificent spirit and Turks and Persians have every reason to be immensely proud of their womenfolk.

The Indian woman, and in fact the Oriental woman in any part of Asia, has equally imbibed the same spirit and the same sentiment. The time is fast approaching when the Oriental woman will demand, and rightly demand, her recognition in the affairs of State and that claims for "Votes for Women" will, I am sure, be put forward by the Oriental woman with more dignity and more grace than is done by her zealous sister in these islands.

A new chapter is thus about to open in the national life of the East, which if conducted with care, perseverance and statesmanship will go a long way towards the uplifting of the Orient in general.

IMPORTANT LONDON CONFERENCE.

A Conference, under the auspices of the "Nationalities and Subject Races Committee," of which Mr. L. T. Hobhouse is Chairman, is to be held next week in London to discuss the following subjects:—(1) The Press Laws in India and Egypt, (2) Russia's Influence on British Policy and (3) Indentured Labour within the Empire.

Sir Henry Cotton, K. O. S. I., Mr. J. A. Hobson, and Sir Roger Casement, O. M. G., are the Presidents of the Committee and the following gentlemen are expected to speak at the conference:—Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Mansur Rifat, Mr. W. Tcherkesoff, Dr. H. Rutherford and others.

TETE À TETE



Our readers will remember that it was our invariable custom to take them into our confidence as regards the financial position of *The Comrade* and we used to supply them in as great detail as possible the data for judging of the progress of our circulation. This was the only method we adopted for advertising *The Comrade*, for we felt sure that in view of the spirit of camaraderie that existed between us and our readers, they would be the best of our canvassers, and that they would need no other whip or spur to urge them on than the bare facts of our circulation. Like so many other things that have suffered a sea-change since we migrated to Delhi, this procedure also was dropped. The reason is not far to seek. As the poet says,

بنہاں تھا دامِ سخت قریب آنیوں کی
اڑتی نہ پاسے نہی کہ گرفتار م ہوسے

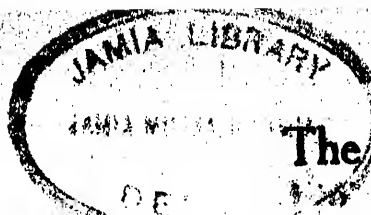
Soon after we had reached Delhi the Balkan War commenced, and with a staff far from complete and in fact not even as large as that which we had at Calcutta we were compelled to deal with the situation arising out of the war and the Fund that we commenced to collect for the relief of its sufferers. The arrangements that we were called upon to make for the sale of Turkish Treasury Bonds took up still more time, and it now appears to us that so much did we look after the finances of others that we crippled our own. The figures of our circulation which we used to furnish to our readers from time to time ceased to be compiled and on going through our books we have now for the first time leisure to realize that the utmost confusion prevailed in our office. We have no doubt many of our readers must have had to put up with a great deal on account of such confusion; but they will be more disposed to show us some indulgence when they are in possession of all the information as regards the losses that we ourselves had to sustain through the unkindness or neglect of some of our readers. We have had a statement prepared of the number of new subscribers enlisted from month to month during 1912 and 1913, and of the number of subscribers whose names were struck off during the same period. An examination of these figures is not without some interest. In the first place, it completely disposes of the theory of some of our kind friends who would have the world believe that we sacrificed the pursuance of an honest policy to the desire to increase our circulation. As it happens, there has been a perceptible falling off in the number of fresh subscribers during the months in which we may be presumed to have reconciled ourselves—to the loss of grace. In the next place, the Balkan War too brought no grist to our mill. If, however, we turn to the figures of names of subscribers struck off we find that just at the first time when Indian Mussalmans were most generous in dealing with the sufferings of their brethren in Turkey or at Calcutta they were most unjust to us. In January, 1913, alone we had to remove no less than 587 names. In August last another 284 had to be struck off, and this followed similar treatment in the case of 188 in the previous June. If we turn to the net increase or decrease we find that in 1912 the net increase ranged between 96 and 170 in the first four months, that in the next two months there was actually a slight decrease owing to the extensive weeding out that went on for some three months, and that gradually the decrease was converted into a progressive increase which practically lasted to the end of the year. The year 1913 commenced with a "Slaughter of Innocents" as we have shown, and no wonder there was the tremendous decrease of 419 in January. In February and March there were net increases of 116 and 78 respectively; but after that decrease continued throughout the year except for two months of modest increases, July and

September. In the two years 1912 and 1913 our circulation went up only to the extent of some 400, and if we take into consideration only the year 1913 we find that our circulation has indeed gone down to the extent of very nearly 500. Since our migration to Delhi there has been a net decrease of about 250 instead of the increase which we had so confidently expected. These figures would cause us the greatest disquietude if they were indicative of a decrease of appreciation of the views published by *The Comrade*. To a certain extent they undoubtedly mark the natural chagrin of the less indulgent readers at our very unfortunate but equally unavoidable delays. But the data which we now propose to supply would convince our readers that the decrease is in the main indicative of the injustice or at least negligence of some of our readers in their dealings with ourselves. In the issue of 8th February, 1913, we published the amount of arrears which had not been paid up by the subscribers whose names we had reluctantly removed from our books as defaulters. It exceeded Rs. 2,700. The arrears during 1913 exceeded Rs. 4,600; and it appears that Rs. 550 are due from subscribers whose names have been removed during the last two months, while nearly Rs. 1,300 are due from subscribers to whom the paper is still being supplied in spite of their default. This represents unpaid dues of more than Rs. 9,000 in two years, and we ask our readers whether it is possible for us to go on much longer at this rate. We can well understand a subscriber finding a newspaper not to his liking and discontinuing to be a subscriber, though we must acknowledge with gratefulness that we have had remarkably few such cases to deal with. But we fail to understand the justice of continuing to receive a newspaper and from time to time expressing admiration of the way in which it was conducted, and yet depriving it of its legitimate dues. This shows some defect of character in our people which cannot assist them in attaining the position at which their gaze is fixed. We intend to send the list of such defaulters to the most enthusiastic among our subscribers in each district with a view to request them to assist us in having these arrears cleared, and such of them as would volunteer to do this work for us would, we need hardly say, deserve our heartiest thanks and save us considerable trouble. To us nine thousand rupees are a fortune, but the few rupees that each individual defaulter owes us must be only a flea-bite to him. We, therefore, trust that each of them would bear this in mind and discharge his liability to a friend and comrade. But that is not all. We find that it is necessary for us to have at least 2000 more subscribers within the next six months to place the finances of *The Comrade* on a solid footing. This should not prove to be a difficult task. In fact if we had not had to remove the names of defaulters from our lists for petty arrears not paid up chiefly through sheer indolence and unbusiness-like habits, we would not have needed to issue this appeal. Our existence entirely depends on the support of our readers, but we did not trouble them even in our greatest difficulties because there were the greater difficulties of others in which we desired to bespeak their generous assistance. All those difficulties are now happily over, and it is only because we do not feel that there is a deserving person or community whose need is greater than ours that we stretch our hand. We shall now give every week the result of this appeal, and we need hardly add that any other assistance which *The Comrade* receives from its numerous supporters will be welcome to us. Let our readers only remember that this is no commercial concern, nor the pet of a grandee on whose support it exists, but an organ of public opinion entirely dependent on public encouragement or support. If it languishes for want of such encouragement or support, whatever conclusion would be drawn it would be a conclusion adverse to the interests and reputation of the public on the support of which we have always relied.

The death of Lord Minto has caused widespread and genuine sorrow throughout this country. The period of his Viceroyalty was associated with the opening of a new and fruitful era of political advance in the history of the people under

The Late Earl of Minto.

British Rule. He had succeeded Lord Curzon when the political sky was heavily overcast and there were ugly intimations of storm and thunder above the horizon. His brilliant and masterful predeceasing by his strenuous administration of affairs, left for him a perfect heritage of trouble. Shortly after his assumption of the reins of office the Conservative Party was crushed at the polls and the Liberal Government, borne on the crest of the popular wave, was installed at Westminster. The situation was generally felt to be awkward and embarrassing to a Viceroy of great Conservative traditions like Lord Minto. There were the usual, inevitable prophecies about his impending resignation. It, however, speaks volumes of the strength of character and sense of duty of Lord Minto that he did not shrink from shouldering his burden because a Radical Government came into power at the India Office. An intimate understanding and unity of effort and standpoint was soon evolved between him



7th March.

Minto and Lord Morley, and both addressed themselves in mutual sympathy and co-operation to the task of Indian governance. Indeed, their earnest co-operation furnished another notable example of the great truth that principles may differ but men can agree. As we have said, the situation in India wore at the time a decidedly ugly aspect. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal was growing in fury and heat. Signs of grave unrest were breaking forth in various parts of the country. The bomb made its first appearance as a weapon in political crime, and it was soon realised that a serious anarchical conspiracy was organising itself underground in the soil of Bengal and spreading forth its tentacles in invisible ways to distant provinces. It is not difficult to imagine what might have happened if a man of less courage and resource than Lord Minto had been at the helm of the Indian administration. As it was, the situation was saved by remarkable tact and wisdom and a courage of a high order. Not only the anarchical movement was arrested by the application of drastic measures, but it was shamed into self-rebuke by its being robbed of all pretence at patriotism or moral justification. Lord Minto had the wisdom to perceive the distinction between anarchical crime and legitimate and healthy unrest, and the courage to apply to the latter a measure of liberal political reform in frank sympathy with the growing aspirations of the people. Those who have never been able to reconcile themselves to the Minto-Morley reforms, who in fact would fain use them torn out of the Statute-Book and the country handed over to the sole and tender mercies of the "men on the spot," have a curious fondness for discussing the authorship of the measures. They like to persuade themselves and others to believe that Lord Minto was a well-meaning but a simple-minded Viceroy who easily fell into the wiles of an astute Radical statesman and was gently dragged into doing what he, if left to himself, would have never ventured to do. As an estimate of Lord Minto nothing could be more inaccurate. As a matter of fact, Lord Minto himself claimed publicly on more than one occasion that he took the initiative by formulating a scheme of reform which the urgency of the situation demanded, and we have no reason to doubt its veracity. The form in which the reforms ultimately emerged was of course the result of an earnest and fruitful collaboration with Lord Morley. But this does not mean that Lord Minto was led into a course which he disliked at heart. He was a man of upright and independent character. He was too alive in his sensibilities to become a dupe or be easily gulled. He saw with clear and steady gaze the forces working around him. Serious unrest was growing. Political crimes were becoming dangerous both in character and magnitude. An overwhelming section of the educated classes, who had no sympathy with political murders and anarchism, were nevertheless feeling impatient of the narrow limits within which their political energies were cooped up. All this was borne in with irresistible effect on the inquiring mind of the Viceroy, and he immediately saw the danger of sticking to his guns and refusing to move ahead. He took his courageous decision, which finally laid down the lines of India's political advance and strengthened the foundations of the British Rule. This is the greatest service that any statesman can have the privilege to render to this country and to the Empire. Another service that Lord Minto did to India was his bold recognition of the principle that all political evolution should have a communal basis in a country where religion was the dominant force in the lives of the people. This historic pronouncement was made at Simla in 1906 in response to the famous Moslem Deputation, and the debt of gratitude that the Mussalmans owe to Lord Minto can hardly be overestimated. Lord Minto was a straightforward, chivalrous and generous hearted nobleman whose personal integrity and charm won the hearts alike of the princes and people of India. His death is a great loss to India and the Empire. We join with the entire Indian people in offering our respectful condolences to Lady Minto in her heavy bereavement.

We are glad to note that through the wise and timely intervention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab the strike of the Lahore Medical College students has come to an end. They have been readmitted in a body to the College, and it has been decided to hold an independent inquiry into their grievances and the whole trouble to which they gave rise. The Lieutenant-Governor's note on the subject refers to "such disciplinary measure in regard to all or any of the students as Government may approve." We trust, however, that after a searching inquiry into the affairs of the College no such measure would be found to be necessary or desirable. The students' attitude has throughout the period of trouble been marked with moderation and restraint, and one may reasonably conclude that they did not decide to embark on an extreme course with a light heart and in a spirit of defiance. We are convinced, however, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose administration of affairs in the Punjab is already growing in popular esteem, will not recommend any measure that may be needlessly harsh. His example may well be followed by the United Provinces Government in dealing with the students of the Medical School, Agra. In some cases the Principal of the Agra School has proceeded to lengths that are hardly just. He has met the students' strike by

closing the school for one year. Such heroic remedies are simple enough to adopt, but they invariably cause infinite harm all round, more particularly to the reputation of the responsible authorities for administrative capacity and tact. We need not go at length into the causes of the trouble at the Agra School. They may briefly be summed up under the one general head of harsh and unsympathetic treatment. The complaint in this case is not against the principal himself—the students, in fact, speak of him in terms of sincere respect. But they say that under the existing rules he is absolutely unapproachable, and his assistants, Drs. J. P. Modi and O. M. De, with whom they have to deal directly, are invariably overbearing in their manners and never let the students' grievances reach the Principal. Complaints against Dr. Modi have been frequent, and we can well recall a particular occasion when he pursued rather vindictively a student that had somehow incurred his displeasure. He seems to have acquired considerable influence over the Principal and is considered to enjoy unlimited freedom to have his own way in all matters relating to the instruction, discipline and general welfare of the students. Be that as it may, we trust that the local Government will promptly intervene and remedy the situation. The School should be opened and the students allowed to go back to their studies, and if any disciplinary measures are deemed necessary, they should be devised in the light of the results of an impartial inquiry into their grievances.

Our Calcutta contemporary, the *Mussalman*, calls attention to a serious situation in connection with a number of mosques and burial grounds in a suburb of Calcutta which are situated on a vast tract of land that has been acquired for the extension of the Kidderpur Docks. The mosques are threatened with demolition and the burial grounds are being swept clear of all vestiges of tombs. Our contemporary thus describes the situation:—"Now, the acquisition of a vast tract of land, for the extension of the Kidderpur Docks, at Sonai, Krishapur, Belpukur and other villages, in the suburbs of Calcutta but within the jurisdiction of the District of the 24-Pargannas, affects some 15 mosques and about 12 burial-grounds. With the exception of 2 or 3 which are likely to be spared, all the mosques are going to be demolished, some of the grave-yards have already been dug up and human bones and skulls have been taken out and exposed to public view, some of the grave-yards have been levelled to the ground, and thus Moslem feeling has already been outraged. Several days ago the demolition of a large mosque at Nashikarpur was undertaken, four of its 6 domes were dismantled, when some Mussalmans interfered and the work of demolition has thus been stopped for the time being. The question has become a serious one and unfortunately the authorities are still lethargic in spite of the repeated representations of the local Mohammedans. So long ago as November 1909, the Mussalman residents of Sonai, Indri, Muchikhola, Krishapur and other villages submitted a memorial to the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, stating that the 6000 bighas of land acquired by the Port Commissioners contained mosques and burial-grounds wherein lay entombed the remains of several saints and pious men who were looked upon with much veneration by the Mohammedan public and the extinction of which would be considered as an act of sacrilege, telling very heavily upon the religious susceptibilities of the Mohammedans. While drawing the attention of the Government of Bengal to that memorial we said in our issue of the 19th November, 1909: 'We join the memorialists in their prayer that the mosques and burial-grounds in question may be retained and we trust that the case will receive a most sympathetic consideration at the hands of a level-headed ruler like Sir Edward Baker.' We find our trust was misplaced and our hope has been falsified. The matter has now reached serious proportions, and that under the rule of a Governor, known to be so just and sympathetic. For sometime we are being informed of the acts of sacrilege that are being perpetrated by the Dock authorities. We ourselves went to the spot several weeks ago, saw things with our own eyes and were satisfied that the grievances were quite genuine. Before we took the matter up in the columns of the *Mussalman* we considered it advisable to write to His Excellency the Governor a demi-official letter and seek redress from him." Accordingly on the 31st January the Editor addressed a letter to His Excellency's Private Secretary setting forth the facts of the matter and requesting His Excellency to intervene and settle it peacefully in view of the serious shock it would otherwise cause to Moslem feelings. The Editor, however, received a "stereotyped reply" from the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor, informing him that his letter had under His Excellency's orders been transferred to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal for disposal, "to whom any further correspondence on the subject should be addressed." Our contemporary proceeds: "We have since waited for a favourable reply from the Chief Secretary but have received no response as yet. As the matter is becoming more and more serious every day and as apparently the authorities are apathetic, we consider it our duty not to be silent over it any longer and at once to voice the feelings and sentiments of our community on the subject. The question is not a local one. It affects the Mussalmans all over India. We lose thus 15 mosques and 12 burial-grounds are involved." We trust, with

our contemporary, that the Bengal Government would take immediate steps to inquire into the whole matter and allay public anxiety and alarm. But the crux of the situation, to which the Mussalman has rightly drawn pointed attention, is that the Government of India should move promptly to amend the Land Acquisition Act so as to exclude all places of public worship and burial-grounds from the scope of its operation. The All-India Moslem League unanimously passed a resolution on the subject at its Agra Session, and now it remains for some Mussalman Member of the Imperial Legislative Council to ask a question with a view to ascertain what the Government intends to do in the matter. We need not say how urgent the matter has grown. Its right solution would for ever remove a source of public anxiety and alarm which is responsible for numerous difficulties and embarrassments that the officials have to face in their efforts to maintain public tranquillity.

"EX-CITIZEN" writes to us as follows:—"I must thank you for your kindly publishing my last letter and for your generous remark in reference to myself. May I ask the further indulgence

A lost tomb.

of your allowing this short letter also space in one of your issues. I hear that the 'Zinat-ul-Masajid'—architecturally perhaps the second best mosque in the Delhi town—is now included among the 'ancient monuments' to be looked after by the Government. This is, as it should be, a matter for congratulation both to the Government and the public. It seems to me it would be appropriate now to suggest a fitting recognition of the claims to memory and respect of the founder of the mosque—Princess Zinat-un-Nisa Begam, daughter of Aurangzeb. At her own request she was buried within the mosque, close to another enclosure said to have been the receptacle of sacred relics, probably a similar institution to what you have in the Jami Mosque. The two enclosures do not exist now. Stephen in his book on the archeology of Delhi mentions that the tomb disappeared immediately after the mutiny. It would be a simple matter, I think, and not very expensive either to raise a tomb with an engraved head-stone at the exact spot which can equally easily be located. *Asar-us-Sanadid* contains a complete record of the head-stone engraving including the verses, evidently her own composition and after the familiar style of those of the lady's aunt, Jahan Ara:

مونس مادر لحد فضل خدا تنها پس است
سایه از ابر رحمت قبر پوش ماس است

The work could perhaps be taken in hand as part of the repairs which I think are needed to the mosque. There were evident signs of neglect and decay when I last saw the place not long ago. I have no doubt that the authorities have already taken notice of the condition of the mosque, and that my present suggestion will receive a sympathetic consideration, should it be placed before them in a suitable form. In case there should be more pressing demands on public funds in other directions, I hope permission would be forthcoming for doing the work by private subscriptions. By the way, 'Zah-un-Nisa' in *Asar-us-Sanadid* is clearly a misprint for 'Zinat-un-Nisa.'

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Near East*, writing about the financial difficulties of the Turkish Government, says that the financial boycott of Turkey by France, at the instance of Russia, appears to be maintained, with the result that

The Financial Boycott of Turkey.

there is an ever-increasing anxiety in this country as regards the future. The process of putting the screw upon Turkey is being carried dangerously far; for the continued inability to pay salaries will inevitably lead to anarchy in Government departments. Heretofore the army has at least been provided with sufficient pay to maintain discipline, and the feeding and supplying of the troops has not failed. The difficulty, however, of finding contractors who will continue to supply the army on credit is becoming daily more marked, and it is obvious that a failure in this respect would lead to military disturbances, the outcome of which it is not difficult to predict. "In Russia or France, or, indeed, any other Power, ready and willing to incur the responsibility of such a collapse of the governing body? Money, like any other commodity, should be an open market, subject to the natural laws of supply and demand, and this conversion of it into a political instrument of oppression does not lack its dangerous features." Every Chancellor in Europe seemed not long ago to be overflowing with solicitude to help Turkey in applying herself to the tasks of peaceful reconstruction in her Asiatic provinces. But the solicitude would appear to have been another diplomatic guise for the greed of concessions. We would like to know if Great Britain has no concern to prevent France from using the neurer's threat simply that Russia may drive her bargain. Is Turkey to have no respite for peaceful development even after the close shooting to which she has had to submit of the Concert and the assurances that her heavy losses should be taken as a price for her future immunity.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VIII.

We are afraid we have already taxed the patience of our readers by the close study which we have made in so many successive issues of the Press Act and its many defects brought to light by the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in our Pamphlet Case and the arguments used for and against the amendment of the Act in the course of the debate in the Viceroy's Council. But so long as the Act remains on the Statute Book of India there is no such thing as the liberty of the Press, and although it is not within the power of any of us to repeal or amend the Act, we must do the next best thing we can and convince every fair-minded reader that the Act is an impossible one. To-day we turn to the question of the duration of the Act and discuss whether the Government of to-day has the same conception of its temporary character as the Government of Lord Minto that passed the Press Bill.

It must be noted that when the Press Bill came up for discussion in the Viceroy's Council four years ago more than one amendment was moved by non-official members with a view to limit the duration of the Act. The first was moved by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who asked that the Act shall remain in force for three years only from the date on which it receives the assent of the Governor-General. This amendment was fully justified by the speech of the Hon. Sir Herbert Risley who piloted the Bill through the Council. In tracing the history of Press legislation and the administration of the penal laws of the land in connection with the Press, the then Home Member pointed out that the Press in India had been free (except during two periods) for seventy-five years, in fact ever since Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed the Licensing Act which was in force up to 1835. The two periods during which the freedom of the Press was interfered with were, first, the period of the Mutiny when the entire Press was under absolute control for one year and no more, and second, the period from 1878 to 1881 when only the Vernacular Press was subject to the control imposed by the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. During the latter period recourse was only once had to the provisions of the Act which was repealed in 1881. Between 1870 and 1907 even the ordinary law was put in motion against the Press only sixteen times. On the 3rd of June, 1907, however, the Government of India issued a Resolution in which they referred to "the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the Panjab and Eastern Bengal" and to the "deliberate efforts made by a number of newspapers, both English and Vernacular, to influence the minds of the people, to encourage ill-will between classes, to promote active hostility to the Government and to disturb the public tranquillity in many different ways." Now we know what these newspapers were, what motives they had for their writings and what lessons they preached. We also know the nature and far-reaching character of the outbreaks of lawlessness in certain parts of the country which had forced upon the attention of the Government of India the efforts made by these papers. These matters are of such recent date that we need not refer to them in detail. But the circumstances of the time would be forcibly brought to one's mind if we refer to the defence of the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 by Lord Morley at the Indian Civil Service dinner in London. The Secretary of State for India said on that occasion:

When I am told that an Act of this kind is a restriction on the freedom of the Press, I do not accept it for a moment. It is said, "Oh, these incendiary articles," for they are incendiary and murderous—"are mere froth." Yes they are froth, but they are froth stained with bloodshed. When you have admitted that they deliberately write these articles and publish these newspapers with a view of furthering murderous action, or talk of the freedom of the Press in connection with that is moonshine. We have now got a very Radical House of Commons. So much the better for you. If I were still a Member of the House of Commons, I should not mind for a moment putting down to the House—and I am sure that my colleagues will not mind to say that when you find these articles on the growth of these concerned expressly designed to promote murderous action, and when you find as a fact that murderous action has been done, it is moonshine to talk of the freedom of the Press. There is no use in indulging in heroics. They are not wanted. But an incendiary article is a part and parcel of the murderous act. You may put picric acid in the ink and pen, but as much as in any acid bomb. I have one or two articles here with which I will not trouble you. But when I am told that we should repeal it as one of the chief aims of good government that there may be as much public discussion as possible, I read that statement with proper diffidence, and then I turn to what I had just heard for from India—extracts from the Press. To talk of public discussion in connection with articles of that kind is really pouring poison into the ears of the people.

This was the state of the country when Government was called to devise measures for dealing with the Press. But now

then Lord Minto, whose loss India mourns to-day with deep anguish as of a true friend, announced in the Resolution of the 3rd of June, 1907, that "the Governor-General has no desire whatever to restrict the legitimate liberty of the Press to criticise the action of the Government, and he would be most reluctant to curtail the freedom of many well-conducted papers because of the misbehaviour of a few disloyal journals." All that he did on that occasion was to ask Local Governments to institute prosecutions against the disloyal journals under the ordinary law of the land. The result was that up to the end of 1909 forty-seven prosecutions, or almost exactly three times the numbers of prosecutions undertaken in the previous thirty-seven years, were undertaken in pursuance of these orders. As a further precaution the Newspaper (Incitements to Offences) Act was passed in 1908. Although these measures proved ample for the suppression of incitements to murder and like offences, and newspapers of the character to which Lord Morley referred in his defence of the Act of 1908 ceased to exist before the Press Bill came on the legislative anvil, Lord Minto's Government asked for the passage of the latter Bill in 1910. To our mind it was a wholly unnecessary precaution at the time; but Government thought otherwise, and with the help of their official majority carried the day. The Hon. Sir Herbert Stuart, then Home Secretary, based the defence of the Bill on the circumstances then existing. He said that "the counterpart of its provision will be found in an Act passed by so great a Liberal statesman as Mr. Gladstone. As he said in his speech in the House of Commons, 'the question is whether the measure is required by the circumstances, and whether it is adapted to the circumstances.' My Lord, we believe that it is adapted to the circumstances; that it is required by the circumstances no one can doubt for a moment." His chief, Sir Herbert Risle, had in introducing the Bill four days previously described in great detail what those circumstances were. He had said that "every day the Press proclaims, openly or by suggestion or allusion, that the only cure for the ills of India is independence from foreign rule, independence to be won by heroic deeds, self-sacrifice, martyrdom on the part of the young, in any case by some form of violence. Hindu mythology, ancient and modern history and more specially the European literature of revolution are ransacked to furnish examples that justify revolt and proclaim its inevitable success. The methods of guerilla warfare as practiced in Circassia, Spain and South Africa; Mazzini's gospel of political assassination; Kosanth's most violent doctrines; the doings of Russian Nihilists, the murder of Marquis Ito; the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna in the Gita, a book that is to Hindus what the *Imitation of Christ* is to emotional Christians—all these are pressed into the service of inflaming impressionable minds."

As we stated in a previous article of the series, on the authority of the late Viceroy himself, circumstances had greatly been altered by the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, and, in the words of Lord Minto, we were then "at the commencement of a new political era." Can any one say that there has been since 1910 even for a single day the kind lawlessness which had induced Government to interfere with the freedom of the Press, or that there have been incitements of the character mentioned by Lord Morley and the late Sir Herbert Risle? Where are the incitements to violence, and where the references to eastern mythology and western literature of revolution justifying revolt and proclaiming its inevitable success? Who talks of guerilla warfare as practiced in Circassia, Spain and South Africa and who preaches from the gospel of political assassination according to Mazzini? There are no doubt anarchists working underground, but they neither influence the normal political life of the country nor succeed in securing recruits from among the ordinary citizens through the inducements offered by any section of the public Press as they could do in the troublous times before the reformed Councils were established. Lord Minto had truly gauged the situation when he based his justification for the release of the *disobedients* immediately on the passage of the Press Bill upon the fact that "the political position has entirely changed, that the political movement of which they were leaders—sedition it was—has degenerated into an anarchical plot, which can no longer be legitimately included as part of the political agitation in which they were so culpably implicated." Lord Minto then said that "we believe that we are no longer confronted by a political movement such as they inaugurated, but are face to face with an anarchical conspiracy for waging war against British and Indian communities alike, and that it will be long before we can exterminate the evil unless those communities agree to work together hand in hand." These words are as true to-day as they were in 1910 when they were uttered. The Press Act does not touch the treason that has been underground, and if in 1910, when recommending the Press Bill, as preventive of treason, the Home Member could cite as the result of the freedom of the Press several attempts at train-robbing, several murders of European and Indian officials and cases of bomb-throwing, including the one at Ahmedabad aimed at the life

of the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, the present Home Member will not find it difficult to furnish an equally long and horrible tale of such outrages, including the awful crime of the 23rd December, 1912, when our present Viceroy was so miraculously saved by Providence, though not without most severe injury. The Press Act prevented none of these crimes and the rigour with which it is being administered does not seem to make the least impression on the secret conspirators. As for any good effect that it may be claimed to have produced on the ordinary citizens, the reformed Council had already succeeded in rallying the moderates who could have been induced, if the reforms had long been withheld, to indulge in violent writing and thus court the rigours of the Press Act. If these Councils are to be made to degenerate into ineffective and puerile debating societies that make no impression whatever on the Government and assist in no way in making Government's policy more and more popular, then indeed there is every prospect of a journalistic saturnalia such as India witnessed in the period just preceding the reforms. But if such is not the desire of Government, the *raison d'être* for the Press Act has ceased to exist and it should not stain the Statute Book a day longer.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale whose support of the principle of the Press Bill in 1910, although very reluctant, had made such a tremendous difference both to its supporters and opponents, had also based it on the extraordinary situation when the Bill was introduced in the course of his first speech with which the consideration of the Bill in the Council had commenced. He had referred to the hardships and risks involved in the existence of such an enactment, but he had said that "all these risks may be temporarily borne if they help in some measure to free the air of ideas of which I have spoken. Only it is of the utmost importance that they should be temporary, and I therefore most earnestly urge that the operation of this law should be limited to a period of three years only." Mr. Gokhale subsequently moved an amendment designed to make the demand of security an exceptional instead of a universal measure of precaution, but he could not get more than 9 votes against 50 on the side of Government. In Mr. Gokhale's own words, his amendment was "not only defeated, but positively slaughtered," and he used this as an argument to prove that "if after the expiry of three years the general situation in the country requires that similar legislation should again be in force, there would not be the smallest difficulty in the way of the Government passing another Bill like this through the Council as it is constituted." When he moved the amendment limiting the operation of the Bill to three years, instead of a mere 9 Mr. Gokhale secured no less than 16 votes, or practically the votes of all the Indian Members except the nominees of the Punjab Government and a couple of "territorial magnates." Even Hon. Members like Nawab Abdul Majid C. I. E., and Raja Patab Bahadur of Patiala had opposed Government. Mr. Mudholkar who subsequently moved a similar amendment of his own, had said in support of Mr. Gokhale's amendment that "there is no principle which has been more unreservedly admitted and considered more sacred, and which is regarded as more in accord with the British Constitution than the principle of the supremacy of law, and I would beg the Council to see this, that of the clothing of the Executive with extraordinary powers should be confined to the narrowest possible limits and should not go beyond the exigencies of the situation. When these exigencies cease, it would be a fit occasion for the expiry of the Act. It would be not a little difficult to obtain a repeal of the Act. I say, as in the case of the Irish Act, this present Act should expire of itself at the end of three years unless its continuance then is considered necessary by the Governor-General in Council." The Hon. Mr. Baan, who also had a similar amendment standing in his name, gave his support to Mr. Gokhale's amendment and based it on the speeches of Government Members. Replying on behalf of Government Sir Herbert Risle feared he could hold out no hopes that the amendment would be accepted, but it is of the utmost importance to note that he based his rejection on the ground that "we cannot predict with any degree of certainty that that end (getting a Press temperate in tone and honest in intention) will be attained after two or three or even after five years." He added: "The Hon. Mr. Gokhale told us at an earlier stage of the debate that the air was thick with antagonism. How soon will it clear? Can we be certain that it will be cleared within a certain number of years? . . . If the people concerned have themselves applied the remedy that we desire, nothing will be easier than to repeal the Act." From this it is as clear as it can be that, although Government could not at the time accept a definite period as the temporary limits within which the exigencies that had called the Press Act into existence would cease to exist, they did regard it as a temporary measure to be repealed "if the people concerned themselves applied the remedy that we desire." Mr. Dadabhai had very effectively quoted in the debate in 1910 an observation of that unbending Tory journal *The Spectator*, that "we must always look upon such measures as temporary precautions; India cannot be governed by a series of restrictions

"which contain no seed of progress, no possibility of fructification."

Let us now turn to the reply of the Hon. the Home Member of to-day to the argument that the conditions of 1914 are wholly unlike those which called the Press Act into being. He said: "Although the Hon. Mover from time to time and other Hon. Members represent to us, that the tone of the Press has greatly improved, that the general situation has also greatly improved—it is a favourite topic with the Hon. Mover—it seems to me it would be very rash to remove those very things that have secured that improvement. You might as well say to us when after great labour and expense and many sanitary regulations we have improved the health of a town, 'why have this expense and these harassing regulations, why not get rid of them?' What applies to the bodily health of a country may also apply to the mental health of its newspapers."

Now, if this means anything, it means that like "many sanitary regulations" necessary at all times for "the bodily health of a country," the Press Act must be treated as a permanent measure necessary for the maintenance of "the mental health" of its newspapers. We wonder whether we shall be courting merely the mild treatment meted out to newspapers under the Press Act such as the confiscation of their security and the seizure of their entire printing-press, or bringing on our devoted head a few years' deportation, if we refer, "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication" or the all-comprehensive the "otherwise" that in making such a statement as he did on this occasion the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock was breaking a pledge given on behalf of Government by his late predecessor, Sir Herbert Risley. Mr. Bevan's thoughtful and admittedly impartial study of Indian Nationalism suggests to us a simile somewhat different from that used by the Hon. the Home Member. The Press Act remaining permanently on the Indian Statute Book will not be the sanitary regulations of Sir Reginald Craddock to insure "bodily health" in the country but the surgeon's steel frame of Mr. Bevan which assists the patient's recovery and thus justifies the temporary restraint it imposes, but which the Hon. the Home Member would prefer to use permanently—as a substitute for natural paralysis. Even Sir Reginald Craddock could not deny that the tone of the Press and the general situation had greatly improved. If any confirmation of this significant silence is needed, the comments of *The Pioneer* on the "Indian Peril" articles of *The Times* supply it. The whole thing has fallen flat.

But "the improved tone of the Press" must not be misunderstood. It simply means that even before the Press Act came into force the seditious newspapers had ceased to exist. As for the newspapers that were then in existence, their tone is no better and no worse than before. The papers that came into existence subsequently are naturally better conducted than many of their predecessors that had worked as pioneers of Indian journalism for those that would follow. But for every article proscribed during the last eight months we can produce from the newspaper files of the three and a half years immediately following the enactment of the Press Act fifty articles equally vigorous in their criticism of the Supreme and the Local Governments, and of individual officials subordinate to them, not to mention criticism of His Majesty's Ministers and the policy and civilisation of Christendom and Europe. So long as the Press Act remained a dead letter, it was tolerated; but the moment it was brought into use it proved to be intolerable, and it is a sad commentary on the argument of Sir Reginald Craddock about its salutary effect that when it was treated by Government as a dead letter Government found no occasion to complain of newspaper criticism, but ever since it is being used the necessity for using it still more frequently and for imposing more and more severe penalties under the Act is being proved by the action of Government itself. As for the improvement in the general situation that, as we have repeatedly said, is due not to such hopeless restrictions which, in the words of *The Spectator*, contain no seed of progress and no possibility of fructification, but to the fruitful reforms of the Minto-Morley régime and the sagacious policy of H. E. Lord Hardinge. Let the reactionaries assert themselves once more and not hundred Press Acts would be able to cope with the gravity of the situation.

We now appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to take the earliest possible steps to repeal the Act and not delay any longer a consummation so devoutly to be wished merely at the suggestion of some reactionaries who have no sympathy with his ideals and policies and with whose ideals and policies it will be a foul libel to credit him with any sympathy. One thing is certain. This Act will not for ever disgrace the Statute Book of India, and in fact its span of life is now but a short one. It will hardly be considered fair to his successor if His Excellency repeals the Act towards the end of his term of office. And by then the agitation against it would have swollen to a far greater size than it has assumed to-day, so that a repeal would then be claimed, and rightly claimed, as a triumph of the agitator.

Government is now in a position to rob the much-maligned, yet much-encouraged agitator of his triumph, and we shall be happy to be accessories of the Government in such a robbery. But failing that, whether we could reasonably be expected to resist the temptation of triumphing with the agitators, we leave Government to judge.

The Financial Statement.

The Financial Statement for 1914—1915, which was presented by the Hon. Sir William Meyer to the Imperial Legislative Council on Monday last, contains few features worthy of note. It is a prosaic review of the current financial year which has been marked by few abnormal conditions. The appearance of famine conditions in parts of the United Provinces, Central India and Rajputana, due to a partial failure of the rains, and the disturbance of the commercial conditions due to the banking crisis have not materially altered the general financial position. It is plain, however, that the fat years of the prosperity budgets, which it was the good fortune of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson to produce during his term of office, have for the time being come to an end. Sir William Meyer's task has not been an easy one in view of the transitional period that he has had to face in the first year of his office, and he has acquitted himself with ability. Without imposing any additional burdens he has contrived to budget for 1914—15 for a surplus of £1,280 million. The existing agricultural and trade conditions have led him to estimate on more cautious lines and hence in the present budget dispositions we are naturally warned not to expect "some of those attractive features which have grown customary in recent years." The regret for the absence of "attractive features" will not, we trust, be keenly felt if Sir William Meyer's caution has not been inordinately excessive. For many years past there has been a steady and marked growth in the Indian revenues. Even the revised estimate for the year 1913—14, in which the general prosperity has received a set-back owing to the failure of the September rains and the disturbance of the trade conditions, show a surplus of £1,828 million. In view of this it is not unreasonable to urge that the "attractive features" of the Indian budget estimates should cease to be mere kindly devices to satisfy popular clamour and should become permanent features like other normal heads of expenditure, for which provision has got to be made whether the general conditions are abnormal or otherwise. A Finance Minister has, of course, to see in the first place to making the both ends meet. But it is something quite different to deliberately budget for surpluses which may be sometimes enormous. Such practice does not give any real clue to the general financial position. It certainly leaves out of account the steady and normal expansion of the general revenues, while it tends to perpetuate the habit of introducing, what Sir William Meyer calls, "attractive features" in the budget by doling out uncertain and capricious help in directions in which lie the larger interests and wider needs of the people.

The Finance Member before proceeding to the actual figures for the revised estimate of revenue and expenditure in the current year and the budget estimate for the financial year 1914—15, drew the attention of the Council to the material difference between the special activities of the Government of India and those of the local Governments. The Central Government is exclusively responsible for services such as defence, the railways, the posts and telegraphs, besides the charges which are finally accounted for in England. The local Governments administer the various branches of ordinary civil administration throughout the country. As the Hon. the Finance Member said, it would make for perspicuity of finance if conditions admitted of a complete parallelism in the allocation of revenue. According to existing arrangements, however, there are wholly Imperial heads such as opium, salt and customs, while the local Governments have as wholly Provincial heads the revenues from forests and regulations and in some provinces excise, but the receipts under the remaining important heads are divided in certain proportions fixed by the terms of the Provincial settlements. The distinction between Provincial and Imperial finance, though artificial, is for certain purposes very significant. As Imperial deficit, for instance, may render it necessary to impose fresh taxation, while in the present circumstances a Provincial deficit merely means that the local Governments are drawing upon balances which are made up of special grants from the Imperial revenues for expenditure on special objects, such as education and sanitation.

The aggregate revenue for the year 1913—14 was estimated in the budget at £824 million, but according to the revised estimate it is expected to reach the figure of £844 million. The improvement is due to substantial increases under Customs, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Excise and Forests. There is some falling off in the land revenue and in the gross Railway receipts. Taking the statement as a whole,

the Finance Member has no reason to be dissatisfied with the result. The Opium windfalls have of course disappeared. Excluding Opium altogether the aggregate revenues of India in 1912-13 amounted to £81,738,000. The revenues in the current year, excluding Opium, have yielded £82,656,000 in spite of a deficient rainfall and a commercial crisis.

The total expenditure provided for in the Budget (1913-14) was £83,911,000, but in the revised estimate it is reduced to £83,675,000 as a result of an increase of £573,000 under Imperial charges and a decrease of £809,000 under Provincial. The increase in the Imperial expenditure is chiefly due to over-spending under Military Services, while the decrease under Provincial is the result of under-spending under Medical and Education. The Imperial surplus which was estimated in the budget at £1,326,000 becomes £1,328,000, that is, it remains practically unchanged. The Provincial deficit of £741,000 has been met by drawings from balances which were £10,557,000 at the beginning of the year and are expected to stand at £9,816,000 at its close. Of this large closing balance, we are told, £4.8 million roughly represents special grants given by the Government of India for expenditure on education and sanitation and other beneficent local objects.

Turning now to the budget estimate for the year 1914-15, the aggregate revenue for the coming year is placed at £85,038,000, and the aggregate expenditure at £86,962,000, thus showing a deficit of £1,924,000. There would not, however, be any actual deficit to face, for the enhanced Provincial expenditure of £3,209,000 in the budget estimate will be met by drawings from the balances. As a matter of fact, it is hoped to obtain an actual Imperial surplus of £1,280,000 in 1914-15. The Finance Member says that in present circumstances it is desirable to have an unallotted balance of about this amount to assist the Government in their heavy capital commitments. The Revenue estimates under various heads anticipate increases of £145,000 under Opium, £612,000 under Land Revenue, £134,000 under Stamps and £242,000 under Excise, while the receipts under Customs, Mint and Railways are expected to fall off to the extent of £118,000, £155,000 and £190,000 respectively.

The aggregate Imperial and Provincial expenditure for which it is proposed to provide in 1914-15 is, as we have already stated, £86,962,000, or an increase of £3,287,000 above the expenditure of the current year. The increase under the Imperial heads amounts, however, to £690,000 only, the remainder being due in the main only to drawings on the abnormally large balances at present in the possession of local Governments. Budget provisions under principal heads of expenditure are £21,886 million under Military Services, £9,575 million under Interest on Public Debt, £4,183 million under Land Revenue, £5,203 million under Police, £4,000 million under Education and £7,455 million under Civil Works. Expenditure under Opium shows a decline of £412,000. The interest on Public Debt increases every year as new loans are raised, and with the heavy borrowings which the Government of India contemplate in 1914-15 they have to provide for an addition of £262,000 for interest on the Public Debt proper as well as for £214,000 more in connection with that portion of the Secretary of State's borrowing transactions which he effects through the agency of companies working State lines. In Land Revenue expenditure there is an increase of £199,000, under Forest an increase of £172,000, under Police an increase of £337,000, under Education an increase of £758,000, and under Military Services an increase of £481,000.

Some of the main heads of expenditure require a brief examination. It is manifest that about one-fourth of the Indian revenues are absorbed by the expenditure under Military Services. The Military expenditure has been steadily growing from year to year and the latest budget provision represents an advance of £853,000 above the standard adopted in framing the budget last March. The increase is justified mainly on the grounds that the cost of provisioning the army would be greater owing to the higher scales of prices, that new rifles have to be purchased and that the pay of British Service officers will have to be increased in accordance with the concessions recently made in this direction in England. The Finance Member hopes that the reasons for proposing a higher standard of expenditure are "special and temporary" and he gives the assurance that his proposals "do not imply any settling aside of the Army in India Committee's recommendations." These have yet to be considered with great care and "subject to the fundamental consideration that we cannot, for the sake of any immediate money gain, do anything which would weaken our military position." It is, however, equally desirable to bear in mind that reasonable retrenchment in

military expenditure is no less weighty consideration, and we do not see what purpose special Committees on military expenditure are intended to serve if "special and temporary reasons" continue to emerge in unbroken succession.

The budget provision for the next year for education is, as we have stated, £4 million. It stands in the approximate ratio of 1 to 21 in respect of the general revenues and of 1 to 5 in respect of the military expenditure of the country. This niggardly proportion can satisfy none of India's well-wishers, especially when one compares it with the proportion of public expenditure on education in other civilised countries. A great advance, it is true, has been effected during the last few years on the conditions existing before Lord Hardinge assumed charge of his office. Since 1910-11 the scale of the expenditure on education has practically doubled. Comparing 1914-15 with 1910-11 it appears that the direct expenditure has risen by £2,406,000. Of this amount £2,315,000 is Provincial and is being financed to the extent of £1,856,000 from special grants given by the Central Government. But, as the Finance Member himself pointed out, the higher figures of expenditure on education and sanitation for the coming year should not be taken as necessarily representing a permanently established standard. The provision for 1914-15 is found to a considerable extent from non-recurring grants which are likely to be rapidly exhausted if the local Governments develop an adequate spending capacity. In analysing the figures it will be seen that the recurring grants given between 1911-12 and 1914-15 amount only to £756,000 for education and £245,000 for sanitation. They no doubt represent a decided advance on the past and a more liberal and progressive policy on the part of the Government. But bearing in mind the magnitude of the country's needs in these directions it is manifest that the pace of advance should be accelerated year after year. Much, however, depends on the energy with which the local Governments address themselves to these tasks. The unspent balances that have accumulated out of the Imperial non-recurring grants for education and sanitation do not give a satisfactory measure of the enthusiasm that seems to inspire the local Governments. We do not see any adequate reason why the Imperial grants should remain unspent. No one can seriously maintain that general demand for education is not growing in the country, or that the local Governments find it difficult to devise suitable and prompt measures for broadening the scope of public instruction in the Provinces. What is really wanted is to infuse into the Education Departments of the local Governments the vigour, the energy, and the enthusiasm of a new and well-directed purpose which should aim at the spread of knowledge and enlightenment in the mass of the people.

As the Hon. the Finance Member pointed out in his statement, there is a large field of Governmental activity outside the revenue account of the current and coming years and the administrative expenditure. Every year heavy capital expenditure is incurred on Railways and Irrigation works, to which the construction of new Delhi has now been added. The Finance Member discussed at length the capital outlay on Railways and, though he enumerated great many difficulties, he nevertheless declared his intention to adhere to the railway programme of £12 million laid down last year by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. This is probably the result of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the Secretary of State and the Government of India by those who are materially interested in the extension of railway communications. Irrigation receives a grant of £1½ million for the coming year, and New Delhi £2½ million. These and other items under capital outlay, amounting in all to £18 million, are to be financed in various ways especially by further borrowing to the extent of £9½ million in India and England. There has been much hue and cry in a section of the Calcutta papers about the probable expenditure on the building of New Delhi, much of which has, however, been singularly ignorant and ill tempered. A yearly outlay of £2½ million on the construction of the New Capital of India is not a drain that would disorganise Indian finance or impoverish the general taxpayer. Whether the change of capital was well-advised or not, is now an idle question. None but a few malcontents in Calcutta would now seem to brood over the loss that the city is said to have sustained in prestige and dignity. When the New Capital has got to be built, it is necessary to provide that it should be built well. The scheme should be financed in a way that the finances of the country may not be thrown out of gear. The Government of India seem to be in no particular hurry to raise fine palaces for their winter residence without carefully weighing the cost and considering the ways and means. The Finance Member has said enough to reassure all reasonable critics that the progress of the work would not be unduly hastened, but that it will be steady and all considerations about cost would be fully weighed in the light of the annual financial position of the country.

The Indian Press Act, 1910.

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

India in its issue of the 13th February publishes the following influentially signed appeal to the British public on the subject of the Indian Press Act of 1910:—

The news which is continually arriving from India of the confiscation of newspapers and printing-presses affords evidence of a serious state of things which is not receiving the attention it requires in this country. While recognising that all proper steps must be taken to deal with incitements to violence and disorder, it seems clear to us that the provisions of the Indian Press Act of 1910 are being used on a scale and in directions which were not contemplated when that Act was passed. The publication of criticism of the action of local authorities, and even the expression of sympathy with the misfortunes of such Moslem States as Turkey, Persia, Tripoli, and Morocco have been made the excuse for the most drastic repression.

It is stated that since the introduction of the Press Act there have been twenty-eight cases dealt with, of which twenty-two represent Moslem organs, and in twenty-one instances newspapers have ceased to exist, either because the presses have been confiscated or because the good conduct security demanded has been too onerous. In the other cases, the recommitment demanded have been paid sometimes by public subscription. More than a dozen forfeitures, either of money or of presses, have occurred during the last few months.

The Press Act authorises action without judicial proceedings, and should an appeal against the orders of the Executive be lodged, we have the authority of the Chief Justice of Bengal for saying that "his powers are of the narrowest," that even if an illegality has been committed he has not the power to rectify it, that his "ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld," and that any chance of redress is "almost hopeless." These opinions are extracted from his judgment in the case of the confiscation of the pamphlet, "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us," and in the same judgment it is definitely stated that the Press Act is being used for purposes for which it was never intended; that its drastic penalties are inflicted upon men of position and repute; the conviction under it implies no stain upon the character of the accused; and that its operation "would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval."

The sting of these judicial comments is intensified by the fact that, when the Press Bill was under the consideration of the Government of India, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, who was in charge of the Bill, speaking on behalf of that Government, emphatically declared that an appeal to the Civil Courts had been introduced into the Bill in order to afford an effective safeguard to the independence of the Press.

We wish further to draw attention to the fact that both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League have passed strong resolutions calling for the repeal of this particular Act, though not, of course, of any measures under which incitements to violence may be dealt with, and that influential public meetings of protest have been held all over India.

We therefore make an earnest appeal to the public of this country, in whose name and by whose authority the Indian Press Act is administered, to demand such an immediate alteration of the law, whether by amendment or repeal, as will put an end to the abuses which have accompanied its operation.

Edward Lincoln (Bishop); Courtney of Penhurst; Percy Aldan (M. P.); W. C. Anderson (late Chairman I. L. P.); E. S. Beely (Professor); E. N. Bennett (ex-M. P.); M. M. Bhownagore (K. C. I. E., ex-M. P.); Willfrid Scawen Blunt; Hypatia Bradlough Banner; Herbert Burrows; W. P. Byles (M. P.); Edward Carpenter; J. Estlin Carpenter (Litt. D., Principal, Manchester College, Oxford); H. G. Chavolla (M. P.); G. B. Clark (ex-M. P.); John Cliffor (V. D.); J. R. Clunes (M. P.); Henry Cotton (K. O. S. I., ex-M. P.); H. E. A. Cotton (L. G. C.); Edward Dalgado; Bhugwandin Dube; Sophia Duleep Singh (Princess); C. J. H. Eratt (Berg.-Gen., C. B.); A. J. Gardiner ("Daily News and Leader"); J. Fredk. Green (Sec., International Arbitration and Peace Society); G. G. Greenwood (M. P.); W. Douglas Hall; H. B. Hanna (Colonel); J. Keir Hardie (M. P.); Fredric Harrison (D. C. L.); L. T. Hobhouse (Professor, University of London); J. A. Hobson; Bernard Houghton (I. C. S., retired); Harry Jones ("Daily Chronicle"); C. E. Maurice; William Markby (K. C. I. E.); H. W. Morrison; J. M. Parikh; Ernest Parke ("Daily News and Leader"); G. H. Perrie; Herbert J. Reynolds (C. S. I., L. C. S., retired); V. H. Rutherford (ex-M. P.); A. MacCallum Scott (M. P.); W. H. Seed; G. Bernard Shaw; N. P. Sinha (Major, I. M. S., retired); Francis H. Shrine (I. C. S., retired); Herbert Snell (Secular Education

League); Philip Snowden (M. P.); S. H. Swinny (President, Socialist Society); T. Fisher Unwin; Jane Couden Unwin; A. J. Wilson ("Investors Review"); Sidney Webb; W. Wedderburn (Bart., ex-M. P.); H. G. Wells.

Indians in South Africa.

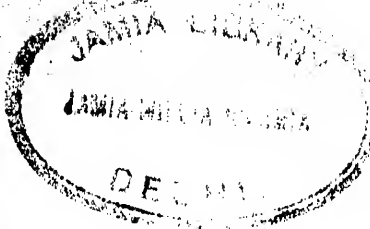
A mass meeting of Indians, numbering over 3,000, was held, by permission of the Martial Law authorities, on the Indian Football Ground, Durban, on Sunday, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, to discuss the details of the provisional arrangement between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Smuts, and to take action thereon. Mr. Imam Abdul Cadir Dawazeer was elected Chairman, and amongst those present were: The rev. C. F. Andrews, Messrs. W. W. Pearson, H. Kallenbach, H. S. L. Polak, A. H. West and G. Isaacs.

MR. GANDHI SPEAKS.

Mr. Gandhi, before proceeding to explain the terms of the provisional agreement, announced that Mr. Andrews had received a letter from England preparing him for the death of his beloved mother, whom he had expected to meet on his arrival in England. He also added that Mr. Andrews was suffering from fever due to the strain under which he had worked in Pretoria in connection with the agreement. Notwithstanding these facts, Mr. Andrews had insisted on attending the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting at length, both in English and Hindustani, his remark being subsequently rendered into Tamil. Mr. Gandhi said that those to whom he was addressing his remarks in English would, he hoped, have read what had been published in the papers, but he would give them the purport of the agreement with the Government. At the first interview he had had with General Smuts, he had placed before him three propositions, the acceptance of any one of which would have enabled the community to lead evidence before the Commission without violating the solemn declaration made some time ago on that very ground. These alternatives were that either the Government should appoint another Commission and restrict the scope of the present Commission purely to a judicial inquiry into the allegations that had been made as to ill-treatment and cruelty, while the other should go into the question of grievances, when the community would be able to lead its evidence before both; or that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests who would sit specially on the Commission hearing the statement of grievances as apart from the allegations of cruelty, so that the functions of this Commission could clearly be divided into judicial and political; or that the scope of the present Commission should be restricted purely to a judicial inquiry, and that before the community's appearance before it, the Government should grant the community's request in terms of Mr. Cachalia's letter, namely, the five points (1) the repeal of the £5 tax; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives as it existed before the Searle judgment; (3) the restoration of the right of South African-born Indians to enter the Cape; (4) the removal of the little difficulty that still exists with reference to the racial bar regarding the Orange Free State; and (5) the question of the just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested rights. The last three points could be dealt with administratively; the first two only by amending legislation, and he had ventured to submit to General Smuts the easiest and the quickest way in which the matter could be dealt with. General Smuts had said that he would consider the matter, and after he had considered and conferred with the Cabinet, he said, in the presence of Mr. Andrews, that the Government were willing to grant these things, but wanted the Commission to lift them, and that they could not possibly, though they would gladly have met the Community, meet them at that stage with reference to its propositions regarding the Commission.

Of course, that would create a deadlock, and that meant either passive resistance and all that that meant, or it meant a suspension of passive resistance until the Government had had a chance, until the Commission had had a chance of doing what they proposed to do, and he had had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, after consultation always with Mr. Andrews, that the community could fairly suspend passive resistance, seeing that the Government had taken up, that he considered, reasonable attitude, and seeing also that the Government were prepared to understand and appreciate that the community was bound by its solemn obligation not to take part in the Commission, and not to resent that attitude on the part of the community, and as against that, he had suggested to General Smuts that if the community suspended passive resistance, it was only fair that the Government should release the passive resistance prisoners then undergoing imprisonment. There then remained the very serious questions of the allegations of cruelty. What was to be done with



regard to those if the community was not to lead evidence even with regard to the judicial aspect of the Commission, and yet it seemed clear that in the present circumstances they could not lead evidence. It then meant that they should publish a book containing the whole of the evidence in their possession, and challenge anybody who wished to bring libel proceedings against the community, so that in defending the charge the community could prove its case. As a passive resister, it immediately occurred to him that there should be no difficulty in dropping those proceedings. That would avoid all irritation, and in the estimation of those who might think for themselves and who knew the history of Passive Resistance the community would stand justified. In any case, if the community could stand justified in the estimation of the Government, and if the community could ask the Government to appreciate its motive in not challenging libel proceedings, he felt that the community could ignore what the world might say as to its being afraid now of coming to a court of law because it had really no evidence, and that it had simply taken allegations to India in order to work on feeling there. They must tolerate such criticism from the world, for the world would have something to say against the best actions, but, if the Government appreciated the community's attitude he felt that, as passive resisters, it became them to act in that manner. They were not passive resisters of the purest type. They had for example, taken advantage of law and defended actions in law courts; yet passive resisters would not have done that. But they had not yet reached the purest stage of passive resistance. They must, however, keep such an ideal actively before them and, perhaps, one day, they would have made such an approach to that state that they would be considered perfect passive resisters. Till they had reached that stage, they could not call themselves perfect passive resisters, but they need not therefore remain stationary, and he had felt they might take that step in advance, and he had come to the conclusion that that was a proposition that might be submitted to the Government. The net effect of the letter written to him by the Government and their reply was, in his opinion, that they had accepted the principle of consultation, that they had recognised the motive of the community in dropping the question of the allegations altogether, that they recognised the community's motive in not leading evidence before the Commission, that they had given an assurance that they wished to settle the matter in accordance with the community's submission and they wanted to do this through the Commission; but they felt that the community's demands were so reasonable and had been so sanctified and strengthened by the suffering that it had undergone during the past months, that there should be no difficulty in securing the recommendation from the Commission. They felt, he thought, also confident because of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and because of the prestige that was behind Sir Benjamin Robertson, that he came not in his individual capacity but as the representative of the Viceroy, that as such his testimony before the Commission was bound to carry its due weight. And under those circumstances they need not worry themselves, thinking or fearing what might happen; and why need a passive resister ever fear so long as he had the purest weapon in the world at his disposal? The future lay entirely in their own hands, and holding that future as firmly as ever, he had no hesitation in recommending the adoption of the agreement, and he hoped that the meeting would approve the action they had taken. At the same time he had not bound the community. He had bound the community on occasions when he had gone with a clear mind and when he had known what the community had already asked for, but on this occasion a new situation had arisen, and for that situation he certainly required the ratification of the community. He could not possibly bind the community with reference to this matter which he had not himself contemplated. He had therefore stated to General Smuts that he was prepared to advise his countrymen in accordance with the tenor of his letter, but he had not bound the community, so that they were free agents entirely and might dismiss the agreement from their minds if they wished, but he believed that they might accept it—it was perfectly reasonable, dignified, and would save an amount of misery. What was more, they wanted, if they possibly could to conciliate the Viceroy. He had said that, Viceroy or no Viceroy, Mr. Gokhale or no Mr. Gokhale, no matter what friend or the world said, if their consciences did not approve, if their oath did not approve, they could not accept their views, but when it was possible for them to keep their oath to satisfy their consciences, he thought that then they should go to the utmost length in meeting the wishes of their friends, and such a noble Viceroy, for whom, perhaps, there was no equal except perhaps Lord Ripon and Lord William Bentinck; and he did not know what the Viceroy might still have in store for them. But that was the picture one formed of the Viceroy, and that had been strengthened by what Mr. Andrews had told him of his noble qualities. They ought to take into account the Viceroy's wishes at that stage, seeing that it was possible for them to do so without violating their oath. Their distinguished countrymen, whom India had looked, to whom they offered reverence,

who, while lying on a sick bed, had yet worked for their cause and made it world-wide and had made India ring from end to end with that and nothing else—Mr. Gokhale—also desired it. Lord Ampthill also had been saying: 'They had a noble cause, they were bound to win; let them now stay their hand; they had made sufficient demonstration; they had aroused the conscience of the United Kingdom; let them now even give their evidence under protest before the Commission. That view they had been unable to accept, but they could accept the present arrangement. From every point of view, the agreement was good, dignified and worthy of acceptance.'

MR. ANDREWS.

Mr. Andrews said that he wished, first of all, to speak about the great sorrow which had come to him, but the love which he had for the people of India, his own people who were there, was so great that he could not stay away from them and wanted to be with them. In connection with the visit to Pretoria, there were two things he wished to speak about specially and assure them on. The one thing was that in that agreement and in all that had been done and in all the interviews they had had, one thing had been kept throughout, and that was the honour of the Indian community. That had never at any single point been sacrificed to expediency, but all through, from beginning to end, had ever been the first consideration. Otherwise, he would not be able to stand there before them, who had suffered so much, and speak to them. But because he knew that at Pretoria their honour had been kept throughout, he was ready to stand there before them and urge them and ask them to accept the agreement and to carry it out as it had been proposed before General Smuts, and he could assure them that in no point whatsoever in that agreement had there been any sacrifice of honour or self-respect to any Indian in the whole of South Africa. The second point was that, whatever might have happened in times past, on the present occasion there was the greatest consideration shown to their leader by every one who met him there. In spite of the general strike which was on, in spite of the immense difficulties of finding time, General Smuts and others did their very best to give every opportunity for the grievances of the Indian community to be brought before them, and again and again Mr. Gandhi met General Smuts, when he was invited to be present. It was for those two reasons—because their honour had been preserved and because such great earnestness had been shown by the Ministers at Pretoria—that he hoped that now a time had come when a settlement might be reached of the grievances which had so long been distressing the whole Indian community. He trusted that they would accept the proposed Commission freely and heartily, and that through accepting it something else might come, and that was a settlement of all their difficulties, and he trusted that that might come in a very short time.

Mr. Polak said that, as one of the signatories to the letter to General Smuts, a little while since, immediately after their last great meeting at that place, he strongly approved of the terms of the provisional agreement and strongly recommended it for their acceptance.

Mr. Kallenbach said that he had also been asked to give his opinion about the provisional agreement, and he wished to say that he fully agreed with it.

THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Parsee Rustumjee moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Lazarus Gabriel, supported by Messrs. Omar H.A. Johari, P.K. Naidoo, C.K. Thumbi Naidoo, and Lalbahadur Singh, and carried unanimously: 'This mass meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, after having heard the terms of the provisional agreement arrived at between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, hereby endorses Mr. Gandhi's action, and earnestly and respectfully hopes that the prayer of the Indian community, as set forth in Mr. Gandhi's letter, will be granted.'

Next week we hope to give reports of several functions at Pretoria held in honour of Mr. Andrews, including an important speech at one of them. We also intend to reproduce a portrait of the poet-laureate of India—Babu Rabindranath Tagore.

THE MARTIAL LAW CONDITIONS.

The following were the conditions of Martial Law under which the Mass Meeting was held last Sunday:—

'No inflammatory language is to be used or language calculated to provoke to a breach of the peace.

'No criticism of the Government's past action is permitted.

'The discussion must be confined to the policy to be adopted arising out of the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Smuts.'—*Indian Opinion*.

Books and Readers.

LORD MORLEY of Blackburn, Chancellor of Manchester University, was presented last week in the Whitworth Hall of the University with his portrait. The portrait is the work of Sir Hubert von Herkomer. After the ceremony Lord Morley declared the addition to the Christie Library open, and discoursed on books and readers.

What Bacon says about our contemplations all being guided to the consideration of the business of the day must not be taken in too narrow a spirit. Literature can be as much of a social force as either science or scholarly learning. I think that critic was not wrong who said—I hope nobody here will be offended if I quote it—that Oliver Goldsmith with his 'Vicar' did more for what is best and kindest in human nature and in human life than a hundred preachers and a thousand sermons.

BOOKS A SOCIAL FORCE.

I do not enter into any quantitative comparisons, and I do not say anything against preachers or sermons. But you know what I mean. I mean that the stimulus to social feeling, to right feeling, that you get out of so delightful a book as 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' and a few like it is as good as direct exhortations, however backed. Christie overflowed with the spirit which we ought to have in this place—the spirit of the true scholar. He thought nothing of taking a journey from Manchester to Toulouse to verify a reference or from Manchester to Lyons to find out some new fact in the history of the subject that greatly interested him—sixteenth century printing.

ALL SORTS OF READERS.

Perhaps you will indulge me for a minute or two whilst I say a word about varieties of readers. There are half-a-dozen—it may be more than half-a-dozen—species of the *genus* reader. There is, of course, at the top the professional reader who seeks fresh knowledge and the fruits or stimulus of fresh research. There is the professional reader at the lower end of the scale who seeks in old books material for the mechanical manufacture of new. And then—this, at all events, you will recognise—there is the student jarming himself for his duel with the examiner. Then there is the listless idle reader who takes a book as a sort of pleasant sedative, with no more intellectual concern than goes to the satisfactory smoking of tobacco. Then there are those men and women—and I hope that here at least they are most numerous—who read, if you go to the root of them, on the principle that your own mind is theatre enough for anybody. On that principle they read because books stimulate curiosity, feed, multiply, and enlarge the whole range and compass of your interests, and raise a man or woman to the high level—the highest level—in the general cultivation of their age.

WHAT A LIBRARY SHOULD BE.

A great library is a warning, a rebuke, a lesson to those unlucky people whose minds are constantly unable to hold more than one idea at a time. A great library is, or ought to be, a check on that impulse which belongs to the old Adam in us, that frightful impulse to rush to take angry sides at five minutes' notice on the most important and delicate questions that may happen to be raised in the morning or evening newspapers. A library checks that impulse. A library is a place for learning, but let one hope that a library is also a place for unlearning. The sages say that the great difficulty of life is not to learn, but to unlearn.

The very sight—this is my own feeling, and I dare say some of you share it—the very presence of one of these great collections of books, scrolls and manuscripts seems in itself to give a new significance to the books. It was Lord Acton, himself one of the most learned men of our time who said that 'the gifts of historical thinking were better than the gifts of historical learning.'

The Encyclopædic Mind.

Most truths of a general bearing are in danger of dying in the dull sanctity of truisms. It is a chief task of literature to save them from this fate by giving them fresh forms and original expressions. No man has contributed more to this work of salvage in our time than Lord Morley. For in his essays or addresses, whatever be the pressing topic or occasion, his mind always rises to the elevation of those wider principles and maxims which rightly govern conduct and guide thought. To many of these common thoughts he gives new life and distinction from his own rich private stores of expression. But no man's private store can equal in abundance and variety the reservoirs of history, and the scholar's great service to his time consists in his ability to draw freely and fittingly upon this intellectual

commonalty. And in this matter, among living writers Lord Morley appears to us incomparable. Take, for example, that little-known passage from Bacon which he quoted in his address last week on opening the new addition to the Christie Library at Manchester University. "To write at one's ease what other people may read at their ease comes to very little. What I want is the wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations that bring a better order into actual life and enter into men's business with all the turmoil of that business." We can well imagine with what keen regard for the present needs of England Lord Morley launched again this requisition for "wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations." The age, indeed, in which we live threatens to banish contemplation from our vocabulary. For the process of contemplation involves a security of soul and a fixity of vision hardly compatible with the outer or the inner world of to-day. Could Bacon himself have "contemplated" in the London of our time, with the postman at his door ten times a day, the telephone bell breaking in upon his thinking with its mechanical insistence, and a dozen new momentous "crises" bearing down upon him in his daily newspaper? No, we feel that contemplation is an excessive, almost a preposterous, demand upon us. If we can attain "reflection," "consideration" that were much for busy folk like ourselves; but contemplation, with only twenty-four hours in the day to do all we have to do! Again, "well-bottomed" seems another inconsiderate requirement. "What," we may ask ourselves, "has bottom to do with an age of quick changes in thought, in manners, in government, where evolution is always likely to take in its 'x' while we are proud upon the whole to have it so?" In the swirling currents of modern politics, science, business, domesticity, religion, sport, and art, which make up the life we live, we have much ado to keep our head above water by swimming with the tide. As for "Bottom," can we hope anywhere to hold it, though occasionally to our surprise and our dismay we may bump against it, as we are borne along?

Such are the familiar plaints of reflective minds to-day. That they contain much truth is undeniable. But none the less, the measure of our self-criticism, expressed through vivid metaphors, is likely to be excessive. If the pace of modern change has been subversive of old principles, while it makes the deposit of new principles slow and difficult, we need not exaggerate the danger. Even in politics, where at the moment not only Whigs, as in Johnson's famous phrase, but all other parties appear "bottomless" or devoid of clear fundamental principles, we have no ground for despair. There is at any rate, no reason to bewail the shedding of faded principles because the new buds that will displace them are not yet fully formed. Here is a shift of metaphor which may claim to temper the pessimism of the other by an appeal to the new faith in organic process, which is most characteristic of our modern thinking. For our admiration for Bacon's distinguished phrasing, "wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations" must not lead us to press too urgently the sensuous supports on which the phrasing rests. If this be not precisely the age for contemplation or for holding bottom, it may have other wholesome qualities and securities. The very rapidity and variety of modern happenings stir and stimulate the mind of men to novel and fruitful efforts in the achievement of understanding and the guidance of conduct. It is untrue that we are living in a time of mere dissipation, frivolity, and opportunism. Seldom in the history of the world has the volume of serious intellectual and moral effort after "a better order" been a tithe as great as it is now. Never has there been so much well directed, concentrated, and widely co-operative thought directed, not merely to the practical, but to the theoretical problems of life. If the fruits of this effort are tardy in appearance, this is due far less to the lack of skill or industry in our thinkers than to the magnitude and complexity of their intellectual tasks, set in the new forms of thought in which the evolutionary concept has enlargeth them. Most scientific thinkers now claim for their "laws" neither "bottom" nor final persistence. They recognize that, in the constant flux of experience, novel phenomena occur, compelling continuous modifications and frequent supersessions even of well grounded theories and interpretations. This is not, of course, because Nature is anything but mutable, but because its unity is always freshly qualified by diversity. It is the richer perception and experience of this astonishing creativeness of Nature that furnishes the valid answer to the charge of instability or unsettlement of principles so often brought against modern thought. The old conservative idea of intellectual order, incorporated in a restricted number of immutable and absolute laws, has to give place to the progressive idea of an ever-transcending multitude of changing laws of restricted application, rooted in still wider generalizations which are themselves subjected to a slower but a constant process of change.

It is, we suspect, the recognition of this change in the spirit of modern intellectualism that makes Lord Morley urge in his 'Rules on Politics and History' that "the temper of our present times is adverse to generalization," and that the encyclopædic quality

Leonardo in 1500, Bacon in 1600, Leibnitz in 1700, Goethe in 1800—has no clear successor in 1900. Partly no doubt this aversion from generalization, or from the encyclopædic view, is a more natural result of the multiplication of knowledge which places its full contents far beyond the direct apprehension of any human brain. Indeed, "encyclopædic" in the older sense of direct close personal concern with the whole range of known facts and the thoughts relating to them, in some sense practicable for so capacious a mind as Goethe's, is now impossible. If, therefore, we were to look for any living person to whom the term "encyclopædic" should apply, we should have to seek him in regions of thought further removed from those of concrete fact in which the earlier encyclopædists moved. No man to-day could be in such intimate touch with so many fields of thought and action as was Leonardo da Vinci. If even in recent times we find a few instances of the general scientist or the general artist, no one combines these to majestic roles, though one or two have striven to do so. There are, of course, to be found here and there in every educated community, a fair sprinkling of scholars who, rejecting the dominant trend to specialization, have insisted in taking all knowledge for their province, and a few who, by dint of industry and capacious memory, have achieved a high measure of success so far as the collection of intellectual information is concerned. But this alone does not constitute what is meant by the encyclopædic mind. For the effort of such abnormal accumulation almost invariably impairs that faculty of digestion and assimilation essential to true knowledge. To envisage in a cyclic unity the immense multiplicity of representative facts in all departments of knowledge and of practice is a rash defiance of the limits of humanity, and can end, at most, in "sciolism." The truly encyclopædic mind of to-day must then content itself with a more distant and a slighter acquaintance with most departments of knowledge, if it is to make good in any sense its claim to survey the whole. The modern encyclopædist cannot properly be a scientist at all. We shall rather seek him in the narrower ranks of the philosophers. But it will be among those philosophers who consciously taking science for their base, though not their goal, so endeavour to get "bottom" for their "contemplations," and thereby "to bring a better order into actual life."—*The Nation*.

The Limits of Government by Consent.

WHEN are men justified in opposing force to legality? That is a question which is often put at the present time, and may be worth considering from more than a party point of view. For all Liberals we must suppose, at least, if they found their creed upon history, believe in the justification of armed rebellion against legal power in certain circumstances. The Revolution, for example, was an event on which the Whig Party founded itself; most Whig writers lay it down as an article of faith that the armed movement by which James II was replaced by William III was one of the most righteous acts in history. For ourselves, we are troubled with doubts; but we do at least recognise that the attempt to rule a Protestant England by a Catholic Monarch was likely to end in disaster. As far as we can make out, James II was a good King: he was also an Englishman and a Stuart—our legitimate and lawful Monarch. Moreover, we have a great enthusiasm for the Dutch House of Orange—at least for the member of that House who ruled England. We are willing to leave that enthusiasm to the Liberals, who are now bent on persecuting the descendants of the Orange cause in Ulster. Strange, indeed, are the permutations of history! This, at least, however, we may say: that the Revolution was inevitable. The attempt to keep James II King over such an England as we had at the end of the Seventeenth Century was attempting the impossible and courting armed resistance. The moral that we draw from it was not that armed resistance was justified—on the contrary, we should think it impossible to prove justification—but that it was inevitable. And we should put it like this: That there is a point beyond which legality cannot go against the sentiments or interests or prejudices or faith of a people. It is the task of all rulers to recognise that breaking-point and stop short of it—and the ruler is a fool or a fanatic who does not see the line of danger, or, seeing it, steps across. It is the same in Russia as in England: the Emperor, although he might be thought an absolute monarch, rules within strict lines of consent; if he outraged public sentiment sufficiently—if, for example, he turned Mohamedan—nothing could keep him on the Throne of Russia. He would have crossed the line of consent, and there would be no power left in the country to keep him on the Throne. In the same way, if the British Government in India were to force the Hindus to eat beef, there would be an end of the British Raj—in spite of the British Army. In neither case need we go so far as to say that rebellion would be justified, all we need say is that there would be rebellion, and that the Government would be swept away.

There is, then, a limit to the powers of any Government, and this limit is fixed not by legality nor by a written unwritten Constitution but by the consent of the people. The more fanatical and turbulent the people, the narrower and stricter the limits and the heavier the penalty of overstepping them. We have no doubt that James II, if he were to come to the Throne of England to-day, would have some little trouble with the Low Church Party and the Dissenters; but we doubt if Queen Wilhelmina would be called in to take his place. A country which tolerates the appointment of Lord Reading as Chief Justice of England would hardly object to King James the Second. We are nearly all moderate and reasonable people nowadays—and therefore astonishingly easy to govern. Still, it must be recognised that there are still limits to government by consent. The *Westminster Gazette*, for example, said the other day that if a law were passed to make everyone go to church on Sunday, it would consider rebellion justified. The example is not altogether felicitous: many Englishmen, no doubt, think that the nation would benefit by a course of compulsory church-going. But let us take an example beyond controversy, and say that if the present Government established Ju-Ju worship as the State religion or made Welsh the medium of instruction in English schools, or decreed that the family system should be abolished, or that football should be regarded as an illegal pastime—if any or all these changes were made even by a Government elected by the people, the result would inevitably be revolution. It follows, therefore, that there is a limit beyond which government cannot go. And this limit depends as much on the sentiments and prejudices of the people governed as on the nature of the legislation proposed. And it is also evident that legislation which might be received without a murmur in one part of the country might cause a revolution in another. Compulsory Welsh in Wales might be popular; in Yorkshire it would almost certainly lead to a revolt. So with this Home Rule Bill: England does not like it, but would, no doubt, submit to it rather than take up arms; but Ulster feels so keenly on the subject that she is forced to fight rather than surrender.

The Home Rule Bill, then, is an example of a democratic government overstepping the limits of government by consent. It is arguable that resistance to the Bill is justified; but what is certain is that there will be resistance. Justification, after all, depends on the point of view. An Irish Catholic, for example, might dislike the Bill; but he would hardly justify himself in resisting it. The Ulstermen are driven to resistance because they cannot do otherwise: it is their nature, their tradition, their whole life and history to fight rather than submit to an Irish Catholic domination. Let us remember that we as a nation put them there with that object. We put them into Ireland as a garrison; they had to fight for their lives for centuries against a savage and fanatical majority. Such a history toughens the character of a race, but does not sweeten its temper or lead it to that attitude of complaisance and submission which makes almost any government possible. The Ulster people are, in fact, the toughest, strongest, and sternest community in these islands—the most fanatical if Liberals will have the offensive word. Of course they are fanatics: that is part of the problem. If an English official in India were to set the whole Mohamedan community against him by clearing away an old and useless mosque in order to make an up-to-date slaughter-house for pigs, and if the Mohamedans thereupon rebelled, he would hardly justify his conduct to the Government of India by pleading that the abattoir was a good thing in itself, and that the opposition was fanatical. The reply would be that the fanaticism of the community was one of the forces on which he should have reckoned, and which it was folly to offend. So in Ulster: the Liberals are excusing themselves for the horrible mess into which they have dragged the country by saying the Home Rule Bill is a good Bill, and that they are fanatics who oppose it. But however that may be, the solid fact remains that whereas in 1905 the Unionists left Ireland in a state of profound peace and quiet, in eight years it has been brought to the very edge of civil war. Not only does Ulster men threaten civil war if the Bill goes through; but Mr. Redmond is now hinting at civil war if the Bill does not go through. The government of Ireland is to be made "impossible" if Mr. Redmond does not get his way; it is also to be made impossible if Sir Edward Carson does not get his way. The difference, as far as we can see, is, that whereas Ulster has a hundred thousand men in an organised and armed force to make good its position, Mr. Redmond is not in a position to make good his scarcely veiled threat. No doubt if the situation continues much longer Mr. Redmond and his friends will be able to organise some sort of force to carry out this policy of making Dublin Castle government impossible; but whether the force would be adequate remains to be seen. What is certain, however, is that Ulster has a force quite adequate to the policy it has set before itself, and is also in the temper to make its policy good. That is the terrible situation into which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have got the country, and they have done it by neglecting the simple rule of statesmanship, which is recognised by wise men in every part of the world—never over-

step the limit of government by consent. No matter what the temptation or the pretext, no matter if the policy can be justified upon abstract and ideal considerations—and we certainly do not think that Home Rule can be so justified—they who break this common-sense rule must of necessity find themselves up against such a situation as this unhappy country has now to face.—*The Morning Post*.

Militancy: the Moral

By G. K. CHESTERTON.

It is a very false and shameful defamation that calls the Suffragettes unsexed. The true and tremendous moral of their tale is that human beings cannot be unsexed. I have called them names in my time; I think I compared them to the Bacchæ and the Witch's Sabbath; I may, for all I know, have called any of them Cleopatra or Olytemnestra. But I never called any of them Claudius. I think Caesar's wife is above suspicion—of being a man. I think of the Suffragist ladies what they think of the Anti-Suffragist ladies; that they are the Foolish Virgins rather than the Wise Virgins; but I never doubted they had their lamps burning to guard the virginity of the secret of sex. I think, or rather I hope, I never called them unwomanly women. To a simple mind like my own, it seems to be a contradiction in terms. And the occasion of the split in the very citadel of the sisterhood, and the separation of two great sisters, seems to offer an opportunity for pointing out what the partial success and partial failure of this movement really does prove. With that splendid scorn of any sentiment about citizenship and equality which is so deep and womanly in her, Miss Christabel Pankhurst plainly tells the W.S.P.U. that its policy is and must be whatever she and her mother shall decide. I like that; seriously, I admire it. Our male politicians do it; but they daren't say it. But my opinion of Mrs. Pankhurst will be lowered if she does not instantly revolt against her daughter and form yet a third party of her own.

But there is one broad truth about the phase that seems to be showing that has not, I think, been noticed. It is not quite fair to say that the extreme forms of Feminist protest have been a failure. The truth is that most of them have been an utter failure; and one of them was very nearly a success. And if we look at the solitary one that was potentially or conceivably a success we shall find a singular fact: that it is the one out of them all that does not belong to the New Woman, but very much indeed to the Old Woman (I don't use the word in any invidious sense, as Mr. Ben Allen said to Mrs. Riddle); it is the one out of them all that was exactly imitated from the "fire-side woman" whom the Suffragettes condemn—and copy.

Most of them, and all the ablest of them, set out with the ideal of what they called "comradeship" between the sexes: men and women were strongly recommended to march "shoulder to shoulder." The notion is remote from reality; from simplicity and the senses. A woman does not deal with a man with her shoulder—except when it is the cold shoulder. But the thing, though a sophistry, was a sincere sophistry: and from it was deduced all the doctrine that publicity, revolt, realism, bodily battle, should be treated by the two sexes alike. Women should do these things because men had found them good; not because women had ever found them good. Therefore we had a sort of female riot, in imitation of the old male riots; and it utterly failed. It failed because of sex: because the fighters had no notion of the real nature of fighting. They thought fighting was a demonstration, like crying—that far more powerful weapon. They did not understand that in war if you cannot smash your enemy, you strengthen him: he is the firmer for being merely annoyed. A man might yield to some claim he thought absurd if threatened with a pistol. But he would only think it more absurd if he were shot at every day with a pea-shooter—especially if it always missed. A real battle must end in a rout, not in a riot. But these militants did not come to capture our cities, but to capture our attention. They did not fight to relieve fortresses, but to relieve feelings. Thus, on the negative side, the whole business has only proved one thing: the strength and immorality of that schism of sex that they attempted to deny. These women are not unwomanly. They are unmanly; as they ought to be.

But the fact that has, I think, been very insufficiently noted is this. That in one case alone, by one method alone, they did put human government in a great difficulty. They did hold things up in some real sense, as things are held up by a bankruptcy or a siege. That case, of course, was the Hunger Strike. It was not at all self-evident what solution the Government should attempt; and certainly the solutions the Government did attempt were wild

enough to be called counsels of despair. Now the arresting fact is this: that this weapon was effective because it was a weapon of the old-fashioned woman. It was effective because it was not an appeal to general citizenship; but to the specialism of sex. The refusal of physical pleasure, the endurance of physical pain, the use of coldness as a rebuke to the wrong sort of kindness, the art of being at once unsympathetic and unselfish, the stoicism that walks close to the cliff of suicide—these are things that have been shown by wives and mothers for unthinkable thousands of years; at all the firesides where people have been hauled over the coals. In short, it was powerful in the prison because it is much more powerful in the home. "No, thank you, I don't want any breakfast." "Yes: I am all right." "Oh, don't trouble about me; there'll be dinner for you at eight." "Thank you, I have to see to the washing." Believe me, those were the ancient arrows of the Amazons. And if the traditional woman is indeed vanishing (which does not seem to be the case by any means) the Parthian shaft was the Hunger Strike; and without question came from her quiver.

I will not deny that I think there was a certain element of tyranny in the unreasonableness of the Hunger Strike: but there is that also in the domestic tradition. "Go and see what Tommy is doing and tell him he mustn't" is a very ancient female formula. To the same philosophical school we may well ascribe the conception: "I will not eat. If you make me eat you are a torturer. If you do not make me eat you are a murderer. If you give me what I want you are a turncoat. If you let me go you are a coward." But it is an ancient and stately injustice; not in the least a new and menacing anarchy. And the moral on the whole matter is merely what I have said. The Feminists have proved literally nothing except their femininity. They have been heroic as Dora and Little Nell would have been heroic; hysterical as Dora and Little Nell would have been hysterical. We owe them one very real obligation for having helped us to find a fundamental fallacy.—*The New Witness*.

The Gifford Lectures.

Mr. Balfour on Probability, Causation and Cognition.

SPEAKING as usual from a few notes on the back of an envelope Mr. Balfour on January 28, performed the feat of making clear to an audience of more than 1,500 people his views on the external world. He made no reference to the disputes of conflicting philosophical systems, and gave only slight indications that he was treading on the perpetual battleground of philosophers. His point of view was that of common sense and of science.

CAUSAL AND COGNITIVE SERIES.

The lecturer applied to the scientific view of the external world his distinction between the causal series involved in belief and the rational, or, as he to-day preferred to call it, the cognitive, series—that is, a series having relation to knowledge. What, he asked, is the commonsense view of the external world? It would be generally admitted that common sense never considers that external objects, pieces of matter, the solid globe, the heavens above, are mental states, and that it thinks of them as independent of the person who perceives them. These objects affect us when we perceive them and we do not affect them by perceiving them. Further, he thought—but of this he was not so certain—that when we look at a material object we do not think that its reality is exhausted by the aspects of it that we perceive. He summed up by saying that, according to common sense, the cognitive series which is our belief in external things is a direct and immediate perception of objects themselves, and he proceeded to make the point on which his whole argument depended.

THE FOUNDATION OF SCIENCE.

This simple and direct perception of external objects is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure of science is built up, because the physicist and the physiologist look on the material of their researches "exactly as you and I look upon chairs and tables." The causal series which combines with the cognitive series to produce the belief in the external world is the business of science, and there is nothing immediate or simple or direct about it. It is a very elaborate process, not yet thoroughly understood. Here Mr. Balfour indicated the various kinds of knowledge required to give a causal explanation of our perception of the external world, such as physics, optics, physiology, and so forth. When all these causal investigations were completed, one arrives at the threshold of the mind, only to be confronted with the chasm between belief and what is a claim not yet bridged over. One must also remember that our perceptions of an object are profoundly modified by our

memories and other psychological considerations. He took the analogy of a message sent by letter post from one town to another to illustrate how many processes had to be completed before a message, starting from reality, could reach mind.

Having thus described the contrast between the causal series and the cognitive series in our belief in the external world, Mr. Balfour pointed out that the distinction which modern science draws between matter and the perceiving mind is a distinction not fundamentally different from the old distinction between primary and secondary qualities of matter. That distinction has been carried further by science, which teaches that reality is hid from us behind the screen of its own effects. We cannot perceive an electron, ether, or the retinal image in our own retina. Science can never be content till it gets to the unperceivable, and the real world, as science pictures it, is more and more remote from the real world as we perceive it or are capable of perceiving it. It is science that insists on the separations and perceptions and the outside causes producing them. Science, then, is in a logical tangle.

The lecturer pointed out, again, that what the scientist sees in the common-sense perception of the plain man, but what is actually there is something quite different. The position of science is something like that of Locke, who has been justly criticized for developing a theory of the external world which never gives direct access to that world but only to sensations and feelings produced by it. Here Mr. Balfour again insisted that science is entirely dependent upon the common-sense view of direct perception, and argued that it destroys its own foundation, and that it provides its own premises to be interlarded with illusion. He quoted Hume's statement in the "Dialogues on Natural Theology" that we can only argue from an effect to a cause when we have seen a similar cause producing a similar effect. No body, he said, has ever seen electrons and ether-producing sensations. We have never seen the causes, and on Hume's principle we cannot found theories of the causes upon the effect.

EXTERNAL REALITY.

All this does not diminish the faith which everyone has in the fact of reality. Can we, he asked, imitate Hume's serene acquiescence in having one set of doctrines for the study and another for the market place, doctrines about things of everyday life? It would be arrogant to speak of solving the difficulty, but he thought that it would be mitigated if we gave up the idea that we could get our notion of an independent external reality as a conclusion from immediate perception. We must start with external reality as an inevitable belief. We know that cause is there and that is independent of the perceiver, and if we are not to make nonsense of the whole process of learning by experience we must begin with the assumption of an external material mechanism acting upon us, and try to find out how it acts.

The Mathematical Calculus.

The "January blast" did not seriously diminish the size of the audience which gathered on January 26, to hear Mr. Balfour's seventh Gifford lecture at Glasgow.

He began by classifying beliefs into inevitable and probable, and in the interests of this classification he offered a criticism of the mathematical theory of probability. Traditional logical theory had confined itself to this particular kind of probability, and though the mathematical statement of chances had yielded results of the first importance both for science and for practical life, it did not cover the whole ground. It had not distinguished clearly different kinds of probabilities, and in particular it had failed to give any account of that large range of beliefs which were neither inevitable nor axiomatic, but which were yet continuous with over inevitable beliefs and were part of necessary basis of all our knowledge. These beliefs Mr. Balfour called "probable," and it was in this sense that Butler had used the term in his dictum that probability was the guide of life.

PROBABILITY AND KNOWLEDGE.

Mr. Balfour's first task was to show precisely under what conditions the mathematical calculus was applicable. He began, to the delight of his audience, by expressing the wish that he were a great mathematician, or even a mathematician at all, for the mathematician enjoyed unique advantages in method and in terminology so that no ambiguity could occur in his expression or in his reasoning. But Mr. Balfour thought that mathematicians did not set forth their premises with the same rigour as they deduced their conclusions, and they did not appreciate the abstract character of their reasoning. He indicated the limits of the mathematical treatment of probability by considering an interesting excerpt from M. Poincaré, to whose memory he paid a glowing and graceful tribute. M. Poincaré had argued that chance

could not be, as previous logic had taken it to be, merely the measure of our ignorance, for the statement of chances was often the basis of useful knowledge. Mr. Balfour developed this thesis by considering some typical cases in which knowledge was furnished by statement of chances.

There were, first of all, such cases as the tables of mortality or the laws of the explosiveness of radium. There we were dealing with groups of facts in a purely empirical fashion. A second set of cases was that in which the statement of chances was based on a *priori* considerations. Though experience confirmed the results of such theorizing it was possible to argue *a priori* that the chances were one in two that the tossing of a penny would result in heads, and it was equally possible to say on purely *a priori* grounds that the chances were much against a visitor's leaving Monte Carlo with as much money in his pocket as he had had on entering.

PROBABLE BELIEFS.

But Mr. Balfour argued that there was a definite limit to this kind of reasoning. There was the difference in feeling, if not in logic, between the argument from objective knowledge and the argument from subjective ignorance. But these arguments were usually in the same logical form, and logical theory did not distinguish them. The results of the confusion between these two became serious when the attempt was made to carry the argument from probability into more fundamental spheres.

For example, an agnostic might say that he could form no conclusion as to whether or not the world was created by an intelligent being. It might be replied to him that either it must have been so created or it must not, and he might be forced by that argument to agree that the chances of there being an intelligent Creator were even. To assert this, however, was to assert a great deal about the world—indeed, as Mr. Balfour put it, it implied that the chances of the existence of an intelligent Creator were rather more favourable than the chances of winning on the black or red at Monte Carlo.

But this argument Mr. Balfour believed to be manifestly unfair. It was a case which the calculation of probability could not cover, and it plainly rested on an imperfect analysis of the conditions under which mathematical calculation was valid. Mathematical probability, he considered, had meaning only within a system already determined, and the knowledge of that system must have been arrived at by other methods. For problems such as these he believed that another kind of probability was required different from that resting on the highly abstract mathematical calculation. So he was confirmed in his view that in addition to inevitable beliefs, there were probable beliefs to which we were inclined but not driven. They varied in degree coercive power, but were capable of being detected throughout the whole of scientific knowledge. These beliefs has not received sufficient treatment from philosophers, either of the critical school or of the empirical. Kant and Mill alike had thought more of the grounds of beliefs than of the actual content of belief, and Mr. Balfour pleaded for as impartial an investigation into what men of science had actually believed as had been given to outworn philosophical creeds. He proposed to undertake, in his next two lectures, a survey of some of these beliefs. They would go to support his general Theistic argument, but, apart from that, they were of the utmost significance for a sound philosophy of science.

On Mill.

Mr. Balfour delighted his huge audience on January 28th by a brilliant discussion on the law of universal causation and an entertaining criticism of the position held by John Stuart Mill. He shows our belief in the regularity of the universe as an illustration of probable belief in the sense in which he defined the word probable in his last lecture. He would not define the word regularity to-day because it is a characteristic of all fundamental probabilities that they have taken many various forms in the history of human thought, and that they vary to-day in accordance with varying degrees of knowledge.

THE IDEA OF REGULARITY.

The belief in the regularity of succession among events can go far behind human consciousness and human reason; for, though the lower animals cannot be said to believe anything, they form habits which produce expectations in mankind. The expectation born of habit, or the power of habit to produce expectation, is the result of natural selection and has survival value; but mankind does more than believe that Nature is sufficiently regular to justify expectations born of habit. We carry further this notion of regularity until it embraces the whole universe. Philosophers and scientific men have embodied this idea of regularity in the law of universal causation—that every event has a cause or antecedent, and that the same antec-

fact always produces the same effect. The lecture was devoted two-thirds of this diotum, and especially to Mill's use of it. Mr. Balfour said that in his published writings he had already exposed Mill's delusion that each man by a process of logical inference can infer these wide generalities from his own individual experience. Is it, he asked, so very obvious that nature is regular? He found himself tormented by its irregularities, by the occurrence of something unexpected. We often speak of the caprice of Nature. It is true that, when we recover our temper, we do not speak of Nature's capricious behaviour, but of our own faulty observation, or the intervention of events of which we have no knowledge; we at once put nature in the right and ourselves in the wrong. A cheer of approval gave the lecturer his opportunity of driving home his point. "Quite right," he said, "but observe that it means our belief in the regularity of Nature does not come from experience." Experience could only show that Nature is sometimes regular and sometimes irregular. He quoted the saying that if Kepler had possessed more perfect instruments he would never have made a great generalization about the elliptical character of the orbits round the sun which was at the root of Newton's immortal discovery; that if he could have observed the deviations from the elliptical form without having our modern knowledge of the cause of the deviations he would have discarded his theory. Mr. Balfour himself thought that, so ingrained in the mind of man is the idea that there must be something like a plan, Kepler's robust faith would have triumphed over his observations. It was at all events true that nothing we can discover ever upsets our faith in the regularity of Nature; but there are unexplained aberrations and it is an act of faith.

A CATEGORY OF NEGLIGENCE.

The second criticism is that the law of universal causation is not sufficient for scientific purposes. Scientific experiment depend upon the admission that a great deal of Nature is for immediate and special purposes, practically negligible, and he proposed to invent a new category—the category of negligibility. He pointed out that negligibility is a probable belief, is unprovable, and cannot be established by experience, and yet it is of vital importance for any crucial experiment. The category of negligibility is apparently inconsistent with the view that the world is an inter-related tissue of causes and effects; that if anything is different, everything is altered, perhaps invisibly, but yet really. This is the view expressed in Tennyson's poem about the flower in the crannied wall. He did not quarrel with it as an intellectual ideal, but it is because it is merely an ideal that science is possible. A world in which events of one instant could not be paired off with events of the preceding instant would be a world in which history was possible, but not sciences, for unless we can break up the world into practically separate strands and threads, no inductive logic could draw any conclusion from any experiments.

A SCIENCE OF SOCIETY IMPOSSIBLE.

He went on to say that this category of negligibility has different degrees of applicability to different areas of knowledge. Philosophers have assumed that we can use it in mentality, in history, and in biography and have attempted to construct a science of sociology in the same sense as a science of matter. As a believer in free will, he could not accept this, but, apart from free will, a science of society is impossible because you cannot neglect things outside your particular experiences as you can in a physical or chemical laboratory. Science depends on repetitions, but history never repeats itself, nor does the life of an individual. In mental experiences there never can be complete identity beyond the simplest and crudest stages of mental life. Bergson had expressed this idea more eloquently, and it was one of his great contributions to contemporary thought. Mill's idea that you can transfer the methods of physical science to the complicated phenomena of society and mental life, and that the only difference lies in the larger number of complications is an illusion. You can get analogies, suggestive lessons, and interesting parallels, but you can never get an inevitable sequence in which a cause is attached to an effect and in which, by repeating the cause you can produce the effect. Human life cannot be resolved into such sequences. The moral is that the hope of progress lies in abandoning methods which require the law of universal causation, and in trying to see how our great body of knowledge has in fact been arrived at and what inevitable or probable beliefs lie at the root of all that we think and do in the whole of our cognitive lives.

Outlying Beliefs.

Mr. Balfour devoted his ninth Oxford lecture on February 4, in Glasgow, to showing that, in addition to such fundamental and inevitable positions as the belief in an external world and the belief in the

regularity of the universe, there are also tendencies, inclinations to believe, probabilities in his special sense of the word, which guide the course of human speculation. He said that the full importance of these inclinations and probabilities can be discovered only when we look back upon the history of thought; but he insisted that these are such tendencies, and that they have had, and are having, a most important effect upon the structure of our beliefs. The fact was generally admitted with regard to primitive beliefs and superstitions, but it was apt to be denied with regard to modern thought. It was one of his quarrels with Positivism that the Positivists argue that the fabric of scientific knowledge has been arrived at by different methods from all that was done in the earlier intellectual history of mankind.

Mr. Balfour then proceeded to show that the idea that mankind has accumulated its scientific knowledge as a child picks up shells by the sea-shore, moved only by the whim of the moment and without guiding influences or inclinations, is inconsistent with the history of scientific investigation. He selected two examples of scientific doctrine to illustrate the fallacy of the notion that there is no favouritism; in science, no inclination towards one kind of thing rather than another.

ATOMISM.

The first of these illustrations was atomism—the theory which ascribes all the variety and splendour and interest of the material world to the movements and the relative positions of the very small particles of which the world consists. That theory may be found in early Oriental speculations; it was the theory of Democritus; it ran through the whole of antiquity; and though it was thrown into the shade in the Middle ages, it burst out again at the revival of learning and was the theory of Bacon and Gassendi and Hobbes and Boyle and Newton and Leibnitz, all of whom were in their respective fashions the heirs of Democritus. Modern physical science is atomic through and through, and modern theories of matter, of electricity, and of heat are based upon atomism.

When Tyndall, at the Belfast meeting of the British Association, gave his presidential address on the history of atomism, neither the lecturer nor his critics seemed to have thought of asking how it came about that through all these centuries this theory, which had originally no experimental or mathematical or scientific basis, came to prevail and never lost its hold, and how it turns out now to be true with a degree of accuracy truly astonishing. Mr. Balfour found the answer to this question in the fact that the belief had run before the evidence, and that the evidence has justified the belief.

THEORIES OF CONSERVATION.

The second illustration was the group of theories concerned with conservation, which, he said, showed a fixed resolve on the part of scientific inquirers to find conservation wherever they can. He pointed out that matter, mass, weight, motion, force, heat and energy have all been regarded as unchangeable in quantity, conserved among all vicissitudes, unalterable in amount. He dealt with each of these in turn, and pointed out how the idea of conservation had been wrongly applied or had been applied in the wrong form, and yet scientific investigators, after the discovery of each error, pursued their search for conservation until they were rightly happy when the desire for conservation had found its legitimate exemplar.

The discussion of the changes in the idea of the conservation of energy led Mr. Balfour to an interesting speculation. He had, he said, often amused himself by wondering what would have happened if, in the early forties of the 19th century, the idea of the conservation of energy had been a theological dogma. He said that it might easily have been so, for James Prescott Joule, who discovered the conservation of energy in its modern form, distinctly asserted that he believed in it because he thought in it the method by which God had made the world. In an amusing passage Mr. Balfour described an imaginary Positivist criticism upon this medieval theological theory; and he represented the critic as insisting upon the fact that Joule's results attained by modern methods did not bear out his *a priori* view that the grand agencies of nature are by the Creator's fiat indestructible. Joule's results in point of fact did vary enormously, and his critic would accuse him of the fallacy of assuming his conclusions and saying that the variations in his results were erroneous observations. Subsequent experiments have shown that the variations were not errors of observation, but Joule started with the idea that the law was so, and his rule, and this belief kept him right about the errors in his observations.

Mr. Balfour, having illustrated these scientific tendencies to believe certain things, went on to argue that such tendencies cannot be regarded as happy accidents. He said we should guard against

by the word look; he thought the word inspiration more to the purpose. They were, he said in conclusion, very much what M. Bergson has called vital impulse in the organic world. These tendencies of scientific belief press on definitely in one direction. They are defeated in one line of advance and victorious in another, but they always move onwards, and with them develops all that is valuable in our thought, alike about the material world and, as he himself believed, about religious themes. They have been and they are rich in fruit for human progress and for human knowledge. Experiment and observation are guided by these tendencies and inclinations.

Leg Muffs.

(By JAMES DOUGLAS.)

I SOMETIMES feel disposed to agree with the Shakespearean gentleman who hinted that this is a mad world. This mood comes over me whenever I take up a paper, especially a picture paper, for the picture papers do not trouble to tell lies. They are satisfied with photographs taken somewhat hastily, and nearly all the people in these photographs are stark, staring mad. For instance, at this moment I am gazing at a picture of athletes running loose at Rheims. They are running loose in a snowscape, and they are as naked as savages. They have nothing on but a scanty loin cloth.

I TURN from that insane picture to a telegram "From Our Own Correspondent" in Paris. It is headed: "Deeper Decolletage.—'Leg-muffs' in Use in Paris." Rubbing my astonished eyes I read that "the tendency is for morning dresses to be cut with increased decolletage. I have seen some remarkable models to-day. The effect at a casual glance is that of a dress which has accidentally slipped down to just above the waist, and is retained by a single thin slip of material negligently thrown over one shoulder." "These dresses," it seems, are "particularly popular just now with the smartest set of English society. The Englishwoman, being as a rule of a slighter figure than the Frenchwoman, is able to wear the dress lower cut."

HAVING pulled myself together I read on: "Muffs for the legs are a novel fashion accompanying the unusually long spell of bitterly cold weather still prevailing in Paris. The mode of the slit skirt and the fairy-like shoe led to many smart Parisian women taking severe colds even while only crossing the pavement from their heated motorcars to the doors of a restaurant or theatre. The leg muff, which has been designed to remedy this, is a silk legging lined with fur which can be drawn on over the light shoe and comes above the knee. It is taken off at the same time as the opera-cloak and left in the cloak-room." Lost you should suspect me of having invented this astounding story I swear that I read it in the *Daily Mail*.

You may not think that the madness of the "leg muffs" is quite as mad as the madness of martial law in Johannesburg, or the madness of the rebel army in Belfast. But these three kinds of madness raging together confirm my suspicion that this is a peculiarly mad world. There may be no connection between these three insanities, but, on the other hand, there may. And there is one thing that is madder than these three insanities. It is the insanity of a world which regards them all with indifference. I am, I hope, a fairly heartless person, but I declare that my heart bleeds for the poor dear ladies who are driven to wear leg muffs. I desire to protest against the callous attitude of mankind towards these suffering martyrs who are ruthlessly sacrificed on the altar of a pitiless tyrant called Fashion.

There are brutal cynics who refuse to shed a tear over the privations of the rich, and who restrict their compassion to the privations of the poor. They grieve over the sad plight of the

ragged poor, but they cannot heave a sigh over the sad plight of the ragged rich. It is a monstrous and intolerable injustice. The rich have their feelings just as the poor have their feelings. The plutocracy shivers in the icy blast as violently as the proletariat. The rich woman catches cold as readily as the poor woman. The wife of the millionaire sneezes as convulsively as the wife of the pauper. The only difference is that the rags of the poor woman cost a great deal less than the rags of the rich woman.

I MAINTAIN that the shivering rich deserve more sympathy than the shivering poor. The poor are accustomed to the discomfort of being cold. The rich are not. A wealthy woman clothed in silken rags runs a far greater risk than a poor woman clad in shoddy rags. She is not so hardy. She lives in centrally-heated houses. She is like an orchid in a cosy hothouse. The poor woman, on the contrary, is trained to endure cold from her birth. Moreover, no poor woman is forced the horrors of the higher skirt and the deeper decolletage. Her station in life exempts her from the compulsory dangers of correct exposure. But the rich woman must go through the winter shuddering in expensively draughty garments and extravagantly thin shoes and stockings. There was a time when wealth was warmth, but now no rich woman dares to be warm. As the smart woman shivers on the threshold of the Carlton or the Ritz she casts an envious glance upon the rosy flower-seller muffled to the nose in her shawl.

IF KING CAPHETUA were to come back to life he would not throw his clock over the shivering shoulders of a beggar girl. He would probably warp it round the blue ankles of a frozen duchess. He would not stop to ask whether the duchess has only herself to thank for her cold feet. He would recognise that wealth as well as poverty is helpless under the weight of an iron law. It does not matter whether the iron law is economic or uneconomic. Misery is misery whether it is rich or poor. A cough in a Rolls-Royce is as painful as a cough on a kerbstone. Chilblains in Belgravia are as sore as chilblains in Battersia. Pneumonia in Mayfair is as disagreeable as pneumonia in Mile End.

I AM sick of the misdirected sentimentalism which we find in the Christmas tales of Charles Dickens. I am positive that if Dickens were alive he would write pathetic novels about the poor Marchioness who lives upstairs, and not about the healthy "Marchioness" of the area. He would rage against the anguish and agony endured with heroic fortitude by the poor rich unfortunates who go about in looped and windowed raggedness, and who tie their flimsy footwear to their tortured feet with ribbons that are a parody of the epidemic of varicose veins in high places. He would denounce the cruelty of the descent of tight lacing from the waist to the ankle. He would deliver the smart set from its masked tormentors.

THERE ought to be a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to the Rich. We pay much attention to the woes of the poor. We need a band of devoted philanthropists who will rescue the wealthy from the hardships of wealth. They might agitate for a Royal Commission to inquire into the nefarious conspiracy that exists to make the life of the upper classes not worth living. Who are these scoundrels who tear the clothes off the backs of the aristocracy, and chill the bluest blood in Burke and Debreton? Are they Socialists or Syndicalists? Are the rich being stripped naked in order to make wealth a burden too grievous to be borne? If so I call upon the downtrodden rich to revolt against their oppressors and to organise a general strike against the ruthless wretches who are trying to drag the last rag off their beautiful backs.—*London Opinion*.

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NOTICE.**BENGAL VETERINARY COLLEGE.**

Candidates for admission into the Bengal Veterinary College should be present at the College at Belgachia, Calcutta, with necessary certificates in original, as required in the rules at 11 A.M. on 15th April 1914. Rules will be supplied free on application.

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The original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings, their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration; and revelation, the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deed; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade*:—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Sciences in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **الكلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPURI, Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq, has been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.R.O.S., I.R.O.P.

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about Islam may easily purchase it.

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—Morris.

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The Week.

The New King of Albania.

London, Mar. 5.

Prince William of Wied and his consort embark at Trieste to-day for Durazzo. They will be escorted by the international fleet. The difficulties awaiting the new sovereign are evidenced by the spread of the Epitote revolt and the outbreak of inter-tribal fighting among the Albanians.

A Cetinje telegram also reports that the Mohamedans of Skutari have decided not to send a deputation to meet the Prince.

Trieste, Mar. 5.

The Prince and Princess of Wied have embarked for Albania. Salutes were fired by the batteries of forts and warships, and the band played the Albanian National Anthem. The crowds, which gathered to see their Highnesses off, loudly cheered them. The Prince visited the Austrian squadron and British and French cruisers.

Durazzo, Mar. 7.

The Prince and Princess of Wied arrived to-day. After the salute, they landed when they received an ovation.

Home Rule.

London, Mar. 9.

There was a rush from eight o'clock this morning onwards on the part of members of the Commons to appropriate seats in the House in order to hear Mr. Asquith's statement regarding Ulster.

The House of Commons was even more crowded to-day than when the Home Rule Bill itself was introduced. There was not vacant space anywhere. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other prominent Peers including Lord Stamfordham, the King's Private Secre-

tary, were in the Peers' Gallery. On entering the House Mr. Asquith received an ovation from Ministerialists, as did Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson from the Opposition.

PREMIER'S SPEECH.

Mr. Asquith, at the outset, emphasised that by making suggestions they were not departing from the original Bill, but were merely endeavouring to allow it to start with the greatest measure of success. There was a prospect of civil-strife in Ulster, yet if the Bill were shipwrecked, the outlook throughout Ireland was equally formidable. He was as convinced as ever of the soundness of the machinery and principles of the Bill. He said that conversations in the autumn had not led to even an approach to an agreement. They made all realise their difficulties more than before. They had tried Home Rule within Home Rule, but it satisfied nobody. The second suggestion was that the whole of Ireland should be included in the present Bill, and after a lapse of time, the Ulster counties should have the power to exclude themselves. That had also proved unacceptable. He continued that the Government then proceeded to explore the road of exclusion. He pointed out the formidable difficulties, for, he said, exclusion would keep the controversy alive and involve serious administrative and financial difficulties. He believed that some form of provisional exclusion would be a *via media* between the surrender of their principles and the application of force. The best plan was to allow the Ulster counties to determine whether, in the first instance, they desired to be excluded. A poll was to be taken of the Parliamentary electors of each Ulster county before the Bill became operative whether there should be exclusion. The electors would be asked: "Are you in favour of the exclusion of the county for a period?" If the majority was in favour, the county would be automatically excluded. The Government thought that the term should be six years from the first meeting of the new Parliament.

Mr. Asquith concluded by saying that six years would ensure an ample test of the actual working of the new Parliament. Also before the end of the period of exclusion, the electors of the United Kingdom would have the opportunity to pronounce whether the exclusion should continue. The excluded counties would continue their representation in Imperial Parliament and the Irish Executive would have no control over them. An Imperial Minister would be answerable for the reserved services and every detail of the administration of Ulster. He declared that as to the rest of Ireland, adjustments would be necessary. The proposals were the price of peace, and he did not expect them to be received with enthusiasm in any quarter.

MR. BONAR LAW'S VIEWS.

Mr. Bonar Law said that he fully appreciated the spirit in which the proposals were made. If, however, the proposals represented the last word, the position was most grave. He emphasised that Unionists were opposed to Home Rule with or without exclusion. The Government had no right to make a change of this kind before the electors had been consulted. The Government could avert the danger by satisfying Ulster which, he thought, they could do without the sacrifice of principle. He emphasised that if the Government adhered to their conditions, they would only do so because they had made an offer which they knew could not be accepted.

MR. REDMOND'S DEMAND.

Mr. Redmond said that his view was that the Premier had gone to the most extreme limits of concession. He was convinced that long before six years had passed, they would be able to make an exhibition of a moderate, tolerant government, which would completely disarm all fears and suspicions. If Ulster refused the proposals and Nationalists could not accept them, then it was the plain duty of the House to place the Bill as it stood on the Statute Book.

MR. O'BRIEN'S OPINION.

Mr. O'Brien characterised the Premier's suggestion as hateful and intolerable.

SIR EDWARD CARSON'S SUGGESTION.

Sir Edward Carson frankly admitted that some advance had been made. He asserted that if the Government would remove the time limit, he would call the Ulster Convention to consider the proposals but not otherwise.

"Indian Peril."

The *Times*, in an editorial, deprecates the minimising of anarchism in India: "Anglo-Indian journals derided the recent articles in the *Times* on the 'Indian Peril,' saying that the country was smooth enough on the surface, but we should have thought that the attempt to kill the Viceroy does not confirm the suggestion of placidity."

Advice to Young Britons.

London, Mar. 9.

Referring to an article in the *Bombay Gazette* on the subject of lack of interest in Indian affairs shown by European young men who come out to this country, Lord Sydenham writes to that paper:—"I agree with you that never in the history of modern India was it more desirable that men of British birth who make their homes in this country should set themselves to acquire an acquaintance with its affairs. I fear it is true as you complain that among non-officials, and especially younger men, there is a lack of interest in public and even civic questions. Speaking at a gathering of the Royal Asiatic Society last year, I endeavoured to lay stress upon the need of bringing up our boys, whether their future lies in the East or not, to realise the responsibilities for the welfare of the Indian Empire in which as grown up men they must share. I believe that only by amending some palpable defects in our system of public school and college education at home can we awaken a spirit of intelligent and sympathetic interest in Indian affairs, which is necessary for all who are called upon to embark upon commercial and industrial careers. Happily there are some signs of realisation of this need. Political evolution which will inevitably react with increasing effect upon the economic development of India ought to be studied and frankly discussed by non-official British residents. Educated men of all races and countries have common intellectual ground on which they can meet and mutual understanding would be encouraged if this ground were recognised and explored. Indians and Britons alike would benefit by a free interchange of ideas and the working lives of latter would acquire fresh interests and a deeper significance if they sought to play a part in the greater life of India."

End of an Anglo-Indian Paper.

Bombay, Mar. 9.

At a meeting of the Directors of the *Bombay Gazette* yesterday it was decided immediately to wind up the concern, including both the newspaper and the job press and there will be no further issue, yesterday's being thus the last issue of this historic paper. The staff were informed of the decision of the Directors this morning.

A strong effort was made to resuscitate the paper a few weeks ago when Mr. J. E. Woolcott came from Calcutta to assume charge. It is understood that Mr. Woolcott, Mr. Exley, Mr. Miles, and Mr. Partington, of the editorial staff will proceed home immediately. Mr. Armon, the Manager, will remain to wind up the business, having been appointed liquidator by the Directors.

Bombay, Mar. 10.

A bulletin of telegrams issued by the *Bombay Gazette* press this morning is prefaced with the following notice:—"The Directors of the *Bombay Gazette* having decided to stop publishing the paper in its old form have arranged to issue this sheet daily, pending other arrangements."

Our London Letter.

London, 20. Feb. 1914.

INDIA AND PARLIAMENT.

The House of Commons has discussed every earthly subject with the exception of the "South African Indian problem." As I mentioned in my letter of last week, Mr. MacCallum Scott had definitely put down an amendment to the Address dealing with this important question, but for some reason or other, the matter has not been proceeded with. It is almost certain that this is due to the Colonial Secretary's gentle hint, in the course of his speech, the other day on the Labour Party's Amendment to the Address with reference to the recent industrial crisis in South Africa, and the

deportation of the Labour leaders, when Mr. Harcourt expressed a hope that the Indian question would not be introduced in the House, since the matter was being investigated by a Commission of inquiry in South Africa.

So this matter, which is admittedly of vital importance to the Empire, has been judiciously passed over and poor India, never popular in the House, has not on this occasion even received that casual hearing which she was accustomed to in previous years, during the general discussion, which usually follows the Speech from the Throne. Such is the hard fate of the "brightest jewel in the British Crown" and such is the treatment meted out to Great Britain's "only empire" in the Imperial Parliament!

TURKEY AND THE POWERS.

Reuter, no doubt, has already informed you that, as expected, some definite demands have at last been formulated by the Great Powers with regard to the *Ægean Islands*. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople, as doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, has presented a Collective Note to the Porte from the Powers, in which certain proposals are laid down. According to the will of Europe, Turkey is to surrender Chios and Mitylene to Greece, retaining for herself the small islands, Imbros, Tenedos and Castellorizo, which lie at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Naturally enough, the Powers end by expressing confidence that their decisions will be respected and loyally executed by the Ottoman Government. It would seem from the Porte's reply—the only possible reply under the circumstances—that in some respects this confidence is misplaced.

The matter, it must be admitted, is by no means as simple as it looks. The *Daily Telegraph* in a leading article deals with the subject with that impartiality and fairness of mind which have characterised its attitude on the question throughout the recent troubles in the Balkan Peninsula. "Plausible arguments on the Turkish side," the journal proceeds, "are readily forthcoming, and are at least as logical as those which have weighed with the Powers. The principle on which the Powers have acted is clearly that Greece should retain the territory which her arms have won, subject to the defensive necessities of the Turkish Empire. But if small islands like Imbros and Tenedos and Castellorizo are to be left in Ottoman hands because they are necessary for the protection of the Dardanelles, might it not be as easily argued that Chios and Mitylene are equally necessary for the protection of the coasts of Asia Minor? Such, at least, is the affirmation of the Turks themselves, and there is a good deal to be said for it. If Turkey is recommended to leave her European dominions alone, and to concentrate herself on the task of developing her Asiatic Empire, then it is a reasonable proposition that the western defences of that Empire—in other words, the coast line of Asia Minor—should be made absolutely secure. But will Turkey submit? From the tenor of her reply, apparently not. Lately there has been a great recrudescence of military spirit in Constantinople. The Young Turk Party have put themselves at the head of a national movement, which, as a matter of course, seeks to recover as much of the lost territory as is possible under the present conditions. Every one is aware that Turkey has recently purchased a ship of war, destined for Brazil, and there are many other signs suggesting not only restlessness in Constantinople, but a determination to take some offensive action. The influence of an energetic commander like Enver Pasha must necessarily be in the same direction, and, as we saw the other day, only too obvious opportunities exist for fomenting disturbances in Albania. If Athens has the support of Belgrade, and also of Bucharest, it is, unfortunately, by no means certain that Constantinople has not the support of Sofia. Bulgaria only dreams of revenge, and she may find a weapon ready to her hand in the machinations of the Young Turk Party, who, according to the text of their latest Note, view with regret the failure of Europe to consider the vital needs of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the situation, though in some senses it has become clearer, can hardly be described as free from menacing clouds."

The *Telegraph* has possibly attributed an excessive degree of aggressive zeal to the Young Turks, who have made it abundantly clear that in order to enjoy the full benefits of peace they must prepare themselves for war. Then and only then will Turkey be able to attend to her work of internal reform and put her "house in order" without any possibility of external interference. It is, however, plain that in this instance the Turks are fully determined not to allow their Empire to be used again as the playing-field of crafty European diplomacy. The *Telegraph*, however, shows a very close and intimate knowledge of Turkish affairs, and is undoubtedly written on authoritative information upon the situation in Turkey.

The *Newcastle Daily Journal* dealing with the same question, urges Sir Edward Grey to change the Turkish policy, which has so extensively injured the British interests in the Near East. Referring to the resolution passed by the Ottoman Legislature in the City last week, which stated that "the Young Turk Party" were the "only party" who could save the Empire, the *Journal* adds: "Representatives of the Young Turk Party are needed for there is no doubt that the only party who can save the Empire is the Young Turk Party."

concerning Turkey is being carried too far, to the probable injury of our interests in the Near East. At the present moment, the Porte is engaged on an elaborate scheme of internal reform, which may be brought to success if the Powers adopt a sympathetic attitude, but will assuredly prove a failure if there is interference of the kind so often witnessed in recent years. In regard to Turkey, in particular, it is time that we returned to our traditional policy, and, by showing our friendliness at the present juncture, we shall be better able to accomplish a settlement of all questions in dispute, while at the same time we shall promote our commercial interests in the Near East."

It is evident that the business circles in England are viewing the situation with no little anxiety, and though their sympathy towards Turkey is obviously prompted by purely selfish motives, representations from such influential quarters could not be altogether ignored by the British Foreign Office.

LONDON CONFERENCE: THE PRESS LAWS IN INDIA AND EGYPT.

The Nationalities and Subject Races Committee, of which Mr. L. T. Hobhouse is Chairman, held a series of meetings (the Annual Conference of the Committee) at the Westminster Palace Hotel during this week to discuss, among other subjects, the question of the Press Laws in India and Egypt, and the influence of Russia on British Policy.

The session which dealt with the Press Laws in India and Egypt, was presided over by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. There was a numerous gathering present, which included several Indian and Egyptian gentlemen. Prominent on the platform were Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of the ill-fated *Zamindar* of Lahore, Ferid Bey, the Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, and Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, the editor of the *Islamic Review* which is published in London. Letters of regret for unavoidable absence were received from Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., and Mr. John Dillon, M. P., and the President of the Egyptian Club at Geneva had wired his best wishes for the success of the Conference, while the International League of Paris was officially represented at the meeting.

Sir Henry Cotton moved the following Resolution from the Chair:—

That this Conference, believing that the free expression of the people's mind through a responsible and independent Press is necessary for the healthy development of a civilised State, demands the repeal of the Indian Press Act of 1910, and the remission of the harsh sentences which have been carried out under its operation.

Furthermore this Conference proposes that a memorial be drawn up appealing to H. H. the Khedive and the Legislative Assembly of Egypt to consider the abolition of the Press Laws of 1881, which have been revived in all their rigour since 1909, and the amnesty of the poets and journalists who have been condemned to imprisonment under these laws.

The Chairman, who was received with a great ovation, on rising to speak, said that he specially welcomed Ferid Bey at their Conference as he has suffered in a good cause. The Press Law of 1910 was undoubtedly passed in India when the authorities were in a state of panic, and it was placed on the Statute Book in spite of active protest on the part of the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council. It authorises the Executive on their own initiative to take security from the Indian newspapers. The authorities have been taking a more vigorous action during the past two years and last year there was a memorable case, in which Mr. Mohamed Ali, the editor of the *Delhi Comrade*, carried an appeal to the High Court of Bengal. The Act is so craftily worded and elaborately surrounded in legal expressions that even the High Court decided it was powerless to interfere (cries of "Shame"). There was thus no control whatsoever over the Executive authorities, so that the so-called safeguards did not in reality exist. The most prominent victim of this Anti-Press Crusade was Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the able editor of the Lahore *Daily Zamindar*, against whom the Punjab Government had recently proceeded in an unparalleled manner. He reminded the audience that this paper, which had a daily circulation of 27000 copies, was the most widely-read journal in Urdu throughout India and had indeed proved itself an institution in the Moslem world of that country (cheers). This journal had in November last published three articles, which in the mind of the Secretary to the Punjab Government, one of the most acutely sensitive minds in the world (laughter), were of a seditious character. He then quoted a few passages from a recent speech of the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, an eminent ex-Member of the Supreme Council and a man who is held in universal esteem and regard among the Hindus and the Mohammedans alike, in which the latter said that, in his opinion, the only fault of the *Zamindar* was that it was independent and that it expressed its opinion honestly and fearlessly (cheers). The paper also criticised some of the *British India*, which perhaps was another inexcusable fault (cries

of "Served them right"). Mr. Mazharul Haque thought that the *Zamindar* had become an absolute necessity for the Indian Moslems. He challenged any one to say that the articles were in any way disloyal or seditious. Mr. Mazharul Haque had said how deeply he regretted having been a Member of the Council which passed the Press Act.

The Government of India, continued Sir Henry Cotton, had even lately refused to introduce the necessary safeguards in the Act, notwithstanding Sir Lawrence Jenkin's now-famous judgment. We must have a repeal of the Act (prolonged cheers). No one could honestly say there was any necessity for its retention on the Statute Book. Anarchy in India had nothing to do with the Press. If Indian papers, which were naturally the ordinary channel of communication between the Government and the public, were suppressed and thus no outlet was allowed for the feelings of subject races and nationalities, their utterances would be only driven underground and thus would give rise to such manifestations which we would all deplore (cheers). He could not speak of Egypt from personal knowledge but had no doubt that that country was suffering equally under the existing conditions (cheers).

Mr. Maurice seconded the resolution in a brief but eloquent speech, during which he was visibly overcome with great emotion. His last sentence—"I feel that we have been waiting ever since 1858 for the realisation of the spirit of Queen Victoria's Proclamation"—was cheered to the echo.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, in supporting the resolution, said that the whole continent of India was brought under a law which had admittedly failed to differentiate between the guilty and the innocent. The Conference followed with intense interest his sad narrative of "imprisonments and forfeitures." He concluded his speech by suggesting the creation of an "Indian Press Defence League" in London.

The Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, Ferid Bey, who spoke in French, declared that the situation in Egypt had not changed since 1910, when he had last attended the Conference. Since then he had himself undergone long terms of imprisonment (cries of "Shame"). No Nationalist journal was in existence to-day in Egypt as a result of the repressive Press measures. Papers could now only exist by flattery. A mere stroke of the pen from the Minister of the Interior would at once kill a paper ("Shame, shame").

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. H. Rutherford then moved the next Resolution, which was as follows:—

That this Conference welcomes the proposal to form an Indian Press Defence League, having both British and Indian support, to keep before the Parliament and Public of this country the position of the Indian Press, and to agitate for the repeal of the Press Act of 1910.

In the course of a powerful speech, he declared he had been that afternoon listening with great disgust and humiliation to the moving account of what has been going on in India as regards the horrible treatment meted out to the representative Press of the country. "I feel," said the ex-M. P. with characteristic force, "that the law has been undone by legislation and that the Executive is put above the law." Dr. Rutherford's speech, which made a very deep impression on the Conference, was full of sincerity and stirred the audience to extraordinary enthusiasm. His comparison of the policy of the Government of India with the "methods of General Smuts" roused hearty cheers of approval, which were renewed when shortly afterwards he said "I should like to hear Sir Edward Carson define 'sedition.'"

It was plain that Dr. Rutherford had carried the whole audience with him. "Coercion" he proceeded quietly "has been tried in Ireland and at last the British Government has come to the conclusion that freedom is the best thing for Ireland." The tone of his speech then changed and the speaker's feelings became intense when he continued in all earnestness and with great enthusiasm: "and so it is for India." The audience was spell-bound for the moment but almost immediately the silence was broken by a roar of deafening cheers. The gathering was, of course, cosmopolitan and even the most bitter anti-Home Ruler was heartily cheering these significant words of the speaker: "The Irishman, the Indian and the Egyptian love freedom as much as the Englishman." Mr. W. H. Seed seconded the resolution. He was explaining why it was necessary at present to establish an "Indian Press Defence League," when he was interrupted by the large body of Egyptian gentlemen present, who were anxious to know the reason for thus excluding the Egyptian Press. They were obviously and rightly dissatisfied and demanded an explanation. Murmurs of discontent were audible over the Egyptian benches.

But the speaker was prepared with an excellent answer. This exclusion of Egypt was deliberate and intended, and the reason was not far to seek. Stillness reigned supreme as he proceeded in measured tones: "Because, politically and legally, Egypt is not a Colony of England." His words acted like magic over his interrupters, who received the remark with prolonged cheers. They renewed their applause when he said: "We require totally different weapons to fight the two battles." Everybody appreciated and thoroughly realised the cogency of his reasoning. Mr. Soed proceeded to quote a sentence from the weighty judgment of the Chief Justice of Calcutta—"Mr. Mohan Ali has lost his book but has retained his character." That is the kind of certificate given to an Indian Editor by the highest tribunal in the country and yet, he went on, the High Court was powerless to interfere in the case. He thought an "Indian Press Defence League" in London was essential, by which means they could keep their case constantly before the British Public and in that way only could they secure the repeal of the Press Act, as the British Press, he was sorry to notice, was giving a deaf ear to all their appeals. In due course of time, perhaps, they may be able to publish a paper in England under the auspices of the proposed League.

The meeting passed the Resolution unanimously.

"RUSSIAN INFLUENCE ON BRITISH POLICY."

The evening Session of the Conference, which met on the 16th February, under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. A. Hobson, dealt with the question of "Russian influence on British Policy." Professor E. G. Browne's unavoidable absence, owing to an important engagement at Cambridge, was a matter of general regret.

The Chairman, in his opening address, said that we as Britons offer sympathy to the subject races who are to-day suffering under the high heel of the Russian Government, such as Poland, Finland, Georgia and Persia, though the latter is nominally a free country as yet. Nationality still survives in these oppressed people. He dwelt upon the crushing of Finland by Russia and the strangling of free Persia at the very birth of her freedom. The Government of Russia has power to do more evil in the world than any other single Government. He proceeded to explain why people in England and in any other free country, for the matter of that, could not view the fate of these struggling nationalities with indifference. Nations do not live alone and the absorption of these small States by Russia diminishes the area of freedom for the world, which every free man and woman would deplore. The murder of Persia, for instance, would make it harder for India to rise to independence and self-government (cheers). In his opinion, England was to a very great extent responsible for the "Russian inroads." We shook hands with Russia when her fingers were dripping with the blood of innocent victims. The enthusiastic interchange of visits between England and Russia—of fleets, parliaments and financiers—had encouraged the latter in her bloody campaign of Russification. He felt sure the evil association with Russia would be injurious to ourselves. We would be forced to pay for their liberty in terms of liberty. The cause of nations oppressed by Russia is our cause—it is the cause of humanity (cheers). The sooner we get rid of Russian influence on our policy the better.

Mr. S. H. Swinny proposed the following Resolution:—

That this Conference believes that the influence of the Foreign Office be more definitely used to further the cause of humanity on behalf of Persia, and also for those nations within the Russian Empire whose treaty or national rights are being violated by the dominant Power, as in the case of Poland, Georgia, Poland and Ukraine.

The speaker was anxious to make it clear at the outset that the resolution implied no hostility to the Russian people but was directed against the Government of Russia only. He said that, after having pledged ourselves to retain the independence of Persia as a Sovereign State, it is our urgent and solemn business to protect her integrity (cheers). England, let it be said to her shame, had been a silent partner in all the havoc that Russia had introduced in Persia with such terror and barbarity ("Squams") and he proceeded to give some of the details of the ghastly crimes and wholesale slaughters that had been committed by the Russian Government in Northern Persia. Innocent men, women and children had been done to death and thousands of Persians had been mercilessly butchered in Tabriz. When would Sir Edward Grey move? We have been not only false to Persians but traitors to our own conscience (cheers). The whole world had produced a verdict of "guilty" on England in our dealings with Persia.

Mr. G. H. Perrie seconded the Resolution, which was supported by Mr. W. Tcharkoff and Mr. V. Fedorkowitch.

The Resolution, on being put to the vote, was carried with enthusiasm.

TETE À TETE



We daresay it will take some time for our supporters to grasp fully the situation which we have to face on account of the reduced circulation of *The Comrade* during the last year. A decrease of

Our Supporters.

about 500 subscribers in 1918 instead of an increase which was the rule before is not a small matter, nor indeed is the still unpaid arrears of Rs. 9,000 in two years a matter which should cause us no anxiety. We have no doubt whatever that our supporters will respond most generously to our appeal, but naturally a few days are not sufficient wherein to judge either justice or generosity. Had it been so their response to our appeal would have been quite unique in character, for during the week ending on the 12th instant only nine fresh subscribers were enlisted and we had to remove the names of no less than fifteen. The net result is a decrease of six! A skillful mathematician is required to compute the means and ages in which we shall secure an increase of 2000 in our circulation at the rate of a decrease of six per week. We hope none of our subscribers will attempt this tremendous task, but that all would undertake the lighter duty of adding a new subscriber within the next few days. We shall also thank them to write to us volunteering their services as our bailiffs so that we may send them lists of defaulters in their neighbourhood. In this litigious country the fact is very well known that to secure a decree may be all the ten points in law but is not even one in fact. A world separates the execution from the decree and "law's delays" are nothing to those of "fact." But our *Qury Ameen*s are made of sterner stuff and we look forward to their making the recovery of nine thousand rupees a nine days' wonder. We trust they will apply to us soon for enlistment, for our rule is going to be "first come, first serve." Need we add the needless proviso, "No defaulter need apply"?

The account which we have given of the enlistments and removals of subscribers for the current week was in type when to-day on the 14th instant we received

Jewels of Women.

two letters, one from a subscriber who has expressed great sympathy with us in our difficulties and has sent us the name of a new subscriber, and another from a still more enthusiastic supporter who has sent us four names from a very unpromising district as "some grist to our mill," promising that "more will follow." But what fills us with still greater hope is the offer of his wife to send us, if need be, her jewelry. Much has altered in our Motherland, and not a little for the better. But, good or bad, the spirit of *suttee* still survives, and although the blazing pyre no more adds a glow to the Indian twilight by rivers' banks, what household is there in India, Hindu or Moslem, in which a *suttee* or two does not smoulder through life? Glory be to the name of Bantik and our own countryman, Ram Mohan Roy, but a hundred Bantiks and Ram Mohan Roys could not abolish this form of *suttee*, "Young India," which means chiefly the male of the species, does not show merely signs of a healthy discontent about the condition of Indian womanhood, but also occasionally a disgust which is manfully and born of self-conceit combined with sloth. But if only "Young India," which bases its own superiority over the older generation of Indians on greater self-sacrifice, applied that standard to Indian womanhood, it would stand ashamed before the silent and as it were, matter-of-course daily sacrifices of Indian women. Take the case of those "jewels" which are held ready as a sacrifice for us. How often has not "Young India," sneered at the barbaric display of jewelry by Indian women and condemned the absorbing love of jewels in them? And yet, how often have not these same jewels, so dearly loved by one sex and so greedily desired by the other, been quietly and unconsciously sacrificed

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cheerfully, been placed in the hands of a husband, a father or a brother to be sent to the pawn-broker's or to the melting pot of the goldsmith, to save the one loved still more dearly in a difficulty or to be squandered away on ceremony or even vice? We thank the dear sister that has volunteered so touchingly to come to our rescue, but such thanks as we can offer is a hopelessly weak expression of what we feel. We, however, trust we shall in some measure succeed in making our aggressively progressive "Young India" realise what jewels of women India possesses, and what a high standard of self-sacrifice Indian womanhood, with all its barbaric display of jewelry and its absorbing love of jewels, has set up for the manhood of India. Indian women have, we fear, such a great deal to learn. But, thank God, they have not to unlearn a quarter yet of what the men of India have learnt not wisely but too well in these days of egotism and advertisement.

We have received from Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Sahab, Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India the following important and interesting communication and we trust it will set some unfortunate controversies at rest. "It appears that the comments of some of the Urdu papers in India on Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's

activities in this country are based on an erroneous conception of their true scope. The enclosed extract from today's issue of the London Times may interest his critics and incline them to adopt a more generous attitude towards him. They will be glad to find on enquiry that the Khwaja's work here is fundamentally non-sectarian and characterized by so transparent a spirit of Islamic catholicity as to attract to the congregations he addresses in London and Woking both Moslems and Christians of all shades of religions and philosophic thought. Had Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's views disclosed any schismatic taint and narrowness or intolerance of outlook, detrimental in the slightest degree to the solidarity of Islam, the Trustees of the Woking Mosque, the Committee of the London Mosque Fund and the Islamic Society, would not have extended to him their confidence and support. It is to be hoped that a progressive and unifying movement against the disruptive tendencies, which in the past have done incalculable harm to the moral and intellectual advancement of Moslems, will receive the encouragement it deserves from all well-wishers and all sections of the community." From our personal knowledge of the Khwaja Sahab and of his work we can support this statement whole-heartedly. We trust he will be generously assisted by all Mussalmans irrespective of their sects. As we go to press we learn with pleasure that two more ladies have embraced Islam, Miss Florence Pell and Mrs. Dutta. The Khwaja Sahab has commenced a series of lectures at Woking itself on Sunday afternoons which are attracting large audiences. It is not one of mere curiosity for more than half the number attend week after week. We rejoice at this and congratulate the Khwaja Sahab.

Under the heading of "Aligarh Ideals" the Pioneer publishes a letter from an anonymous contributor. "Aligarh Ideals." We confess we quake and tremble whenever we find even the name of Aligarh mentioned in the papers nowadays, for it is so frequently mentioned in the course of some foul libel on the Mussalmans of India and particularly on the so-called "Young Moslems." There was a time not so long ago when any mention of Aligarh affairs in these columns revived in the breasts of a particular set of people the desire to deport the editor or kill the paper, and now that we desire above all else that the Mussalmans should be left in peace and their great national College should not be dragged into controversies that have nothing to do with education, we find "Aligarh," like the ubiquitous "Sinle without the Gat" in Alice in Wonderland, everywhere. It is, however, some relief to have to record that the recent contribution on "Aligarh Ideals" is of a different character from the blood-and-thunder libel of Mr. Lovat Fraser, we mean "Asiaatics," in the National Review. But the anonymous author will pardon us if we say that his opinions are exceedingly tantalising. Whenever we begin to think that he will pursue a theme to some conclusion he sets out on the trail of another and equally interesting theme, which is, in its turn, left in an impenetrable covert while the writer follows another scent. For instance, he makes the interesting observation that "a great Frenchman once said that he did not like to see the Monarchy made the prize of a race, and it is almost as sad to see the control of a great institution made the reward of a somewhat ignoble struggle." This made us stand on the tiptoe of expectation and look out for some revelation about the "ignoble struggle." But the theme is pursued

no further and we are left to guess whether the writer really knows something of the reality of the parties and cliques of Aligarh or has merely heard in the Club some ill-informed oracle repeating hearsay and laying down the law after the manner of self-sufficient bureaucrats. Later on we are told that "a University especially in its early days wants wise direction, united effort and peace." We do not know who would disagree with such an axiomatic observation; but we are told in the very next sentence that "the leaders of the Moslem world of India perhaps do not realise the difficulties. They pay hurried visits to Europe—some of them do not even think that process necessary—and then they are sure that given necessary rupees everything will follow." This excites our curiosity but keeps it unsatisfied; for it is difficult to guess what Moslem leaders set such a great store by the "necessary rupees" and either "pay hurried visits to Europe" or "do not even think that process necessary." That does not, however, prevent our agreeing whole-heartedly with the observation that "men of a kind can always be got for a certain sum of money, but the right men are not always on the market, and they may not want to come." If this refers, as we think it does, to European tutors, the writer only says that to which we have repeatedly drawn attention. We can never ignore the economic aspect of the question, but money by itself is not a sufficient, nor indeed the main attraction of educational work. Education is notoriously the worst paid profession all the world over; but it is the most highly honoured profession, and while learning attracts learning, ignorance only attracts ignorance.

Another observation of the writer will be read with interest. "Wherever," he writes, "you get English 'Their Own Way.' men together in an institution, they will try to run it; and in nine cases out of ten they will run it well in their own way. But this does not suit Young Islam. They also want to manage what is their own affair, and it is a good sign that they have such a desire and have it strongly." We shall not question the competence of Englishmen to run an institution well in nine cases out of ten, and even Englishmen will not question their desire to run it wherever ten of them happen to get together. But what is so important to remember is that whether they run it well or ill, they will run it "in their own way." Now, it is not only "Young Islam" that wants to manage what is its own, but every progressive section of the people all the world over. In this "Young Islam" is guilty of nothing that is not a universal crime among progressive people. And if "Young India" wants seats in Executive Councils, mixed Committees of officials and non-officials to recommend changes in administration and initiate legislation, and more appointments in the highest grades of the Public Services in India, is "Young Islam" to be denounced for its desire to manage what is peculiarly its own? But that is not all. Whether it is permitted to share in the work of teaching at Aligarh or not, it insists on having the institution run in its own way and not in the way of the almost invariably competent Decemvirs of the English race. For if an essentially Moslem institution is not run in an essentially Moslem way, it is better to sell the place to Government or to some Missionary Society as a going concern and assist Moslem scholars with the funds thus set free. Why will the numerous authorities on Aligarh ideals always forget the main fact about Aligarh that it was the product of an educational revolt of Indian Mussalmans against the educational ideals and methods of a Government openly committed to a policy which has been so inappropriately designated as "undenominational" and of Missionary Societies equally openly committed to Christian "denominationalism." This is not a case of "might have been" nor of memories being mistaken for hopes. The writer need offer no sympathy to the "Young" party and recognise that "Sir Syed's policy made its own continuance very difficult." This was the policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who would place none but Mussalmans on the Board of Trustees. Now, unless we are assured that the Trustees are only a "Committee of Ways and Means" that must provide the "necessary rupees" and have no other work to do, we should like to be told what is the function of a Board of one hundred and twenty Mussalmans chosen from every Province of India except the laying down of the policy on which Aligarh is to be conducted. So long as Indian Mussalmans are not in the position of the Japanese who sent out their best men to Europe and America to qualify themselves for the work of teaching their countrymen and employed them for the purpose on their return to the exclusion of men of all other nationalities, Aligarh would have to rely on the co-operation of English experts. Naturally, it is essential for a cordial co-operation that such experts must be attracted to Aligarh by the offer of good salaries, the companionship of ripe scholars and the honour due to one of the noblest professions in the world. If Mussalmans, whether "Young" or "Old," fail in this, they will fail to get the experts

of requisite qualifications. We have always said that an institution which requires martyrs to run it will soon end in being run by cheats. Therefore, the punishment of niggardliness and unfriendly behaviour on the part of Indian Mussalmans would be a total stoppage of the recruitment as tutors of the kind of men without whose assistance Aligarh cannot be run satisfactorily to-day. But here we must add that Government too should not cast greedy eyes on the staffs of private Colleges nor allow an impression to be created that every man who can pick up a quarrel with the managers of such institutions becomes a first charge on the Education Department of the Government in the sacred name of Prestige.

THERE is only one more observation of writer of the letter to the *Pioneer* to which we shall refer. We fully agree with what H. H. the Begam Saheba of Bhopal said about students and politics and we are sure

Aligarh and Politics.

that Aligarh students even now follow her advice. With Her Highness's excellent and characteristic speeches we propose to deal at length in our next. But the author of the *Pioneer* letter has evidently failed to grasp both the meaning of Her Highness's advice and the significance of the interest taken by "Young Islam" in Aligarh. He writes "the warning of H. H. the Begam of Bhopal, that politics should be left outside, is significant. But can they be left outside? The fact is that "Mohamedans are strongly and rightly political now. The most important public they have, so far as influence and decision go, is the student public; just as it is in the case of the Hindus. He who leads the students leads either community, tomorrow if not to-day. And while the educated body is so small this must be so and it is folly to shut our eyes to the fact. The politicians appeal to the students and the student—well he doesn't mind being appealed to." Now, Aligarh is and has always been the nursery of the future leaders of the Moslem community. It is and has always been, like Oxford, a microcosm of national life. It thinks to-day what Moslem India must inevitably think a year or two later, and it thinks with all the energy and intensity of youth. Whensoever the heaven may come, it is bound to ferment readily, and Aligarh must always distribute the forces, social, religious and political, throughout Moslem India. But it is not the happy hunting ground of would-be political leaders in quest of a following. It is the duty of the leaders of Moslem thought, social, religious and political, to see that the forces which it is the function of Aligarh to distribute must be beneficent and not otherwise, and that the heaven which makes Aligarh ferment so readily must be the very best. But, whether it is social, religious or political, it must be of an academic character, and an Aligarh undergraduate should no more be encouraged to leave his work as a student in order to swell the audience at political meetings or lengthen out political processions than to preach at street corners on temperance or wrangle with missionaries in the marketplace on the doctrine of Atonement or the Transmigration of Souls. The best men in Moslem India must address their appeals to the student, in order to improve him and furnish him with right ideals, and he, well, he must not only not mind but must welcome such appeals. But he who appeals to the student as a prospective disciple in religion or follower in politics abuses a trust and should not be allowed anywhere within a four-mile radius of the College. And if the politician is wise he will himself refrain from such tactics. He who plucks the unripe fruit must expect to find it sour. No one outside a still powerful act at Aligarh has tried to "capture" the student, but the result even in that case has been a dismal failure. The Aligarh undergraduate is shrewd enough to fight shy of artificial affection and knows only too well what some people older than he is have not yet realized.

نه نسيم كي ضرورت نه ننگه كي حاجت

نہیں جز دل کی توسل کوئی دل آئی میں

(There is neither need of smiles nor of bewitching glances. A heart needs no intermediary to capture a heart.) Aligarh, as the writer of the *Pioneer* letter says, is after all the most interesting educational institution in India, and if only—and we supply the words left out by the writer—it is left in peace by officialdom, it would go on as well as its true well-wishers ever thought and hoped. It is the heart of Moslem India, and he who would capture the heart of Moslem India must capture the heart of Aligarh. The rest is only too easy.



The Comrade.

Rewards and their Results.

It is seldom that we comment on the proceedings or results of criminal trials of any sort, even though they be connected with allegations of sedition. Such of our readers as have a taste for sensations can always satisfy their appetite by feeding on the accounts published at great length by our daily contemporaries. On one or two occasions when we have departed from this rule it has been because of special features in the cases, and no one will deny that the McCormick case, of which we are still hearing the echo, and the Cownpore Mosque case were out of the ordinary run of criminal cases.

We must confess we lacked even the ordinary curiosity of the "man in the street" in the case which had for some time been going on in the Presidency Magistrate's court and subsequently in the High Court of Calcutta in which Nirnal Kanto Roy was charged with the murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose, abettor of that charge, murder of Ananta Teli, and culpable homicide not amounting to murder in respect of Ananta Teli.

It is very unlikely that we would have been roused from our stupor even by the result of the High Court trial were it not for the circumstance that an extraordinary incident took place some six weeks ago in connection with this case on which our esteemed contemporary the *Pioneer* commented as follows:—"Every one," wrote the *Pioneer*, "who likes to see Government do the right thing will be pleased to read the account of the police parade on the Calcutta Maidan on Monday at which, Lord and Lady Carmichael being present, Sir Frederick Halliday distributed rewards to those who had been instrumental in the capture of the murderer of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose. Four Constables and two townspeople who seized the man and wrested away his revolver received a present of Rs. 750, and three others who assisted smaller sums. The rewards are not only liberal in themselves but they will gain enormously in value by the promptitude and the impressive manner of their bestowal. In a remarkable speech the Commissioner of Police drove home the significance of the occasion to his audience. . . . Nothing could be better calculated to encourage the Police at this trying season than such a speech."

The italics, we hasten to point out, are ours, but the trial by journalism is entirely the *Pioneer's*. Fortunately for the accused, unlike the United Provinces, they have a trial by jury in Bengal instead of a trial by journalism, and the result of this other trial was that the jury returned on the 11th March a unanimous verdict on the two charges of the murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose and of Ananta Teli, on which a verdict of acquittal would be recorded.

It is true that on the minor counts of abetment of murder and of culpable homicide not amounting to murder the verdict of the jury was not unanimous, the disagreement being in the proportion of 5 to 4.

A reference to the proceedings shows that according to the case for the defence, argued with characteristic brilliance and eloquence by Mr. Eardly Norton, not one of the three bullets alleged by the Crown to have been fired at Inspector Ghose and found in his body was fired from the pistol alleged to have been so gallantly wrested away from the accused by those whom the Commissioner of Police had rewarded, for the simple reason that the bullets extracted from the Inspector's body were 360 bullets which weigh 134 grains, while the weight of a bullet in a 450 calibre pistol such as was, we presume, alleged to have been wrested away from the accused is 225 grains. That evidently was conclusive evidence as regards the charge of murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose on which the *Pioneer* had given its deliberate verdict of guilty as early as on the 28th January last.

As regards the charge of shooting Ananta Teli, Mr. Norton based the defence, among other things, on the facts that the pistol alleged to have been wrested from the accused contained two exploded cartridges, that as three and only three shots were positively alleged by the witnesses for the Crown to have been fired at Inspector Ghose for each of which there was a 360 bullet—such as could not have been fired from a 450 pistol—in the deceased Inspector's body, and as only one exploded cartridge could be accounted for by the shooting of the boy Ananta Teli, the Crown could not explain the second exploded cartridge in the pistol. Moreover, the jury were told, according to Mr. Norton with the "insuperable difficulty" that the accused fired the first exploded cartridge, he could not have

"fired the second exploded cartridge, because between the two there was a cartridge still loaded." He also argued at great length about absence of evidence about the wresting away of the revolver from the accused in the earlier stages of the police inquiry.

Mr. Norton submitted to the jury that "this revolver was put into my client's hands." "That followed logically," said Mr. Norton, "as might followed day. The case for the prosecution was that 'the accused had this revolver in his hand at the Sova Bazar crossing, 'in Chitpore Road and all the devious lanes and streets through which 'he was alleged to have run, and that he was caught red-handed 'with this revolver in his hand in Masjid Bari Street. The story, 'however, has been contradicted and demolished by the evidence of the 'revolver itself. It had been suggested by the prosecution 'that this revolver jumped frightfully, . . . and all that I would 'say in connection with that was that the Oxford and Cambridge 'sports were not in it with this revolver.' Mr. Norton said that his client complained that he was robbed in Masjid Bari Street of his watch, a ring and his money. It was impossible, he said, under the circumstance for his client to call evidence to prove what he was doing there. The accused was in the hands of the police. His case was that he was seized and robbed by *goondas* in Masjid Bari Street and the crowd reached with the police after he had been caught. "In this country," said Mr. Norton, "the accused could not go into the box and testify in his own favour. In England it was different; but here the law would not allow the accused to give evidence. The accused was the sole man who could speak in his own defence, but the law said 'You cannot,' and the Crown said, 'Hang him.'"

We do not know what the jury thought of each argument on the side of the defence, but it is certain that it unanimously declared the accused not guilty of the murders of Inspector Ghose and Ananta Teli, and even on the minor charges disagreed in the proportion of 5 to 4. The discussion of forty minutes had resulted in such a difference of opinion, which according to the Foreman of the jury, was "on a vital point which seems to affect the whole case," so that a second retirement for ten minutes showed that the jurors were still divided on the minor charges in the same proportion.

A fresh trial on these charges has, therefore, been ordered; but it is worth asking whether this result has justified the rewards which, according to the Allahabad Oracle, were not only liberal in themselves but which had gained enormously in value "by the promptitude and the impressive manner of their bestowal." Surely the results of such "promptitude" seem now to be far from "impressive."

We were told by the *Pioneer* that the Police Commissioner's speech on the occasion of the reward-giving parade was "remarkable" and that it "drove home the significance of the occasion to his audience." It was also stated that "nothing could be better calculated to encourage the police at this trying season." Well, a hardly less remarkable speech was made by Mr. Norton a few days ago in the course of his defence of the accused, and we hope and trust that the result of the trial will drive home the "significance of the occasion" to the world at large, including the Calcutta Police Commissioner. Nothing could be better calculated to discourage the police in certain regrettable tendencies, but we hope the result of Mr. Norton's brilliant defence would offer at least some slight hope to the accused "at this trying season." We offer no apology for giving a very long extract from Mr. Norton's speech, for it is its own justification. Mr. Norton said:—

Mr. Mitter has done great injustice to me by saying that I hinted or insinuated, or wished to hint or insinuate, that these rewards were given by the government or the Commissioner of Police as bribes. I never said so and I never intended to say so, and I did not even think so. If I even thought so I would not have hesitated for a minute to make a remark, even with regard to the Commissioner of Police, and nothing would have made me shrink from my duty if there was any evidence. I am quite willing to admit that this was done with an honest intention by the Government. I am quite willing to admit that the Commissioner of Police, being an English gentleman, would not stoop to bribe a witness. It never was my intention to suggest that in cross-examination. I cross-examined for a different purpose. It was for the purpose of showing that all these witnesses had received their rewards as having captured the murderer of the Inspector at a time when my client was lying under commitment in the Police Court and had publicly proclaimed his innocence. I say the whole of the transaction was a gross travesty of justice, I say that never within living memory has there ever been a grosser contempt of court. Here was a man protesting his innocence, and he was entitled by all the laws of England to a fair, just, and impartial trial. What was the idea of calling a public parade and asking his Excellency the Governor to preside, when the object of the parade was to declare to the world, as was done that morning, that these police officers and others were being rewarded because they had captured the murderer of the Inspector. That is the very issue that you have been called upon to try to-day. I do not want to make the case uglier or more infamous than it is against the Government as it stands. I say this, and I will maintain this to my dying day, that a more injudicious exhibition of official power has never been displayed before inside the four corners of this Presidency, and while this man, my client, was proclaiming his right to be tried as an innocent person. I do not say that it was

done intentionally, but to attend that parade, to take this photograph, and to proclaim that this boy was a murderer, and that these men were being rewarded because they had captured him was to trespass upon one of the greatest and most essential principles of English law. This is how far I intended to carry, but it has another further consequence of an equally lamentable character because the accused was under trial. Who knows what effect it has had on the minds of some of you, and if it has had some effect on you, who knows what difficulties I shall have to contend against to remove any impression that might have been caused by such an unwarrantable practice as this. I suggest that the commonest civility should have made the Commissioner of Police wait till the termination of this case before he rewarded these men in public on the plea that they had captured the murderer of the Inspector. There was no need for haste. Their bravery would have waited to be rewarded afterwards, till the conclusion of this case. At any rate, my client would not have been prejudiced in this manner. The accused would have been free from the stigma which has been thrown upon him and the suspicion of the Commissioner of Police and the Government must prevent him having a fair trial as he was in the eyes of the Government a murderer. It has also another effect. Here you are going to pay large sums of money to witnesses of the class of those who have given evidence in this case, and to policemen who are illiterate and who owe all that they have to the generosity of the Government for the services they offer to the Crown. Do you think you will make it less difficult for these men to speak the truth? I do not wish to suggest that the Government bribed these men to tell lies, but do you think you would make it easier for them to speak the truth by paying them large sums of money? Do you not bind them to yourself by a strong bond of misplaced loyalty and gratitude? I say that you do. Look at it from whatever standpoint you like; the whole proceeding was illegitimate and unjust and improper and I was surprised to hear my learned friend Mr. Mitter justifying it from first to last. Now it has had a twofold consequence upon this unhappy boy, and I am entitled to put it to you that in the first place it has raised a mass of prejudice against him which my poor efforts may be absolutely unavailing to break down, and secondly it has stiffened up these witnesses, who with the payment in their pockets would give evidence for the Crown and try to defeat justice by denying everything in cross-examination that is put to them. These are serious embarrassments and I am bound to say that it has created a prejudice between my client and his safety, and I am entitled to comment upon it. I ask you to recollect that every police officer Ram Bhujan, Delhi Goala, Radha Shyam Singh, Abdul Gaffur and all of those who have received a reward of Rs. 750, are to that extent labouring under a disqualification which it would be difficult to remove.

This is not the first time that the Police has been publicly commended and even rewarded in a manner which appeared to prejudice the defence in a case *sub judice* at the time, but we hope that, having availed himself of the opportunity that at last offered itself in this case, Mr. Norton has succeeded in making it the last bad precedent. If so, not only will the public owe much to him, but, to use the words of our Allahabad contemporary, nothing could be better calculated to encourage the police to rely on their own honest and strenuous efforts for acquiring a better reputation for detective work. It is no use for the Police to depend on reward-giving parades for its reputation and to neglect for some days such obvious matters as the difference in bores between the revolvers alleged to have been used in a case of double murder. As for Government, surely its credit is not so low with its Police Force that the price of honest and gallant service must be tendered before honesty and gallantry could even be tested. The Indian Army is paid none too lavishly, and yet far more honest and gallant service is rendered by it—and long may it continue to be rendered—while everybody must have heard of war medals being awarded to the troops long after some of the men had passed out of this world un—"honoured" though not unworried. That proves that there are enough honest and gallant men in India, but the way to discover them and to preserve their honesty and gallantry is not to appeal to less lofty motives by parading rewards before having an opportunity to parade the results.

The Price of Peace.

Mr. Asquith's remarkable speech in introducing the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill marks a new stage in the efforts of the Liberal Government towards the settlement of the historic Irish question. It is a clear, frank and impressive statement of the policy which the Government has been forced to adopt as a very grudging concession to Carsonism and militant Ulsterism. Mr. Asquith does not disguise it from himself that he has been driven into a course which is opposed alike to his political faith and his judgment. But the grim and gaunt ghosts which the Ulster fanatics had summoned from the vasty deeps of religious hate and secular pride and intolerance threatened Ireland with chaos and had to be laid to rest. The exclusion of the Ulster counties from the scope of the Home Rule measure, ostensibly for a period of six years, which the Liberal Government is now willing to concede, is, as Mr. Asquith said, the price of peace. The threat of civil war has succeeded in its aim. The compromise, the eternal curse—or—glory of British politics has triumphed over logic and principle and paved the way for a final settlement. The danger of civil strife has virtually passed. And

though the taste for mock-heroics which the Ulsterites have acquired in the course of a year may yet continue to show itself through tall and lusty phrases for a while, the martial hordes of "General" Carson seem already flitting off the stage to take up their old, peaceful, though less showy roles and the right of rebellion no longer needs to go through the extreme physical test.

The settlement of the old Irish question is now definitely within sight. There may be a few more alarms and excursions through which the Tories may vent their wrath and chagrin, but Carsonism has ceased to be an incalculable terror now. Whether the provisional features of the settlement will grow permanent, and Ulster remain a separate administrative unit is not a question of vital importance at this stage. The main thing is that Ireland's dream of Home Rule is about to be realised after the travail of effort of centuries. What this effort has signified in British history we need not pause to consider. It is enough to remember that the bulk of the Irish people have in all stages of their connection with Great Britain been keenly alive to a sense of their national individuality. Their language, old history, religion, and culture have always combined to keep their national spirit indestructible. Their united efforts had always been directed towards the attainment of self-government, and they have submitted to sacrifices in their tenacious loyalty to the ideal which in the aggregate are little short of the heroic. Their struggle as a race has few parallels in history. Through conflicts, reverses and utter defeats, through periods of intense suffering, agony and moral exhaustion, their courage has never failed and their intense national sentiment has cried resolutely aloud for self-realisation. One of the most powerful parties in British politics had early branded their demand as rank treason. But British Liberalism has throughout been a faithful champion of Irish nationalism and cheerfully shared the misfortunes which the latter had uniformly had to suffer before the present Liberal Government came into power. Gladstone's herculean efforts to embody the natural Irish Nationalist aspirations in some form of Home Rule were wrecked twice after fierce struggles, and when his second Home Rule Bill was rejected it seemed as if the deep-seated and obstinate suspicions of Toryism would always prove too devastating a force for the success of the Irish cause. The shattered ranks of Liberalism, however, recovered their strength after many years, and in the meantime Irish Nationalism had gained still more in force and cogency. When the Liberals came into office after ploughing the sands of Opposition for upwards of a decade, the settlement of the Irish question was announced to be one of their foremost tasks. They had not, however, forgotten their one great handicap in the shape of the Lords' veto to all effective Liberal legislation. After a long and fierce struggle the House of Lords was first shorn of its powers and thus the way was cleared for important Liberal measures. The Home Rule Bill came to be introduced in due course.

It became manifest soon after the debate over the first reading of the Bill that the Tory opposition, though it roared with all the ferocity of time-honoured invective and abuse, had in reality lost its old fire and energy of conviction. But the campaign had to be undertaken with every brave show of passion and outraged feelings in the interest of the party game. The Tories were in sad need of a rallying cry. The Tariff Reform propaganda had fallen flat, and no other cry seemed to be available that could whip up enough enthusiasm in the Tory rank and file. And Home Rule cries had done splendid service in the past. Passionate memories thickly clustered round them and they were replete with accents that could be trusted to rekindle the old pugnacity if iterated with sufficient force. Accordingly the Tory leaders set to work. It is, however, a curious fact that the challenge of Unionism found every feeble echoes in Great Britain. The masses in England and Scotland could no longer endure the boredom of having to discuss perpetually how Ireland was to be governed. But Ulster was still in Ireland herself, with its powerful Protestant minority and its landlords and it could be trusted to save the situation. So Ulster became the centre of the fight, the cry of despairing Unionism and the manœuvring ground of its infuriated champions. Ulster was set up to defy Great Britain and the rest of Ireland. Carsonism came to birth with its solemn covenants and its volunteers who declared themselves ready to fight against His Majesty's forces if Parliament passed and enforced the Home Rule measure. The whole thing seemed at first a joke and a farce as it actually was. We are sure even Sir Edward Carson did not in his early drills and parades take himself seriously. He was simply organising a vast threat to disconcert the Liberals and more particularly to stick out a peg by which the disintegrated Tory forces could hang together. But the joke soon grew into something earnest and grim. A defiant Ulster with a resolutely set purpose rose out of the artificial agitation. We do not know with what feelings the Tory firebrands looked on this terrible weapon which would certainly smash them if they hesitated to use it against the King, the Parliament and the nation as a whole. It was in this dread situation that the most reverent upholders of established authority

and the Constitution lighted on "the-right-of-rebellion" argument. This desperate doctrine with all its implications has travelled and been studied far beyond the British Isles, and we should like to hear what Sir Edward Carson and his Tory henchmen will have to say when it comes home to roost.

The threat of Ulster soon grew into a real danger, and the Liberal Government slowly but inevitably began to feel that it will have to modify its original Home Rule measure if the calamity of a civil war was to be averted. Serious and responsible men on both sides began to talk of the virtues of settlement by consent. Proposals for a conference of Liberal and Tory leaders became general, but Mr. Asquith was rightly opposed to the idea, for in the absence of a common basis for discussion any such conference must have been abortive. The Tory opposition to the Irish Home Rule Bill was not simply based on its organic features and form; it was based on the principle itself. According to the Tory attitude Ireland not only did not want Home Rule, but also it should never be granted Home Rule even if it cried for it with one united voice. The Ulster agitation was primarily directed to wreck the measure; "the rights and interests of minority" were tacked on to it only to make it look legitimate and respectable. The idea of a conference was naturally derided in responsible Liberal quarters. There were "informal conversations" among the Party leaders, but they led to no tangible results. The Government saw the danger and decided to formulate its own proposals which while intended to conciliate Ulster would not interfere with the basic principle of the measure. At the opening of Parliament Mr. Asquith announced that he would soon lay the Government proposals before the House. These proposals have now been definitely submitted, and it is difficult to conceive that the Government could go further in its desire to meet the Opposition in a conciliatory spirit without destroying the principle of the Bill. Mr. Asquith's proposals amount to the offer of a free choice to the Ulster counties between an exclusion from or incorporation in the area to be administered according to the Bill by an Irish Executive responsible to an Irish Legislature. The exclusion period will last for six years, the excluded counties "would come in after six years, unless the Imperial Government determined otherwise." According to Reuter, an impression prevails in the Lobby that a great advance has been made towards a settlement of the Home Rule question and that the menace of civil war has certainly disappeared. The discussion in the Commons "is not accepted as conclusive, and the position is admittedly difficult, but it is hoped that a further debate will lead to a compromise." The Opposition is now trying to fasten on some point which might serve to prolong the struggle, but in their failure to find such a point they are driven to take up such broken reeds as "the period of exclusion, which they say is too short." The fact is that the Tory leaders have been completely nonplussed. The wind has been taken out of their sails. The Home Rule battle is practically over. Ulster wanted separation, union with Great Britain and "clean out" from the rest of Ireland. It has been taken at its own words and given the option to accept either alternative. We await further developments on the Tory side with some curiosity. The Liberal Government has so far handled the situation with great adroitness and resource and they are now within a measurable distance of their goal. They have piloted a difficult measure through the House of Commons and it will be to their lasting glory when it is permanently placed on the Statute Book. A great historic wrong would be righted. Nationalisms in every country would derive wholesome inspiration from the Irish example, although the ideals of Ireland have taken many toiling generations to fructify.

Verse.

The Path to Heaven.

Disowning claims of kindred and of clime,
 My errant thoughts did wander far from home
 And in all lands beneath heaven's starry dome
 I saw my country; oft on wings sublime
 Of Fancy borne, which neither space nor time
 Could stay, my daring spirit sought to roam
 Beyond the earth. But when the mystic toms
 Of nature showed her record since the prime
 Of Man's creation, and I paused to scan
 That baffling mystery—the soul of man,
 I learnt that of the immortal yearnings given,
 To realise the promise of her birth,
 The path lies oft through th' humblest things on earth,
 Through commonest duties, reaching up to Heaven!

NIRANJAN JANA.

The King's Real Speech.

What his Majesty Would Like to have Said.

At the time of going to Press, we have not seen the King's Speech, with which Parliament will have been officially opened on Tuesday; but we print below what his Majesty would have liked his Ministers to let him say, Here it is:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

My relations with all foreign powers continue to be of the most friendly and cordial character; but notwithstanding this satisfactory state of affairs, I require several more battleships of the latest and most formidable type, and a much larger Force for Home Defence, being satisfied that the friendship of my continental neighbours will ripen in proportion to the strength of my armaments.

I am sorry that my Canadian Dominion did not ratify the provisional promise made by its Prime Minister of the gift of two 'Dreadnoughts' to my Navy. In view, however, of the cosmopolitan character of the Canadian population the defeat of the suggestion is not a matter for surprise, there having been evidences amongst it, for some time past, of a growing spirit of independence towards the Mother Country, and of a tendency to closer alliance with the neighbouring States of the American Republic. In these circumstances, my Ministers are to be congratulated upon their foresight in not having acceded to the suggestion by the Leader of the Opposition of a vote of thanks to the Dominion for the two ships. Whilst on the subject of Canada, I desire to express sympathy with the large number of my poorer subjects who have been inveigled by specious misrepresentations of Canadian Emigration Agents into leaving my shores, only to find themselves in a worse plight on arrival in the already overcrowded labour market of the Dominion.

I regret the Industrial disturbances which have recently occurred in South Africa, and that they should have led to the necessity, in the opinion of the Union Government, to deport a body of British subjects from the Colony. Such a step should, in the opinion of my Ministers, have been taken only as a last resource, and then not until after consultation with my Governor-General, and, through him, with the Home Government, which in any case should have been consulted before the individuals in question were shipped to England. Whilst fully recognising the autonomy of the South African Union, its Government must ever bear in mind the fact that it rests upon the unstable foundation of military conquest, and that for many years to come its policy should be dictated by a vigilant regard to the susceptibilities to the British race.

The condition of affairs in my Indian Empire gives cause for some uneasiness, and I regret that certain of my faithful Commons, when visiting its shores, at times display a lack of appreciation of the delicacy of the thread which binds many millions of the coloured races to my sway and which may at any time snap as the result of injudicious utterances on the part of public men. It is my earnest desire to extend to all the natives as far as is practicable the blessings of freedom, but I am convinced that before they are fit to enjoy the rights and privileges of Western civilisation, they must pass through a natural process of human evolution.

I deplore the present conditions of affairs in Ireland. Whilst satisfied that my Ministers are genuinely desirous of removing the fundamental cause of the long standing dissatisfaction on the part of the majority or the Irish people with the existing system of government, I regret that in formulating their measures with this object in view they did not take sufficiently into account the sentiments of the Protestant population of North-East Ulster, and that it has been only as the result of armed demonstration by that section of my people that the true situation has been realised. I cannot believe that, menaced as my Empire is by so many outside dangers, you will fail me in finding an amicable and honourable solution of the present deadlock. If a substantial portion of the Irish people are satisfied to remain under my present rule, it would appear both unfair and impolitic to force any change upon them; whilst on the other hand the time has undoubtedly arrived when a great effort should be made to recognise that unsatisfied sentiment of nationality—on the part mainly of the Catholic population—which has so long been a factor of discord in the internal politics of the United Kingdom. Between these two extremes I am convinced the resources of wise and patriotic statesmanship will not fail to find a compromise. If necessary, a period of further delay must be allowed, to admit of honest effort for a settlement, and, to that end, I shall not hesitate to suspend my assent to the measure now before Parliament should it be sent to me at an early date. My first duty is to avoid civil war within my own dominions.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

Estimates will be laid before you in due course for the expenses of the various public services. I regret that the provocative and unjustifiable naval ambition of certain foreign Powers renders necessary a large addition to the naval strength of the Empire. The only alternative to this course would appear to be for my Government to intimate at once to such Powers that in the view of Great Britain their legitimate requirements do not demand any expansion of their naval resources, and to request that in the interests of international peace no further augmentation should occur. I am satisfied that such a representation, supported as it would be by whatever personal influence my own House is capable of exercising with other reigning dynasties, would have the effect of ending the present disastrous race in naval armaments and of liberating for profitable employment vast sums of money now employed on wasteful and unproductive purposes.

The Army, too, will entail heavy demands upon the public purse. My vast possessions render necessary a perpetual drain upon the regular forces, and if Great Britain is to be immune from danger it is of urgent importance that the Home Defence should be strengthened.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

The following Bills will be submitted to you:—

A Bill to compel every boy who receives free education to join the Territorial Force, thus repaying the State for the benefits he has received.

A Bill to compel Bankers to disclose all dormant balances and unclaimed securities in their possession and to hand the same over to the Public Trustee.

A Bill to tax Betting, Stock and Share Speculations, Advertisements, theatre tickets and bachelors.

A Bill for the reorganisation of the Board of Trade, the removal of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the speaker of the Irish Parliament from its membership, and the setting up of a Tariff Committee to prevent the abuse of the freedom of British ports.

A Bill to provide that in future the President of the Board of Trade shall be a person of commercial training and experience; the President of the Board of Agriculture, an Agriculturist; The Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Financier; the First Lord of the Admiralty, a Sailor; and the Minister for War, a Soldier.

In conclusion, I rejoice to observe signs of a sower conception of government on the part of my people. It is gradually becoming recognised that Parliament should be the Business Committee of the Empire.

Now Get to Work.—*John Bull.*

The India Office and Mr. Montague.

MR. RICHARD BURBIDGE, the head of Harrods mammoth stores in Brompton, has been writing to the *Daily Mail* to protest against the constant changes of Postmaster-General, of which the latest has just been announced. He observes that the office, "which involves the control of an industry bringing in receipts of over thirty-two millions and the management of some 300,000 employees, is a highly technical business demanding great knowledge and experience."

It is a pity that Mr. Burbidge has no time to look outside the circumference of his immediate business circle. For every word he writes about the Postmaster-General can be applied with still greater force to the Under-Secretary of State for India. This office, even more than the other, "is regarded as a mere trial ground for young and promising politicians." Since the Liberal party came into office in December, 1905, there have been five Under-Secretaries for India:—

Mr. John E. Ellis (December, 1905-December, 1906).

Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse (January, 1907-April, 1908).

Mr. T. R. Buchanan (April, 1908-June, 1909).

The Master of Elibank (June, 1909-February, 1910).

Hon. E. S. Montague (February, 1910-February, 1914).

It will be said that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith have done nothing worse than act in accordance with precedent: and, indeed, that is true. For here is the record of the previous Conservative administration:—

The Earl Onslow (1895-1900).

The Earl of Hardwicke (1900-1902).

Earl Percy (1902-1903).

The Earl of Hardwicke (1903-1904).

The Marquess of Bath (January-December, 1905).

Two wrongs do not, however, make a right: and, if we are to apportion blame, there is at least this to be said for Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, that their two Secretaries for State, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodrick, sat throughout in the House of Commons. Lord Morley, on the other hand, took the earliest opportunity of removing the office to the House of Lords, where it has

remained ever since : and it is this fact which renders the personality of the Under-Secretary with such importance under present circumstances. Before Mr. Montague came upon the scene in February, 1910, his four predecessors averaged just about a year in office apiece. Sultan after Sultan abode his destined hour and went his way.

Mr. Montague has succeeded in establishing a different record. He has on four separate occasions "explained" the Indian Budget statement to the House of Commons : and -beginning badly in July, 1910, with a violent and wholly misdirected onslaught on Mr. Mackarnese, has steadily improved until it has become no exaggeration to say that he has won the confidence both of the House of Commons and of the Indian reformer. It is true that there has always been a tendency to be didactic. There was too much of the pontifex maximus about him, and he was inclined to be unduly patronising. But these faults may readily be forgiven in view of the breath of fresh air which he has brought into the official handling of Indian questions in Parliament. We fancy he was immensely relieved when the advent of Lord Crewe gave him a wider scope for his ability than the mere alternation of Liberal commonplaces with a defence of illiberal methods of repression. When he was given his head he took it. No Under-Secretary, we venture to say, has ever infused so much of the fresh air of Liberalism into the stuffy-bureaucratic atmosphere of the India Office. Year by year he has committed them beyond hope of recall to a growing breadth of outlook and a sympathetic appreciation of the ambition of the educated Indian to have a real share in the government of the country. His visit to India had, it was hoped, placed the seal upon his labours : for he would now be able to confront the Struldbrugg of the India Council with the results of an examination of modern Indian conditions freshly made on the spot.

Dis aliter visum. He has been caught up in the Ministerial merry-go-round : and has been chosen to succeed Mr. Masterman as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. In fullness of time he will, no doubt, enter the Cabinet : for his new office is the recognised waiting-room : and that is the only consolation that can be extracted from his promotion. We think he will make an excellent Secretary of State for India : and we hope that he will eventually be found in that post, and that for once in a way previous knowledge and experience will not be held to constitute a bar insuperable.

The New Under Secretary.

To the new Under-Secretary, Mr. C. H. Roberts, who has been Liberal member for Lincoln since 1906, we offer a cordial welcome. His interest in India has almost entirely manifested itself hitherto in temperance matters. He was a member of the deputation which waited upon Lord Crewe in July, 1912, in connexion with the question of Excise administration in India : and moved an amendment on the Indian Budget statement in August of the same year, which dealt both with that subject and with the opium traffic. He is married to a daughter of Lady Carlisle, and is the brother-in-law of Professor Gilbert Murray, the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, whose sympathy with Indian reformers is well known. In his early days he was a don at Exeter College, Oxford, and both then and as an undergraduate at Balliol, made no secret of his uncompromising Radicalism. We hope that he will carry some of it into the performance of his new duties. He has not previously held office as a Minister, but when presiding over the Parliamentary Committee last year which enquired into the Putumayo rubber scandals, he exhibited a businesslike capacity and a determination to get at the facts which augurs well for the future.

Press Laws in India and Egypt.

Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

(SPECIAL REPORT FOR "INDIA.")

A CONFERENCE called by the Nationalities and Subject Races Committee was opened at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday afternoon last (February 16), when the Press Laws in India and Egypt were discussed. There was a good attendance.

Sir Henry Cotton presided, and in the absence of Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who, with Mr. John Dillon, M.P., was detained at the House of Commons, moved the following resolution :—

That this conference, believing that the free expression of the people's mind through a responsible and independent Press is necessary for the healthy development of a civilised State, demands the repeal of the Indian Press Act of 1910 and the remission of the harsh sentences which have been carried out under its operation. This conference, furthermore, proposes that a memorial be drawn up appealing to H. H. the Khedive and the Legislative Assembly of Egypt to consider the abolition of the Press Laws of 1881, which have been revived in all their rigour since 1909, and the amnesty of the poets and journalists who have been condemned to imprisonment under those laws.

SPEECH BY SIR HENRY COTTON.

In the course of his speech, Sir Henry Cotton, while welcoming Ferid Bey as one who had rendered signal service to the cause of free speech in Egypt, said that he should address himself principally to the Indian aspect of the question. The Press Act in India was passed in 1910, at a time of considerable panic, and it was a law of most drastic character. It authorised the executive to take security from newspapers and to forfeit that security, and then again to raise the security and forfeit it once more, and ultimately to seize and confiscate the press itself. He need hardly say that if any newspaper were to stimulate the community to acts of violence, whether against any section of the community or against the Government, it would be reasonable for the Government to take measures to punish the offending editor. That, however, was not the kind of case with which they were dealing at the present moment, and he only mentioned the matter to guard themselves against any such misapprehension of their attitude that afternoon. What they protested against was promiscuous interference with the liberty of the Press—(applause)—in its freedom of utterance, and its criticism of public measures. There had been one remarkable case during the past year in which the editor of a newspaper, Mr. Mohamed Ali, whom many of them must have met during his recent visit to England, carried an appeal against the action of the Executive Government to the High Court at Calcutta. The result had been the delivery of a memorable judgment by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of Bengal. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act, which they were assured at the time were deliberately and intentionally inserted in order to afford safeguards and protection to newspaper interests, that judgment had established that the Act had been so craftily worded, so elaborately and minutely expressed, as to obliterate these safeguards and protections, so that the High Court was powerless to interfere. Since then the Government had acted very freely in suppressing newspapers, and the latest victim was present that afternoon on the platform. (Cheers.) Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was the editor of the *Zamindar*, a weekly newspaper published at Lahore. The Government of the Punjab had taken action against him by forfeiting the security of Rs. 10,000 which they had demanded from him, and had also confiscated his press. The *Zamindar* was printed in the Persian character and would not be widely read among Europeans, but it was very popular with the Mohammedans of the Punjab. He (Sir Henry Cotton) had no doubt that the articles which had appeared in that paper might have offended the mind of a Secretary to Government—one of the most acutely sensitive minds in the world—(laughter)—because it had ventured to criticise and comment upon the action of a Lieutenant-Governor and even to doubt the wisdom of the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister. (Laughter.) A paper which did that would do anything, and so executive action must be taken to suppress it and to destroy the livelihood of the editor. He had not read the offending articles himself, but they thought it would be of interest if he quoted the opinions expressed with regard to them by an Indian gentleman of distinction in a speech lately made at Patna. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the gentleman in question, was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council when the Press Act was passed into law. He told his audience that he knew something about the *Zamindar* and its editor, and had been to the office of the paper and seen the press. The only fault of the *Zamindar*, he said, was that it was an independent paper which expressed its opinion honestly and fearlessly on public questions. He went on :—

The *Zamindar* was a paper which not only boldly criticised Government measures but similarly the actions and views of Mohammedan leaders themselves. This latter fact, which is an open secret, brought for it the displeasure and enmity of some of the leading men of the community. This has been a great factor to its downfall. The *Zamindar* had a circulation of about 27,000 copies daily. There was not a single Mohammedan household, and for the matter of that, numerous Hindu households as well, where the paper was not read. I have seen with my own eyes in Patna, Cawnpore, and other places where coolies used to purchase a copy, squat on the ground in a circle and ask some one to read the paper aloud for them. It was the only paper which had created a taste for newspaper reading in the masses and with the Mohammedan community it had become an absolute necessity. Such a paper has been stopped for writing three leading articles in the issues of November 19, 20 and 21. I have very carefully read these articles over and over again, and I challenge anyone to say that these articles are either disloyal or seditious. They are ordinary articles as you would find in numerous newspapers in India. Of course, I do not mean to say that I agree with all that was written in these articles nor that I approve of the taste of some of the passages, but I do say most emphatically that sedition and disloyalty are as far away from them as they are from the writings of some of the English Press either in England or in India.

That was the opinion of a highly distinguished and competent witness. Yet there was no appeal, for the High Court had ruled that they had no power to interfere. He would like also to point out that this Act had a general application which went far beyond these

cular newspapers and embraced the entire Press in India. But it had never been brought into force against any paper owned or edited by any Englishman, although it was a regrettable fact that one of the gravest sources of anxiety in India was to be found in the articles which appeared in Anglo-India newspapers of a certain type and which were deliberately intended to provoke and exasperate the Indian community. No action was ever taken against such papers. The rigours of the law were reserved for vernacular papers or papers published in English and edited by Indians. This differentiation added to the grievance already felt with regard to the Act. An appeal for amendment of the measure had been lately made in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, in which seventeen Indian members had joined, but the Government set their face against any modification, and had even declined to restore the safeguards which were guaranteed in 1910 and were now found to be illusory. The time had come, therefore, to demand not only the modification but the repeal of this measure. (Loud applause.) India was now in many ways a very different country from what it was four years ago. Although there were occasional manifestations of an anarchical kind which resulted in murders of police officers and others that could not be sufficiently deplored, the Press could not be blamed for these incidents, for they were due to other causes below the surface with which it was exceedingly difficult for a Government such as the British Government in India to deal. It was an obvious reflection that if they suppressed newspapers which formed the ordinary channel for the expression of public opinion and allowed no outlet for the feelings of races and nationalities the result must be to drive discontent underground and render it far more grave and serious. (Hear, hear.)

MR. C. E. MAURICE.

Mr C. E. Maurice, in seconding the resolution, drew attention to that passage in Sir Lawrence Jenkins' judgment in the Delhi Comrade case in which it was said that the Act could be construed to affect words of which everyone might approve. Surely that was sufficient of itself to condemn the Act. (Cheers.) He felt bound also to refer to the extraordinary licence permitted to Anglo-Indian newspapers as compared with the treatment suffered by the editor of the *Zamindar*. Indians had been waiting since 1858 for the realisation of the promise of equal treatment held out in the Queen's Proclamation. It concerned not only them, but the honour of England, that promise should be redeemed. The indifference to Indian affairs in England had become a great scandal.

MR. ZAFAR ALI KHAN.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Lahore Zamindar*, read a long statement in which he discussed the Press Act and the various cases in which it had been put into operation. It was clear that no one could possibly conduct a newspaper and deal with the events of the day without publishing "words, signs, or visible writings" which might conceivably have a "tendency to bring into hatred or contempt" either the Government of the day or somebody else. (Applause.) By Section 22 the victim could be condemned without even the pretence of an appeal. No editor could escape unless it was believed that his object was to support everything that was done in the name of the Government and subscribed to universal official infallibility. The provisions of Section 4, according to the Chief Justice of Bengal, were as wide as human ingenuity could make them, yet in not one case had the machinery of the law been put into motion against any anarchical literature. In the course of three years the Act had been used to extinguish no less than 17 Moslem newspapers and presses. A number of purely theological papers had been interfered with. In his opinion, there never was a better case for the repeal of any piece of legislation, and he hoped an Indian Press Defence League would be started in England. (Applause.)

FERID BEY.

Ferid Bey, who spoke in French, gave an account of the manner in which the Press Law was being administered in Egypt. He had, he said, suffered six months' imprisonment for writing a preface to a volume of someone else's poems. The Press in Egypt was now completely untried, and even folk-songs had come under the censorship. Every Nationalist journal but one had been suppressed, and the survivor had been permitted to live on the understanding that it did not speak in the name of the National Party. Press "criminals" were now tried by the Criminal Court, which condemned without jury and without appeal. Letters and postal packets were opened in transit and quietly confiscated.

The resolution was then put and carried.

DR. RUTHERFORD.

Dr. V. R. Rutherford (prospective Liberal candidate for the Huddersfield division of Durham) moved a further resolution welcoming the proposal to form an Indian Press Defence League to demand the repeal of the Press Act of 10. He had, he said, listened with humiliation and consternation to what had been stated that afternoon with regard to the condition of the Press in India and in Egypt. There could be no satisfaction or contentment in either country or in England until these laws were repealed and ordinary fair play given

to the Press. (Hear, hear.) The object, of course, was to crush the national spirit: but that would be found to be impossible. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. H. Seed seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.

A vote of thanks to the chair was moved by Mr. S. H. Swinny.

The sin of indifference.

England's neglected duty to India.

THE *Graphic* prints in its issue of February 14 an article on "Our Interest in the East," which is stated to be written by a "Young Man in India." We subjoin a number of remarkable passages which it contains:—

No one can deny that the Englishman at home is unbecomingly ignorant of his Empire in the East, and sadly wanting in a sense of imperial responsibility. Gradual realisation of the fact is one of the most depressing features of a return to the homeland after long sojourn in the East.

Throughout our Eastern possessions we take the "native" naked from the mud of his rice-field; we teach him to read and write; we tell him to eat, clothe himself, sit at table and converse like ourselves; to imitate and emulate us in every way. We let him adopt our manners and customs: we speak to him of justice and freedom, of Christianity and equality in the sight of God, and when the product of this forced civilisation turns to us and says: "I have done all you have told me to do; I am now a civilised being; I know political economy and I have taken the same degrees as you; let me dine with you and let me have a share in the Government of my country," we cannot satisfy him. It is well for the East that we cannot; but the murmur rises against us, and ill-feeling grows and descends to the masses of the people, and in the end the sum of their acquirements is hatred and scorn of their benefactors.

Not only in India, but in every one of our Eastern Dependencies, hatred of the white man is becoming synonymous with education, and yet we have to govern not by the sword, but by making the ruled rule. It is folly to suggest solutions for problems such as confront us with regard to education in the East. . . . There is one thing left for the Englishman to do. At home and in the East he must allow himself to see and understand the point of view and the outlook of the educated "native," and teach him to understand the problems that confront his rulers. Although East and West may never meet, there is much unnecessary misunderstanding in what divides them. How often have a few words of confidential talk and a little friendly interest in the careers of young "natives" saved them from the ranks of the seditionists? And how often has thoughtless arrogance at a critical moment originated life-long bitterness and hostility? The secret of British power is individual personality, and on this alone depends the weathering of the storm and the secure laying of a foundation to the future happiness of millions.

The Passing of Empire in India.

Mr. Herbert Burrows at South Place.

Mr. Herbert Burrows gave an interesting address at South Place Ethical Institute, Finsbury, on Sunday morning last (February 15) on Mr. Fielding Hall's recently-published book, "The Passing of Empire."

He observed that few phrases had suffered more from ignorance and distortion than the word Empire. In its proper dictionary signification, it appeared harmless enough, but tyrannies and despotisms had clustered around it without number. With regard to the British Empire the remarkable fact was that there was no such thing except in India and the Crown Colonies. With regard to India there were two main schools of thought. There was the "Imperial school," represented in India by the hard-and-fast Anglo-Indian and in England by the governing classes in Parliament and at the India Office. Their views had been very crudely, but most truthfully, put by Mr. Joyson-Hicks, who, when he was member for North-West Manchester, blurted out that it was utter nonsense to say that the British were in India for India's good; that they were there for their own good, and intended to remain there for the same reason. Then there were the other school which held that India should have complete self-government, and that Britain should see about giving it to her at the earliest possible moment, publicly declaring this to be her object. Between these two extremes there were, of course, many gradations, even among Indians themselves. Some said that Britain should remain in India, simply as suzerain, others desired to see her retain her grip of national administration: others, again, would turn India into a Colony on the model of Australia and Canada: and there were also those who were content with the wide extension of local municipal government. He did not propose to discuss these various shades of opinions. It was his belief that British rule in India had fallen far short of the ideal professed in 1858, when the Company's government came to an end. But he would leave that to discuss Mr. Fielding Hall's thesis that much of the so-called "unrest" was largely

the Englishman's own fault. He would pre-suppose that the English were going to remain in India, and for more years than some of his Indian friends might believe. He was prepared to find he was mistaken: for India of all countries in the world was perhaps the most difficult to understand. Although he had not been to India, it had been his good fortune to come into daily contact with Indians—men of different castes, races, habits, thought, ideas, aspirations, and religions—and the more he saw of them, the more he realised the infinite patience which it needed for a European even to scratch the surface of the problem. He did not believe in much that Kipling had written, but he did feel the truth of the hackneyed quotation as to the gulf between East and West. In the mass there could be little *rapprochement* between two races which for centuries had differed so essentially in general evolution and training and in every sort of characteristic. Indians had exactly the same feeling towards the negro. The first thing, then, was to try to understand. It was because the English had not understood, and mostly had not tried to understand, that their so-called Empire in India was slowly passing away. They had always been except in rare instances, and still were an alien race in a strange land, counting the hours until they were released to spend in their own country the money they had made. No assimilation was possible under such circumstances. He was putting on one side the anarchists and terrorists. His thought was of the general type. The Government might pass Press Laws as bad as those of Russia, but 315 millions of people could not be permanently ruled by such means, however stringent they might be.

The *Daily Mail* had on December 16 published a letter from an "Anglo-Indian," which revealed a condition of affairs that stay-at-home Englishmen could not possibly imagine, namely, that a whole people could be barred because of their colour by a so-called superior race. As this Anglo-Indian put it, the arrogance and snobbishness of the Anglo-Indian was a festering sore to the body politic of India. Much was heard of the Jim Crow car in the United States. But let an Indian enter a carriage in which an Englishman was seated, and he ran the risk of being bundled out. The effect upon a proud and highly sensitive people could be appreciated by Englishmen, if they would only set to work to imagine India mistress of England, and Indians treating Englishmen in that manner. The iron would enter into their souls. Was it worth while to arouse such passions in India. Frankly, however, he did not believe any general disturbance was coming. There was as yet no real coherence in India. Her town life was sparse, her villages widely separated by jungle. Her races, languages, religions were of different types. Hindus and Mohameds were coming together in a manner which was most hopeful: but the movement was slow, and many of the old prejudices and jealousies remained. Differences in India were very deep and very far-reaching. He was very strongly inclined to think also that the chief opponents for a long time to come of any real changes in India would be the Indian women. As far as the caste system, the social salvation of the country would never be accomplished until Indians ate together, lived together, and intermixed without restriction. The same observation applied to England, where, in some respects, the class system was as bad as carried the same social results.

THE PRIMARY DUTY OF ENGLAND.

But because a general rising was neither possible nor probable, the heavy responsibility of England was not thereby diminished. It was for her to do the utmost to assist India to her self-realisation, she must publicly declare that she was in India for the single purpose of helping India to attain complete self-government: and must shape her policy to that end. In the meantime, all who had studied the matter would agree with Mr. Fielding Hall that the present bureaucratic government of India must be reformed root and branch. But, curiously enough, Mr. Hall was against throwing open the higher positions in the Indian Civil Service to Indians: and the race-arrogance of the Europeans was assigned by him as the obstacle. Leaving that aside, there was education to be pushed among the masses of the people. But it must be done wisely and well. The defects of education as they knew it in England must be avoided, and nothing but the virtues copied: so that it might be made a lever for self-government. There should be as much district, local, and municipal government as possible. The provincial councils should be thoroughly reconstituted, and the Viceroy's Legislative Council made properly representative of the real interests of the people. The tendency now on all hands was to keep India bound hand and foot to the care of Anglo-Indian officialism.

The objection was always raised that Indians were unfit for self-government. It was as old as the hills, and done duty in every civilised country as the one stock argument of the quidnuncs who stood out against any change or against the surrender of social and political privileges. There was, of course, millions of Indians who were unfit in the ordinary sense of the party politician, but they could be matched by thousands in England in town and country. After all, the poor had to live like every one else, and had, therefore, the human right to order their own lives, even though they might

make mistakes. However this might be, there were enough educated Indians now to justify the experiment of much more extended local self-government if only the authorities would consent to it. England must seek her strength not in dominance but in kindly help.

The Public Services Commission.

Agricultural Education.

THE Public Services Commission concluded its sittings at Calcutta on January 22 and 23.

On January 22, before Lord Islington's Section.

Mr. E. J. Woodhouse, Principal of the Sabour Agricultural College, Behar and Orissa, said that the present system at the College was not necessary for existing requirements. He would go so far as to close it altogether, but if it were retained, he would keep it for the training of Indians recruited for the Agricultural Service. There was too much science in the technical course now prescribed. What was needed was two years' practical training in agriculture for the recruits. Educated Indians did not possess that training from the agricultural point of view which was required. The surest way of getting superior officers was to draw from the agricultural family. So far as the Scientific branch was concerned, he would advocate the taking of science graduates from the University. The Director of Agriculture should be a member of that Service, because a member of the Indian Civil Service was not quite alive to the recent progress made in scientific agriculture.

Mr. J. N. Chakravarty, representing the Bengal Provincial Agricultural Department, said that he entered the Service in 1908, and was in charge of the Government Dairy Farm at Rangpur. It was very difficult to get the class of men who would do agricultural work themselves, and at the same time, would have agricultural education. The education imparted at Sabour was satisfactory, but those who wanted higher agricultural education should have a course of training at Pusa. The difference of pay between the Imperial and Provincial Services was very great. As a matter of fact, the members of the Provincial Agricultural Service received much smaller pay than any other Provincial Services.

THE VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

Major A. Smith, Principal of the Bengal Veterinary College, was of opinion that the present system of recruitment for his Department was not satisfactory. The best method of recruitment of the Indians in the Imperial Service would be by recruitment from persons who had English qualifications. They were feeling the absence of an expert official adviser.

Mr. Brand, of the Provincial Veterinary Service, Bengal, said that capable Provincial officers should have the chance of promotion to the Imperial branch. The prospects in the subordinate Service were very poor.

FACTORY INSPECTION IN BENGAL.

The second Section, under the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay, heard evidence from the Factory Inspection Department and also the Bengal Police Service.

Mr. R. P. Adams, officiating Chief Inspector of Factories in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam, said that his present staff was inadequate. It consisted of three inspecting officers, and a number of certifying surgeons. The major portion of the work lay in Calcutta. Factories in Bengal were increasing annually, and, at the present time, there were a number of them which had not yet been brought on the register. A good colloquial knowledge of the vernacular was essential, if an officer was to do his work efficiently. For the Indian factories he would not advocate the employment of Indian inspectors, and in the case of European factories it was extremely difficult for an Indian inspector to get on with the European managers of the factories.

To Sir Theodore Morison: He was conscious that with his present inadequate staff there were evasions of the Factory Act. They had to do the best they could, and managers of factories did the best they could, but they had extreme difficulty to manage their labour entirely free of irregularity.

To Mr. Rahim: He knew that there were Indian inspectors in Bombay, but that system would not work well in Bengal, because there were a large number of factories here owned and managed by Europeans. There were factories in almost every district in Bengal.

To Mr. Chaubale: There was no objection to Indians being certifying surgeons.

INDIANS AND THE BENGAL POLICE.

Mr. R. B. Hughes Buller, I. C. S., C. I. E., Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, said that the present system of recruitment was satisfactory, and gave a better class of men than formerly. He saw no reason why the Police Service should be thrown open to the Indians. The Force required a large number of British officers. If the examination was thrown open, there would be the danger of a number—a large number—of Indians entering the Service. The preferable way was to promote Indians into the Deputy Superintendent's grade. It was laid down by the Police Commission that the

promotion of Indians to be District Superintendents should be up to five per cent. In Bengal at present, there were three Indian Superintendents, one Mohamedan and two Hindus. One man had served as Inspector and worked up to a Deputy Superintendent's grade, and the two others were recruited as Deputy Superintendents from other Departments. Deputy Superintendents are put in charge of sub-divisions. They did excellent work there. The policy was to develop along these lines.

To Mr. Rahim: Indian police officers had, some of them, exhibited great pluck and done good service during the present condition of things in the country. Out of twenty-three Deputy Superintendents, three were Indians.

Mr. R. Clark, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, pointed out that the Calcutta Police was a different force from the Bengal Police. They had six Deputy Commissioners. Not one was an Indian. He advised giving one of the posts to an Indian.

To Mr. Rahim: Without Bengali officers they could not carry on the work efficiently. It was very necessary that their aspiration should be realised? He did not think Indians were quite capable of maintaining discipline. The knowledge that an Indian officer had the whole force of the Government behind him is not sufficient to enable him to do this. The Indian inspectors had a great deal to do in enforcing discipline: but they did not always do it. The Bengali was not a good disciplinarian. Wherever work has been carried on in the districts by Indian officers, his experience was that discipline had become loose. It was the European officer who tightened it up wherever there was slackness.

To Sir Theodore Morison: Indians had not sufficient scope. He would appoint them as Sub Inspectors and promote them to District Superintendents. A small percentage should be reserved for direct appointment as Inspectors, and a small number for appointment direct to District Superintendent. Those Indians who had been appointed District Superintendents came into the Service too late to give them a good show.

Mr. S. Sen Gupta, Deputy Superintendent of Police, First Grade, said that he was first appointed as Inspector. The memorandum sent in by him represented the unanimous view of the Provincial Police officers of Bengal. There should be simultaneous examinations in England and in India, and twenty-five per cent. of Indians should for the present be taken from among those who passed in England and in India. The Deputy Superintendents wished to be put on one list with the Assistant Superintendents.

To Mr. Chahal: They did not want higher pay but they wanted promotion to District Superintendentships.

POLICE EVIDENCE FROM BEHAR.

Mr. R. T. Dundas, officiating Inspector-General in Behar and Orissa, who was examined by the second section on January 23, expressed himself as well satisfied with the prevailing method of recruitment by examination in England. If the competitive examination in England were thrown open to the Indians, he anticipated that a large number of undesirable class of men would come in. Under no circumstances did he wish the five per cent. now fixed of Indians in the Imperial Service to be in any way increased. If it was decided to recruit Indians into the higher Service, he would take them from the Deputy Superintendent's cadre. The Inspector-Generalship should be held by a police officer.

A "SWEEPING" PROPOSITION EXAMINED.

To Mr. Rahim: He belonged to the Domiciled European Community. He had found from his experience in Bengal that Indians could not challenge as much respect from his subordinates as the Europeans. Hence he was not in favour of increasing the five per cent. limit in the case of Indians in the Imperial Service. He would not say that Indian officers lost their self-respect by holding higher appointments in the Police Service. He was not in a position to substantiate his proposition by facts. It might be a sweeping proposition to make that Indians were unable to command respect from men of their own community; but that was his experience.

Q: Is it not absolutely unsound as a general proposition?—It may be so.

Q: If your proposition is logically followed, Indians should not be appointed as Civil Servants, because they cannot command the respect of the people that will be entrusted to their care?—The circumstances of the two Services are quite different. Civilians do not require so much of personal influence as they do in the Police.

Continuing, Mr. Dundas said that he made no distinction between Anglo-Indians domiciled in India, Eurasians and Europeans, but went by a man's capability and qualifications alone. It did not matter whether he was white in complexion or not. He regarded Indians in the same way: but Indian officers, however much influence they might have, would not be at all as efficient as European officers.

Mr. H. St. John Morrison, Provincial Police officer of Behar and Orissa, said he had been Deputy Superintendent for over three years. As far as the number of Deputy Superintendents was concerned, the best method of recruiting Indians for the Upper Service.

Mr. M. L. N. Luffman, Superintendent, representing the Imperial officers of Assam, was satisfied with the present method of recruitment. He recommended a period of probation in England unless there was an improvement in the training in India. The "Colour-bar" should be retained so far as the examination in England was concerned, but promotion to the Imperial Service might be made from the Provincial Service. He objected to the fusion of the Bengal and Assam cadres. In Assam there was a force of military police in addition to an armed civil police. He could not give any instance in Assam of an Indian officer who was found wanting when performing the same duties as a European officer.

Moulvi Mohamed Sadir, representing the Provincial Police Officers of Assam, said that he was a Deputy Magistrate before he joined the Police. He personally favoured the amalgamation of the Assam and the Bengal cadres, and recommended the abolition of the Provincial service. Thirty three per cent. of the superior posts should be reserved for the members of the Provincial Service: and no man over fifty should be promoted.

To Mr. Chahal: There were no local conditions which made it necessary to exclude Indians from some places. He was stationed among planters and no difficulty arose.

THE SURVEY OF INDIA.

Colonel S. G. Barrard, C. S. I., R. E., Surveyor-General of India, who was examined on January 23 before the first Section, said that he was generally satisfied with the conditions of the Survey Department. For the purposes of efficiency the Department should be wholly military. The present discontent in the Provincial Service was due to envy of Imperial Service.

Mr. J. O. Griff, representing Provincial officers of the Survey of India Department, maintained, on the other hand, that there was a superfluity of military officers in the Department. He would reserve all appointments in the Provincial Service for members of the domiciled community, because they were specially fitted for it.

The "Colour bar" in Madras also.

The Commission resumed its sitting at Madras on January 26 in two sections.

Before the second Section, which is presided over by Lord Ronaldshay, the Hon. Mr. H. F. W. Gillman, I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras, gave evidence. In his opinion, the present system of recruiting for the police was satisfactory, judged by the results. He would retain the colour bar for the examination in London. The whole Madras police force was trained to the use of arms. The fifty-five years' rule for retirement ought to be enforced throughout the Service. There was need for the appointment of an extra Deputy Inspector-General of Police. Selection by a Board was preferable to competition as a means to recruitment for the Provincial Service. Promotions to superintendentships should go by merit.

To Mr. Chahal: There was apprehension on the part of European officers of the force that if the colour bar was removed from the London examination too many Indians might get in. A great majority of the force must remain European.

To Mr. Abdur Rahim: He was not in favour of an Indian being appointed a Deputy Inspector-General.

Mr. F. B. M. Cardozo, District Superintendent of Police, stated that the majority of Imperial Service officers of the Department favoured a continuance of the present system of recruitment. The department should be manned almost entirely by Europeans. Selected Provincial officers might be promoted to the higher Service, but the colour bar should be retained for the London examination. He would confine a certain number of superior posts to promoted Indians, say, ten per cent. for the present. The Inspector-General should be a Police officer: but a Madras civilian in the post was preferable to a police officer from another Province.

To Mr. Rahim: Indian police officers themselves thought that the Imperial Department should be almost entirely manned by European officers.

Rao Bahadur P. Parankusam Naidu, Assistant Commissioner of Police for Madras City, asked that five superintendentships should be allotted to officers of the Provincial Service. If this were done, he would be content that the London examination for the Imperial Department, should be reserved for Europeans.

The East and the Empire.

We doubt very much if the leaders of printed opinion in this country are always right in thinking that the British public could not be got to take an interest in the acts and words of the leading personages of native race in our Indian Empire. It seems a pity that distinguished Indian noblemen and gentlemen, who concentrate

in themselves the respect and confidence of such vast masses of our Indian fellow subjects, and whose policy is a great deal more important to the Empire than a great many of our local luminaries whom we could name, are nevertheless either entirely unknown, or possessed of the most shadowy existence, so far as the British public is concerned. Yet there are all sorts of French and German personages, totally indifferent to the usual tenor of our national life, about whom the Press on occasion contrives to create quite an origie of popularity. Foreign novelists and dramatists, whose productions are certainly caviare to the general, sometimes appear in a perfect blaze of leader writing on the occasion of some banquet of presentation. If the biographies of distinguished Indians were better known in the Editor's room, it might be found that the great public also took an interest in their life and work. The ignorance with regard to individuals extends of course to societies and social movements. Although a hundred portents admonish us that the time is past when we could look upon India as if it were inhabited by sets of chessmen or counters, were still supplied with miserably inadequate information upon men and events which may be shaping the future of our Empire. The meetings within the past few weeks of the representative assemblies of the All-India Moslem League on the one hand, and the Indian National Congress, which is mainly a mirror of Hindu politics, afford additional arguments for a better acquaintance with the native leaders of India. In itself a circumstance which deserves no ordinary notice that these assemblies received this year into their presidential address, in both cases alike, members of the Moslem community. The sentiment of Indian unity is clearly on the march. The Nawab Syed Mohamed, representing the oldest Moslem race, took the chair of the Congress, which is mainly composed of delegates belonging to representative bodies professing the Hindu religion. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla in the All-India Moslem League has been knighted by the British Crown. It is a gratifying indication that native Indian gentlemen who deserve the confidence of their own people have also deserved the distinctions of the British Administration. When we read the addresses of these two Presidents we find them dealing with the largest and gravest matters of Indian and Imperial interest; and it must be admitted that the utterance of such chosen leaders of the Indian community are well-informed, judicious, statesman-like, and full of that reasonable and sober loyalty to the British Crown which is the best guarantee both for the ability and the sincerity of the speaker. We feel that we are in the presence of Indian gentlemen capable of appreciating the events and duties of public life in a manner no way inferior, we can assure our readers, to very distinguished members and leaders of political parties here in England, engaged in discussing the affairs of England. How closely these Indian statesmen have followed the course of politics and have noted the statements of English political leaders, can be more fully appreciated the more closely we study their careful and elaborate addresses.

We may mention that the President of the National Congress did not fail to quote Lord Lansdowne's declaration in 1899 on the subject of the ill-treatment of our Indian settlers in the Transvaal by the Boer Government of the day. It is piquantly painful to follow that quotation fourteen years afterwards and to be asked to repeat that declaration of the eminent Conservative leader that "Among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of the Indian settlers." The Honorable Nawab produced a natural sensation among his audience when he asked, as Lord Lansdowne asked in 1899. "Is the Government of the Empire, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three hundred millions, quite powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small State in South Africa?" It must certainly lead to curious reflections when we realise that a few hundred thousands of white settlers in South Africa should believe that they are able to inflict any indignity they please upon the members of a vast empire of three hundred millions of Indians, including many millions of most warlike races, and that this vast Indian Empire appears to derive no power—rather than the contrary—from its British Government to protect its own ill-treated people. It is significant to note that among the suggestions at these great Indian Assemblies there was one for largely increasing the participation of native Indians to the British Force in India. A demand to throw upon the rank of British officer the military natives of India is in itself a remarkable illustration of the new developments of Indian thought and activity. It must be admitted that when England can see its way to calling on the immense reserves of military power now latent in so vast a population, something will have happened in Asia which must make out of the most aggressive of European Powers take time for cautious meditation.

The warmth of the declarations of loyalty expressed at the All-India National Congress, especially as set forth in the address of the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, is all the more weighty and remarkable in consequence of the reasons by which they

were supported. India, it is said, is entitled to look forward to greater and greater achievements of national development. India ought to be fully capable of self-government. But it is an undoubted fact that the progress which has been already made in this direction is due to the guardianship and leadership of England. Without England there could have been none of the Indian progress which we see. It is the duty, accordingly, of every patriotic Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, to support that English supremacy and guidance which are indispensable to make a community, to do nothing to weaken it, but to endeavour to fit India for an ever-increasing share in the power and benefit of British rule. These are perfectly legitimate ambitions. When united with devotion to British rule, as necessary to India's safety and progress, they are of healthy and ennobling inspiration. The statement of England are bound to take notice of such a virile and promising development. It is only deplorable to reflect that, while the Mussalmans of India were showing this friendly and loyal attitude towards England, the profoundly mistaken portion of our Liberal Cabinet has taken fresh steps to place itself on the side of the enemies of the Ottoman Empire, and even to propose armed co-operation in order to secure Greek aggression in the Asiatic islands which are indispensable to the security of Turkey in peace and war.—*The Outlook*.

England and Egypt.

Mr. Charles Rosher in the course of a letter to the *Near East* says:—

Mr. Ali Fahmy Mohamed's article in the *Near East* (January 16) drew a remarkable letter from Sir Harry Johnston (January 28). So promising an opening of debate on this important subject raised hopes that it would have led to increased ventilation through your columns.

Both of these able writers hold strong and definite views. But while A. F. Mohamed merely tendered suggestions, Sir H. Johnston entered the lists with all the heavy armaments of authoritativeness, and with a confident air of finality cunningly designed to crush at a single blow all opposition. Here, for instance, is the Johnstonian sledge-hammer. Having stated "the only alternatives" to the present form of British control and protection—and indicated that either of these would carry with it the break-up of the British Empire in East Africa, the Sudan, and Southern Asia—he very cogently remarks that "it is waste of time for an Englishman to discuss them." In these words the necessity of the British position in Egypt is accurately brought into focus. No amount of sentiment or sympathy can override such a clear practical statement of "things as they are".

It is quite obvious that no Britisher worth the name could seriously put the integrity of the British Empire into the scales against Egyptian National Independence. Therefore, let all intelligent Egyptians admit this inevitable conclusion and try to be rational as well as nationalist. And on the other hand let the British, in their obligatory position as controllers and protectors, employ such methods as may tend to foster and not discourage the national consciousness of their protégés. Then would mutual suspicions and divergent aims give place to firm friendship and honest co-operation, leading ultimately to genuine Egyptian Nationalism on a stable basis, and so to the permanent safeguarding of Britain's highway to her Eastern Empire—via a strong and friendly Egypt.

Apart from this stern logic, I submit that Sir H. Johnston is too severe on the Mohammedan Egyptian, and too bursting with the sense of superiority which characterises so many exponents and champions, of what is known as "Christian Civilization," and in his contempt of Islamism he avails himself of the letter of the opportunity to raise a false issue and draw a false conclusion, which, I take upon myself to combat. This issue and conclusion he consummates in the following paragraph:—

"If the Mohammedan Egyptians prefer to regard the *Quran* and the medieval elaboration of the *Quran* as the last word, the dominant and ultimate authority in law, science, education, morals, and social economy, so long will Mohammedan institutions be utterly futile in coping with the requirements of the twentieth century, and so long will Mohammedan peoples be unfitted to govern themselves, and still less to govern more intelligent fellow-citizens of more enlightened faiths."

Omitting the four last words, which I have purposely italicised, we find a proposition with which no expert Moslem or Christian could cavil. But those four simple words convey tremendously false inferences, such as (1) that Mohammedan peoples are backward in the race of human development because of their faith; (2) that their "more intelligent fellow-citizens" (nominally Christians) are of more enlightened faiths; (3) that the latter, by reason of their greater intelligence and more enlightened faiths, have a right to govern not only themselves, but

also, their *inferiors*—the Mohamedans; (4) that they (the nominal Christians) have attained to this superiority over Mohamedans by reason of holding a more enlightened faith.

No doubt Sir Harry Johnston, as one well versed in the science of governing, is fully aware of the value of religious faith, especially in an organised form, as a most powerful instrument; and he cannot fail to be aware of the dead-set made upon Moslem countries in recent times by the nominally Christian countries with a view to the elimination of Islam as an external political factor in world politics. And he ought to know that Islam is not only a religion, but also that it embodies a marvellous democratic political system, much akin to the British political ideal. He—and those who follow him or think with him—must know that Islam is a concrete force in the world which has proved inconvenient in the past and may do so in the future—hence the policy of driving Islam beneath the surface so that it no longer appears as a political factor.

I see no harm in this if at the same time Sir Harry, and the rest of them, will consent to treat the "more enlightened faiths" in precisely the same manner, and be candid enough to admit the truth that modern civilisation is not the result of the Christian or any other religion—that its superiority and strength depend not on religion, but on science and discovery, which have brought in the modern financial and economic systems and provided lethal weapons which supersede individual courage. It has been the faith of the free-thinker and scientist who broke away from the fetters of religious faith—often at the cost of life or liberty—which has led us forth from the days of blind superstition to the "enlightened faiths" which nowadays make us fit to govern the Mohamedans.

The truth is that whereas the Christians have dropped their faith and the Bible, the Moslems have stuck to their Book and the formulae of their faith, and thus have been encumbered—fallen in the race because *their* faith (as a faith) was so effective—too effective!

In conclusion I will furnish a quotation from an article in a morning paper of this date by Sir H. Johnston:—

"It is right, in my opinion, that the ridiculous side of all religions should be displayed, so that the dross may be chased out of them and only the pure gold remain."

Bismillah! So mote it be! But let it be understood that "the pure gold" is a metaphor, and has no reference to the yellow metal so ardently worshipped by the "intelligent fellow-citizens of more enlightened faiths."

Let us all strive for the *pure gold* to which Sir Harry refers, and be not too respectful towards the mass of dross which tries to hide it from our vision.

The Man of the hour in Egypt.

Interview with Zaghlul Pasha.

(FROM THE "NEW EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, Feb. 5.

SINCE the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly so many rumours have been current as to a disagreement between the Select Committee which has been drafting the rules of procedure and the Government, and there has been so much talk of late with regard to the attitude the Assembly and certain of its prominent members would adopt towards the Government measures, that it seemed to me advisable to seek enlightenment on the subject from the man to whom both sides, i.e., the Assembly and those who look upon its facilitation with disapproval, unanimously assign the role of leader. Accordingly I telephoned to Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and he very kindly gave me an interview of over an hour and a-half on Friday last.

We did not take long to get to the point. Evidently the Pasha was as keen on discussing it as I was anxious to hear his views thereon. He admitted that there had been a disagreement, but said that the matter had been amicably settled by a frank recognition on both sides of the different points of view. The bone of contention had been the powers that were to be given to the President. Were the latter elected by the Assembly there could not possibly be any objection to giving him the fullest possible powers: for, by its choice, the Assembly would have plainly shown that it desired to be ruled by its nominee. But under the Organic Law the Assembly had no voice in the nomination of its President. The Government had full powers in the matter, and, naturally, the Assembly objected to putting itself unreservedly in the hands of a man, however worthy he might be whose mandate came from elsewhere. In the settlement of this question a

further objection arose as to the holding of sittings for disciplinary decision *in camera*, and the Pasha proceeded to explain to me the motives that had actuated him in advising the Assembly to give way, as recorded in my letter.

In the course of conversation Saad Pasha referred to the fact that it was said that he hoped to be a Minister once again, and that his attitude would be shaped with that end in view. "My ideas are far from that," said he. "Of course, it may be said that I should naturally disclaim being open to such influence. But, surely, on the face of it my present position is preferable to that of a Minister? I may only draw half a Minister's pay, but at present I am free to state my opinions, and in addition I am a representative of the nation, and have its voice at my back, and can work whole-heartedly for its good. Surely such a position is far more desirable than that of a Minister whose attitude is dictated by policy and whose views are very often kept in restraint." As the Pasha added, he of all people is aware how circumscribed the position of Minister is; and those who remember the incidents attendant on his retirement from office will undoubtedly agree that his to-day is the better part.

I congratulated Saad Pasha on his election as Vice-President, but added that it was to be feared that in certain circumstances it would interfere with his active intervention in the debates. (This, in fact, has been one of the points made by his enemies and those who have schemed to muzzle him.) "Not all," said he, "If, perchance, it so happens that the President and the senior Vice-President are absent, and I have to act as President during an important debate, wherein I wish to participate, I shall vacate the chair, to which I shall nominate the senior delegate, and still make my speech." It will be interesting to see whether this will be permitted.

Saad Pasha referred to the opinion expressed that the Assembly would set up a systematic opposition to the Government into which he would of necessity be drawn. He stated that this was a most unfortunate and mistaken idea. He repeated a great deal of what he had told me in his previous interview, and stated that the recent visits he had paid, and which had aroused comment, in no wise showed that he had at all changed his views. "My policy," said he, "will be for the good of the country." He would, he added, lend himself to no intrigue. He did not think that the Nationalists would have any influence in the Assembly, and he certainly would not support them in their tactics.

He looked upon the British Occupation as a necessary evil, and therefore, it was incumbent on them all to work harmoniously with it, but that did not prevent them from stating their views when they honestly thought the Occupation was taking a step detrimental to their country, and in that case of offering reasonable opposition. "Such an attitude," said he, "cannot be considered as one of systematic opposition."

With regard to the question of parties, the ex-Minister of Justice said that in an institution like the Legislative Assembly groups would naturally form themselves, and in time what in Europe are called parties would come into being. Quite possibly a party would form round him, but whilst he would welcome support, from no matter what quarter, for any policy to which he might wish to persuade the Government, that did not at all mean that he would endorse the views or the policy of his supporters. (I was quite aware that Saad Pasha was referring to the forecasts that have been made with regard to his connection with the Nationalist Party, with whom it was feared he might be led to compromise himself.)

At our parting the People's Vice-President said: "Come again, and we will talk more about these things," and to my thanks for his frank statements he rejoined: "I have spoken to you in this manner because I want you and your fellow-countrymen, especially those in England, to realise what my ideas are—that I am servant to no one except my country, in whose service I rejoice to find myself once more, and that I am as independent as of yore."

I, personally, am convinced of the sincerity of the attitude and intentions of Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and of the genuineness of his declarations with regard to the statements made concerning his connection with parties and persons who in the past have held views at variance with, and have acted, though not always openly, against the Egyptian Government and its British advisers. In this opinion I have found support in quarters that are reputed to have a shrewd insight into Egyptian politics, and also in quarters that have not always seen eye to eye with Saad Pasha. I have been present at every meeting of the Assembly, and this much I can say: no matter what the future may hold in store for us, he is the only man who commands the respect and obtains the ready ear of the entire Assembly. Let me add that his influence so far has exerted itself on the side of moderation and restraint. I cannot help thinking

that Saad Pasha's presence in the Legislative Assembly will prove to be for the good of Egypt in every way.

The Future of Turkey.

The aim of the meeting of recently formed Ottoman Association held in the Cannon Street Hotel, on January 11, was "to call attention to the disturbing effect of the policy of the Powers in the Near East on the financial and commercial markets of the world and on the permanence of international peace," says the *Manchester Guardian*. The Association recently sent a memorial to Sir Edward Grey on the situation in Eastern Anatolia and the Aegean Islands, urging that attempts are being made "to frustrate the sincere endeavour of the Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the American provinces." The necessity of a settlement of the question of the islands "on lines satisfactory and fair to Turkey" was emphasised. To this Sir Eyre Crowe replied on Sir Edward Grey's behalf that "he is in full accord with the desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by the Association have been duly weighed by His Majesty's Government in the efforts they are making in conjunction with other Powers to secure a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the questions still outstanding in the Near East."

All the speakers spoke of the importance to our commercial interests of a sound understanding with Turkey. The chairman, Sir Thomas Barclay, moved a resolution to the effect that the continued interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey is a dangerous and disturbing factor in the world's markets, and must, as in the case of the Balkan War, prove detrimental to the permanence of international peace. Business men in the meeting shouted, "Quite true" when the chairman spoke of the stagnation of business in the City since the beginning of the Balkan troubles. Every attempt to enlist the support of the public for new enterprises had failed, and this was true also of New York, Berlin, and Paris. Unless, the Powers abstained from constant interference with the Turkish Government, a new set of difficulties would arise which would be accentuated by any attempt at introducing European control. New Turkey had not had a chance of dealing with her internal problems. We had showed an impatience towards her unworthy of an experienced Parliamentary country. It was in many important ways to the interests of Great Britain that we should remain close friends with Turkey, and help her to maintain her integrity. We must not allow ourselves to be dragged into dictating terms to Turkey which she could not accept, because they would have been fatal to her development and independence.

"A GANG OF SHADY FINANCIERS."

Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., seconded the resolution, and Mr. Tristram Harper and other representatives of City interest spoke, and an eloquent appeal for Turkey was made by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, the author, who read a letter from a friend in the Turkish Ministry of Finance. The writer said: "We are at the mercy of a gang of shady and unscrupulous financiers, who may make us daily sign agreements which in the aggregate will form the heaviest burden which this unlucky Empire has ever had to bear." Turkey, said Mr. Pickthall, was shut out from the decent money markets of the world because she showed a fierce determination to resist any further depredation of her territories, and was preparing to do for herself the work which England was by treaty bound to do for her—namely, to preserve the integrity of Turkey in Asia. "The independence of Turkey is a necessary safety value of Modern feeling."

MR. HAROLD COX.

Mr. Harold Cox moved a resolution regretting that the recent policy of Great Britain "has the appearance of having been persistently directed against Turkey." Mr. Cox was cheered when he expressed the opinion that Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy has been marked by a long series of disastrous blunders. Our policy since Sir Edward Grey went to the Foreign Office had been distinguished by deliberate subservience to Russia, and its aim had been to keep Turkey weak so that she would be helpless when Russia wanted to swallow her. Mr. Cox regretted the persistent failure of the Opposition in the House of Commons to criticise the policy of Sir Edward Grey, which was not, as the Opposition appeared to think, a continuance of our traditional foreign policy, but a complete departure from it. Mohamedans, not only in India, but all over the world were bitterly disappointed because England had failed them in their emergency. Our traditional policy was the defence of weak nationalities, but we were now allowing the small nationalities, one after another to be crushed by the greatest military despotism in the world, and we saw England, still the greatest Mohamedan

Power, unable to move hand or foot until Sir Edward Grey received instructions from St. Petersburg.

PROFESSOR E. G. BROWNE.

Professor E. G. Browne, referring to Sir John Rees's praise of Sir E. Grey's policy, said that if the Conservative party would revert to the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield and abandon that of Sir Edward Grey, they would have a much better chance of coming back to office. Giving a sketch of recent Persian history, Professor Browne said that what had happened in Persia as the result of Russian policy was now happening in Asiatic Turkey—the frustration of loans, etc. Recently Russia had attempted to stop the parcel post to Persia, but had abandoned that after the strong protests made in Manchester and in Germany. "If we must have 'ententes,'" he added, "we might better to have one with Germany, because she has the same object as we have in trade development, as against the restrictive and selfish policy of Russia."

The Future of Turkey in Asia.

It has just been announced that an agreement has been reached between the French (and Russian) railway interests in Asiatic Turkey, represented by the Ottoman Bank, and the German, represented by the Deutsche Bank. The negotiations have been conducted under the auspices of the two, or, rather, three Governments and with the knowledge of the other Governments interested. To make the agreement effective the railway companies concerned have still to come to terms with Turkey; but as Turkey is suing, both in Paris and Berlin, for money of which she is badly in need, it is not likely that there will be any great difficulty in getting her sanction to the arrangement just concluded in Berlin. Like the Anglo-German-Turkish agreement, which is practically complete, the Franco-German agreement is an essential part in a whole series of understandings which are being negotiated to promote the economic development of Asiatic Turkey, to protect the existing interests, both economic and political, of the various countries engaged in that work, and to forestall, as far as possible, the danger of international friction. Now that the most important competitors have come to a friendly arrangement it should not be long before the whole network of agreements is complete. When they are complete it is understood that they will be published, and we shall then know exactly where we are. In the meantime, it is already clear that the understanding takes the form of a delimitation of spheres of interest, combined with the protection of interests already acquired; and it is obvious how the main lines of the delimitation will run. Germany, whose enterprise and persistence have secured for her the lion's share, will be free to develop the Anatolian and Baghdad systems, and will enjoy a practical monopoly in the development of the plateau of Asia Minor and, perhaps, a preponderating share in that of Mesopotamia. France will occupy a similar privileged position in Syria, and, with the political support of Russia, French capital will be employed in the development of the Black Sea basin, from which German railway enterprise will be excluded. Italy will probably secure a sphere inland from Adalia. Great Britain appears to abandon any claim to participate in future railway construction, though it is understood that the rights of existing British enterprises will be carefully safeguarded. Just as the French Government has concentrated its attention on its Syrian interests, and the German on Asia Minor, so Great Britain has been mainly occupied with the defence of her vital interests round the Persian Gulf, and of her right to an adequate share in the economic development of Mesopotamia.

The developments which these agreements foreshadow cannot be regarded with unmixed satisfaction. When European Powers map out spheres of interest in an Oriental empire it not unreasonably causes foreboding among those who desire to see the independence and integrity of that empire maintained. The fact that all the Powers concerned loudly—and no doubt sincerely—proclaim their anxiety to safeguard that independence and that integrity by no means lessens the foreboding. In spite of all such declarations we shall see Syria becoming more and more French, Anatolia more and more German, Armenia and the Black Sea basin more and more Russian. We shall see a constant growth of the interests which the Powers will feel called upon to defend and to promote in their respective spheres, with a consequent increase in occasions and opportunities for outside interference. It is not even if these interests would, in all cases, be only economic. In France an influential school of politicians and publicists is continually speaking of Syria as if it were already morally a protectorate of the French Republic. Only the other day the French Prime Minister publicly defined French policy in Syria in terms which seemed to imply that he was aiming at the detachment from the Ottoman Empire of the Syrian provinces, now to be administered

as a French preserve. The strong objection which Russia made, and made with success, to the proposed appointment by the Ottoman Government of an Englishman of high standing, already in the Turkish service, to an administrative post in the Armenian provinces is an equally plain reminder of what Russian policy may become. Hitherto Turkey has had a bulwark against the ambition of individual Powers in the existence of conflicting interests. Powers which were tempted to move were checked by the fear that other Powers might regard any forward movement as detrimental to their own rival interests and ambitions. These conflicting interests are now to be reconciled, and the Powers are to agree to a mutual recognition of spheres within which their rival ambitions are to be restrained. The agreement diminishes the danger of European conflict; but, as a direct consequence, it increases the danger to which Turkey is exposed from European ambitions.

No Power, except Turkey herself, is more interested in the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in Asia than is Great Britain. The difficulties in which Great Britain would be involved by its disruption leap to the eye. Egypt would march with a French Syria on the East, as it already marches with an Italian Cyrenaica on the West. Whatever territory we found it necessary to hold on the Persian Gulf—and some we should have to hold if we were not to abandon interests which successive Governments have recognised to be vital to our Indian Empire—would be threatened by Germany from the North-west and by Russia from the North and North-east. With our notorious military weakness no statesman could contemplate without alarm such an extension of our land frontiers. From the British, as well as from the Ottoman, point of view the agreements we are discussing are bound to be a cause for anxiety. Whether their advantages outweigh this grave drawback cannot be usefully discussed until we know their details. To whichever side the balance may incline, it must in frankness be admitted that some such arrangement had become inevitable. European capital and European enterprise had to be attracted to Turkey in Asia if it were not to remain derelict and the Ottoman State were not to become bankrupt. In the present condition of the Turkish Empire European capital and enterprise were not to be secured except under the aegis of the European Governments, which were bound to prefer a friendly understanding with one another to a scramble for concessions opening the door to all manner of dangers, both to the interests they were bound to defend and to the peace of Europe. It is true that by defining and reconciling their interests they weaken the position of Turkey; but the mutual jealousy of possible aggressors is, at best, but a temporary bulwark for a weak State. It is bound, sooner or later, to be broken through, when some Power decides that it is worth while to take what it wants and to leave the others to do as they please. The only way of safety for a State in the position of Turkey is to husband and to develop its resources, both moral and material, and to become strong enough to stand on its own feet in repelling aggression. That way still lies open to Turkey. If her statesmen have the wisdom and self-restraint to guide her along it, she can safely disregard the menace lurking in the partition of her territory into foreign spheres of interest. If they lack those qualities, if they neglect the arduous though unexciting tasks to which duty calls them in Asia, if they squander their strength on romantic but ruinous adventures in the Balkans, the future of Turkey in Asia would be endangered even were these agreements not to be concluded. The agreements may, they inevitably will, make the danger more urgent and more menacing; but with them, as without them, the future of Turkey is in the hands of Turkey herself, and not of the Powers.—*The Near East.*

Mr. Balfour on Theism.

His Last Gifford Lecture.

Mr. Balfour has held his great audience together to the end. In replying to some well-chosen words in which Professor Smart conveyed to him the thanks of his listeners, the Gifford Lecturer spoke gratefully of a sympathy the existence of which he had felt from the first lecture to the last, and he added that he did not believe that in any other country such an audience would have assembled on ten occasions to hear the discussion of metaphysical topics, says the *Times*: The large gathering in the Bute Hall responded as it has never failed to do and went home happy with a good conscience and the pleasant memory of the successful efforts of a great Scotsman to tell his fellow-countrymen his thought on these high themes.

The tenth and last lecture was partly a summary and partly an appeal to the audience. Mr. Balfour began by saying that his object had been to show that the values of our beliefs are dependent upon a Theistic setting. Beliefs, he insisted, could be and must be considered as natural products, and their values as natural products must depend upon their origin. We must find in their pedigree some source higher than our poor efforts at reason and not a source lower and more contemptible. It was no answer to say that certain

fundamental truths make the world, and the world is what it is because of fundamental truths, for he had shown that among the unproved and unprovable assumptions which are required to justify common sense and scientific knowledge. There are assumptions neither necessary nor universal nor inevitable, yet assumed through the whole course of knowledge. He had also shown that there are probabilities, tendencies to believe, organizing inclinations, which can be seen in the history of science.

NATURAL SELECTION AND RELIGION.

Having thus dealt with a possible objection from the point of view of critical idealism, Mr. Balfour summarized his argument that natural selection is incapable of accounting directly for any of the great values he had dealt with. He was aware of the controversies raging among biologists about natural selection; but he had chosen it because it is the only substitute that we know of for what is commonly called design. Selection does imitate design up to a certain point, but even if it could, as it certainly cannot, be proved that the higher values of aesthetics of ethics, and of thought have a survival value, it would not help us to maintain these values. But in fact the higher a value the further it is removed from the primitive consequences for which selection is responsible.

His own argument about the necessity of a Theistic setting for our beliefs was not attached to any great metaphysical system of thought, nor to any intuitive sense of religious values. He did not under-estimate the direct argument from religious beliefs which rests religious value on religion itself. But religious values were for him the conclusion, not the premises of his argument, and he could only rest the value of religion upon other values which are universally acknowledged. He did not appeal to those who are satisfied with any of the great constructive metaphysical systems, but he urged the necessity for a philosophy of science and of common sense. He did so, not in the interests of common sense, but in the interests of philosophy itself.

THE GIFFORD LECTURER'S PUBLIC.

With this hint to philosophical experts, Mr. Balfour proceeded to ask himself to whom his argument was addressed. He thought that a Gifford lecturer should speak to the general public; but to what public?

Fortunately, he remarked, there are many to whom God is as immediate and as certain as anything of which they have immediate experience—to whom the existence of God is a daily and hourly certainty. They were above his argument and to them it would be superfluous. There are others immersed in the daily task, in the toil that cannot be put off, who have no interest in speculative questions, and who are satisfied to acquiesce in the common beliefs of science and in the religious beliefs of those among whom they live. On them depends the work of the world, and he did not think it was every man's duty to acquaint himself with all the arguments on all important issues. 'God,' he said, 'has not so made the world that its ordinary business is to be carried on by dialectic.'

Turning to the classes of men who are interested in such inquiries, Mr. Balfour contrasted the shallow and infinitely tiresome sceptics who base an intellectual reputation upon a few materialistic tags with the great doubters from whose ranks have come pillars of orthodoxy, leaders of heresies, framers of systems of speculation, makers of new modes of thought and of new pictures of the universe. Between these two extremes there are many educated persons greatly perplexed about the problems which science, philosophy, and criticism were forcing upon them. Such thinkers would agree with him that a world without God is a world in which aesthetic and ethical values are greatly diminished, but they might argue that their intellectual integrity required them to make the sacrifice. He hoped that his line of argument might suggest to these men some valuable forms of consolation. Their attitude was honourable, but it was mistaken, for it was based upon an entirely false contrast between intellectual and other values. Let them not be misled by the pernicious fallacy that speculative difficulties only begin when we go into supersensible regions under the guidance of hair-splitting metaphysicians. The real speculative difficulties touch our daily life, the very nature of the things on which our daily life depends. Let them remember, too, that the Theistic setting is not required merely for the values of religion and morality; it is an essential condition of all intellectual values, including those of the belief of science.

BELIEF IN GOD.

The real moral of his lectures is, he concluded, that a belief in Theism is not an accidental ornament which can be added or not added to the house in which you live. It cannot be superadded or not superadded to other beliefs, those other beliefs remaining unaffected and unchanged. A Theistic belief is essential on whatever values we cast our eyes; and for the retention of these values alike in beauty, in morality, and in science there is if we want to retain these values undiminished, but one setting. The setting is a belief in God.

Mr. Balfour's second series of Gifford lectures will probably be delivered in January, 1915.

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NOTICE.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.)

REGULAR SUIT No. 36 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

Baboo Ram Pandey, son of Sarabjit of Mauza Rano

Pali, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, District Fyzabad ... Plaintiff,

versus

Sumer Pandey ... Defendant.

To Sumer Pandey, son of Bachoo Lal of Mauza Rano Pali, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, District Fyzabad.

WHEREAS, the above-named Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 64-10-0, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 6th day of April 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 10th day of March 1914.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

(2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

(3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTES.—If written statements are required, say,—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the.....day of.....

* Fill in "copy of the plaints" or "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be vide order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

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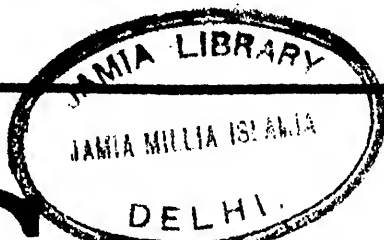
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be placed on the table in two or three days. It is, says the journal, unanimous with the entirely harmonious relations which existed between the Commissioners and Sir Benjamin Robertson, whose services were invaluable, greatly facilitating the adjustment of differences. The Commission will recommend the abolition of the three pound licence, settlement of the marriage difficulty, and removal of many irritations of the Immigration Act, and predicts corresponding legislation, as the Union Government is most anxious to assist the Imperial and Indian Governments in obtaining a final settlement. The *Times* correspondent forecasts legislation on the lines already indicated. The marriage difficulty, he says, will be solved by admitting one wife from India and making valid marriage with one wife in Indian marriages in South Africa, while not interfering with the liberty of Indians to take wives according to their own religion, though additional wives will not have rights attaching to wives registered under South African law.

In a leading article, the *Times* says that a compromise on the lines of the Commission's report will be honourable to both sides, and extremely advantageous to the prosperity of South Africa and the welfare of the Empire.

Mr. Munnik has withdrawn his motion with reference to the presence of Indians within the Union.

Cape Town, Mar. 16.

The Week.

Turkish Finance Minister.

Constantinople, Mar. 11.

Djavid Bey has been appointed Minister of Finance to replace Rifat Bey, who is ill.

King of Albania.

London, Mar. 11.

Prince William of Wied has appointed as Dutch, Major Thomson, to be administrator of the districts of Korytza and Argyrokastro. Thomson accompanied by several Dutch has gone thither.

Durazzo, Mar. 12.

A proclamation by the Prince of Wied appeals for the hearty co-operation of Albanians in promoting the progress of the country and summons them to rally round their King.

Indians in East Africa.

Mombasa, Mar. 11.

The Indian Congress has passed a resolution "adopting the fundamental principle of the right of Indians now and henceforth settled here to complete equality of treatment." The Congress also decided to call the attention of the Governor to the absence of an Indian representative on the Council.

Aerial Post.

London, Mar. 12.

Turkey has accepted the French proposals for the establishment of an aerial postal service between Aleppo and Bagdad.

Indians in South Africa.

London, Mar. 14.

The *Times* publishes a telegram from its correspondent in Cape Town announcing that the report of the Indian Commission will

London, Mar. 20.

According to telegram from Johannesburg to the *Daily Telegraph* a Mohamedan deputation recently waited upon Sir Benjamin Robertson and requested that Government would recognise the religious aspect of the marriage, divorce and succession laws according to the Koran. They said that Mohamedans would accept nothing less. Sir B. Robertson while sympathising with the deputation twitted them with their long silence. He said that he would lay their request before the Viceroy, but held out no hope. It would be unfair, he declared, to ask the Union Government to change the laws.

The deputation begged Sir B. Robertson to thank the Viceroy for his efforts on their behalf and to assure him that whether the law was passed to suit them or not they would always be loyal to the King and the Flag.

Railways in Asia Minor.

London, Mar. 16.

It is semi-officially announced that the Italian Syndicate for concessions in Asia Minor has signed an *ad eferentum* agreement with the British Smyrna Aiding Railway Company, subject to certain conditions relative to railways.

Imperial Studies.

London, Mar. 16.

The Senate of the University of London has appointed a Committee to advise upon the re-organisation of the Imperial studies in London and the creation of a Department of Imperial Studies. The Committee includes Lord Roseberry, Viscount Bryce, Viscount Hambledon, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Theodore Morison, and Professor Hearnshaw.

Wife's Revenge.

Paris, Mar. 16.

The wife of the Minister, M. Caillaux, went to-day to the office of the *Figaro*, which has been vigorously attacking M. Caillaux's policy and fired several revolver shots at the Editor, M. Calmette, wounding him. He is in a critical condition.

Madame Caillaux sent word to M. Calmette that a lady acquaintance wished to see him, but refused to give her name. She waited in the ante-room for half an hour, and then the porter conducted her to M. Calmette's office. Directly she entered, she opened fire without a word.

M. Calmette had risen to receive the visitor, and collapsed into the armchair with two wounds in the region of the heart and one in the stomach.

A bulletin has been issued stating that M. Calmette is wounded in the chest, pelvis, and upper thigh. Prognosis is reserved.

London Mar. 17.

Mr. Calmette has been conveyed to a nursing home. Madame Caillaux is at the police station whither her husband at once went on learning what had occurred. The affair has caused a tremendous sensation.

Later.

M. Calmette is dead.

M. Caillaux has resigned.

Paris has been excited for days by a newspaper duel between M. Calmette and M. Caillaux. The former's animus was always marked and culminated in charges reflecting on the personal honour of M. Caillaux, whom he accused of using his position in the endeavour to obtain huge sums from the Radical party fund and of changing his opinions on income-tax.

M. Calmette was leaving the office with the novelist, M. Bourget, when he received a card from Madame Caillaux. The latter in the coolest possible manner followed the editor into his room and immediately opened fire upon him with a Browning pistol. Calmette fell at the first shot and Madame Caillaux calmly fired four more. Journalists poured into room. They heard Calmette muttering "I only did my duty."

Madame Caillaux, who was a leader of society and a noted beauty told the Police Magistrate afterwards that she only wanted to wound Calmette, that she regretted the act, and would be pleased to hear that her victim was out of danger. She said that she bought the pistol yesterday afternoon.

When M. Caillaux left the police station, a mob rushed forward brandishing sticks and umbrellas and shouting "Down with the assassin," and crowds marched along boulevards crying "Down with Caillaux."

The Mediterranean Problem.

London, Mar. 19.

In the Commons yesterday in Committee on the Naval Estimates, Mr. Aubrey Herbert moved a resolution demanding the maintenance of an adequate force in the Mediterranean in view of the present strategic and political situation and need for protecting the route to India. In reply Sir Edward Grey made a general statement regarding the British policy. He said Mr. Churchill's provision for the Mediterranean could not be described as an abandonment of that position. With reference to Turkey he pointed out that the Government had used diplomatic influence to preserve the Turkish Empire. There had been no financial boycotting of Turkey so far as we were concerned Government could not press British financiers to lend money to Turkey. We had had most explicit assurances from the Turkish Government in the last few weeks that it desires to put its house in order and so do nothing to upset the peace of Europe. If it were found that Greece was fortifying the islands ceded to her in the Aegean, the British Government would sympathise with and acquiesce in any measures adopted by the Powers to prevent the islands being used as a base against Turkey, and would do their best to protect Turkey. The motion was withdrawn.

Indian Reserves.

London, Mar. 18.

Mr. Roberts, replying the House of Commons to-day to Sir Scott Robertson, said that the total amount of gold now held in London in the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve is £10,420,000 sterling.

At the rate of interest earned in the past year by the interest-bearing portion of the Gold Standard Reserve, a sum of £10,420,000 would earn £840,801 per annum, but of the gold in question £6,190,000 which is part of the Paper Currency Reserve could not, under the existing currency law, be held otherwise than in metallic form. It was decided in 1912 to increase the amount of gold in the Gold Standard Reserve to five millions. The

question when and by how much it shall be further increased is under consideration.

With reference to the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission, Sir Scott Robertson asked: "Was it not conceivable, in the event of a financial crisis in London, that Indian gold might be employed?"

Mr. Roberts: "I think it is not conceivable that these reserve belonging to India would be used except in the interest of India herself."

Cawnpore Mosque.

Cawnpore, Mar. 17.

The Lieutenant-Governor, during his stay here yesterday, met the trustees of the Cawnpore mosque and discussed with them the plans for the proposed additions to the Mosque, about which there is considerable difference of opinion. The Raja of Mahmudabad was also in Cawnpore yesterday.

Future of India.

London, Mar. 18.

The Reverend Mr. Andrews addressed the East and West Society yesterday evening. He spoke of the heroic conduct of Bengali students during the Burdwan floods, the social service in the Punjab by the Arya Samaj, and the noble self-discipline of the Gurukula at Hardwar. He had found the same spirit among the Indians in South Africa, and saw a great destiny before India, which would be known in the future by her achievements in the moral and spiritual spheres. The education of India's children on the highest indigenous lines was the greatest task before all true lovers of India in the present generation.



Indians in South Africa.

The Viceroy on the Commissioner's Report.

The Viceroy's Appreciation.

SPAKING after the lunch interval at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 17th March, the Viceroy said: "Before resuming the business of the Council I am anxious to avail myself of this opportunity to give to hon. members all the information in my possession on a subject which has recently occupied the very serious attention of the Government of India, that is to say the troubles that have arisen in South Africa in connection with the treatment of Indians in that country. This Council will recollect that in consequence of the outbreak of passive resistance and of the strikes in Natal in the month of November last the South African Government appointed a Commission to investigate the causes of the disturbances in Natal and to formulate proposals for dealing with the alleged grievances of the Indian population. That Commission was presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court assisted by two members and a forecast of their conclusions was made public yesterday in the daily Press. The report of the Commission has been laid on the table of the Union Parliament at 2 o'clock to-day and I should now like to explain in fuller detail to my Council, the significance of the Commission's report."

THE £3 TAX.

In the first place the Commission recommend the repeal of Section 6 of an Act passed by Natal Government, No. 17 of 1895, which imposed on indentured Indians who have completed their service of indenture and failed either to re-indenture or to return to India, an annual licence tax of £3. I do not desire to weary the Council with a complete history of the negotiations between the Natal Government and the Government of India in 1894 and subsequent years which preceded the imposition, and subsequent modification of the tax. Its imposition arose from the fear entertained by the Natal Government that indentured Indians on completion of their indenture, would settle in that colony in such numbers as to form an embarrassing problem to those interested in the future of the country. The Government of India at that time desired to secure the continuance of emigration to Natal as forming a valuable outlet for the surplus agricultural population while maintaining that failure to return to India or to re-indenture at the end of the original indenture period should not entail criminal prosecution and the penalties that are ordinarily attached to breaches of the criminal law. From this point of view the action subsequently taken by the Natal Government, that is to say the imposition of a £3 tax on those who failed to re-indenture, or to return to India after the expiry of the period of the original contract, was considered to be the most reasonable solution of a very difficult question. Modifications in the £3 tax have been made from time to time by legislation with the object amongst others of exempting such women as were not in a position to pay. But it has been felt for some time that the tax was undesirable and burdensome and since the complete cessation by order of the Government of India in 1911 of all indentured immigration to Natal, the retention of this tax

and its capricious enforcement, even though it is not levied on more than a small number of those liable, has been a constant source of irritation among Indians in Natal. When the Immigration Act of 1913 was passed it was hoped in many quarters that the occasion might be utilised to repeal this objectionable impost, but this unfortunately was not done. The Government of India welcome the recommendation of the Commission for the repeal of the tax and although they fully realise that the Government of South Africa are not definitely committed to the findings of the Commission they earnestly hope that the Government of the Union may accept this proposal and give effect to it at the earliest possible date by means of the necessary legislation.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

Next in importance to this question of the repeal of the £3 tax, there is the necessity of providing by some form of legislation for the position of women either in South Africa or desiring to enter South Africa who are married to Indians by a form of union which is not at present recognised by the laws of that country. The South African legislature has hitherto shown disinclination to give any form of legal recognition to marriages performed according to the rites of any religion which permits the practice of polygamy. This attitude has been necessarily extremely embarrassing to Indians in South Africa whether married to one or more wives who desired to obtain recognition for at least one wife. The report of the Commission contains numerous recommendations intended to meet the reasonable requirements of Mohammedans and Hindus in respect of this difficulty. The substance of their recommendations is that a law should be passed providing for the appointment of marriage officers from amongst the Indian priests of different denominations whose duty it would be to solemnise future marriages in accordance with the religion of parties to the transaction and duly to register the same. Only one marriage in each case can be solemnised and registered and it will then have the great advantage of ranking entirely with any other marriage contracted under the laws of the Union. Existing actual monogamous marriages are to be similarly recognised by this law and further provision is to be made for the admission into the Union, along with her minor children of one wife in the case of any Indian who is married according to the tenets of his religion, whether it recognises polygamy or not outside the Union of South Africa, provided that she is the only wife in the country. Further, and this I venture to think is a very noteworthy and important proposal, it is recommended that Indians after registering one wife in the manner to which I have already referred, should not be debarred in any way from contracting other marriages according to their own religious rites, though it will of course be impossible to accord to such marriages any form of legal recognition whatsoever.

MINOR GRIEVANCES.

Next the Commission have dealt with some minor grievances which formed the subject of protest on the part of the Indian population in South Africa against the recently enacted Immigration Act. They have recommended that a clause in the Act, which repeats the provisions of a law of the Orange Free State directed against the immigration of Asiatics should, I understand, be made unobjectionable by the issue of executive orders of a nature calculated to remove all cause for dissatisfaction. Also that certain existing restrictions with regard to the issue of certificates enabling Indian residents in South Africa to leave the country and to return within a stated period should be modified in a very favourable manner. Measures are also recommended for increasing the facilities for the issue of permits to those Indians who desire to visit the Union for temporary purposes.

RECOMMENDATIONS "COMPLETE AND SATISFACTORY."

In these recommendations I find a very complete and satisfactory attempt to arrive at a final solution of the difficulties that have arisen in South Africa and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the warm appreciation of the Government of India of the broad and statesmanlike manner in which these difficult questions have been approached and dealt with by the Commission. I believe the presence and active co-operation of Sir Benjamin Robertson, to whom we are indebted for his firm and conciliatory attitude, has very materially contributed to the formulation of these proposals and I feel confident that if, as I sincerely hope will be the case, they are adopted by the Union Government and combined with sympathetic administration of the existing laws, they should undoubtedly lead to a lasting settlement. The Commission of Enquiry regretted very greatly that the Indians, for reasons to which I need not refer, failed to appear before them and to give evidence, not only on the questions with which I have dealt but in connection with the various cases of ill-treatment which were alleged to have occurred at the time the Commission

was appointed. I share that regret and I cannot help thinking that the Indians would have been better advised had they accepted the counsel I tendered to them in my speech in Calcutta in December last when I strongly urged that they should appear before the Commission and give their evidence on all matters that were referred to that tribunal for enquiry. The Commission, though labouring under some disadvantage as a result of this abstinence, have framed their recommendations on broad and liberal lines and should the South African Government give effect to these recommendations by legislation I sincerely trust that the settlement thus embodied in the law will be accepted in this country by all loyal subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor.



Our London Letter.

London, 27th Feb.

FERID BEY ENTERTAINED IN LONDON.

The Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, Ferid Bey, who came to London to take part in the Nationalities and Subject Races Conference last week, was entertained at the Savoy Hotel on the 21st inst. by the Sphinx Society.

In 1912 Ferid Bey had made a speech to which the Egyptian Government took exception, and the outcome was that sentence of three years' penal servitude was duly passed upon him in his absence. Previous to that, the Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party had already undergone a term of six months' imprisonment for writing a preface to a book of poems. He has since made Paris his headquarters and his presence in London on this occasion, as I have already said, is due to the annual Session of the above Conference, which, among other subjects, has discussed the "Press Laws in India and Egypt," with which I dealt in my letter of last week.

Hilmi Effendi, the President of the Sphinx Society, in an admirable speech, described the guest of the evening as a "democrat who believes in national and individual freedom and has sacrificed wealth and liberty and suffered banishment from his noble home for the cause he places above all others."

Ferid Bey, who was received with loud cheers on rising to reply, demanded the complete independence of Egypt from all foreign Powers. He foretold that the Nationalist Party would be very much to the fore at the next elections. "Egypt for the Egyptians," he declared amidst loud and prolonged cheers, "was still their motto and their war-cry."

A very large gathering was present at the reception.

THE LONDON MOSLEM LEAGUE.

In order to promote social intercourse and free and informal exchange of views between the members and the Committee, the Executive of the London Moslem League have wisely decided to entertain the general body of members in periodical social gatherings. The first of these functions was held at the League's Offices in Sloane Street on Wednesday, the 25th inst. Almost all the members of the League attended and every one of the Committee members, in addition to Mr. Ameer Ali himself, was present. The enthusiasm thus shown by the members, who have hitherto been members only in name, speaks well for the future career of the London League. So far the Young Moslems, who were members of the League in London, have been justly and rightly complaining of the utter indifference with which they were being treated by the Committee. They were absolutely out of touch with the proceedings of the League as well as with the 'personnel' of the managing Body, which, in their name, had been conducting the affairs of the London League. Perhaps the only occasion on which they met the office-bearers and the Committee was at the annual meetings of the League in the summer. Even then the purely academical character of such meetings would hardly enable the general body of members to get into that personal touch and personal contact with the Executive so essential in an association of this nature.

The series of social functions, which, as mentioned above, were inaugurated so successfully last Wednesday, will certainly go a long way to achieve the desired object. The senior members of the London League have evidently realised the necessity and the importance of gaining the confidence of the younger members, who form the rank and file of the whole organisation and are thus the very backbone of the League itself. There can certainly be no "leaders" if there is no "following" and nobody could deny, not even Mr. Ameer Ali and his supporters, that for the League in London to be able to speak with due authority, it is absolutely necessary and essential for the President and Committee to thus consult the opinion and the views of the bulk of its members, if not the whole League, as to be able to adequately interpret and echo their sentiments in matters of

policy. The London League could only then become a living institution in the proper sense of the term, and it could thus be enabled to discharge its undoubtedly important duties in a manner worthy of the great Mussalman community of India.

I understand the Committee are also contemplating the holding of small informal dinners from time to time for the same reasons. Such functions, which it is hoped all the members of the League here will consider it their duty to attend, will further tend to the promotion of harmony and concord between the President and Committee on the one hand and the private members on the other and cannot fail to produce excellent results. Members can, on such occasions, give free expression to their views and ideas and offer any material criticisms they may think fit as to the actual working of the League. The Executive will likewise have the opportunity of offering such explanations as may be necessary as to their policy and the mutual understanding thus brought about will certainly lead to the common good and welfare of the League, the successful administration of which every thinking Indian Moslem has so much at heart.

The present younger generation of Indian Moslems in London, consisting almost exclusively of students, is fully alive to its responsibilities and duties. They are studying the great problems which are facing their community and their country with deep attention and earnestness. They are following the current events in the present history of India with no little concern. They are preparing themselves to serve the community in future disinterestedly and devotedly. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable that even in their present transient stage they should claim to exercise an adequate degree of co-operation in the affairs of the League in London. Some of them are, no doubt, destined to take a leading and honourable part in the future public life of India. They may be a little impatient occasionally, but nobody, who has been in close touch with them, would at all hesitate to describe them as a "sober, level-minded and far-seeing lot" of young men.

Mr. Ameer Ali has a splendid opportunity before him at the moment. His eminent literary services to Islam and his varied and long experience of communal affairs, both in India and England, have given him a unique position in the Moslem world. The young Moslems in London have always treated him with due respect and admiration. They are only too willing to look up to him for advice and instruction, for which he is so well qualified. Due sympathy and encouragement from him would go a long way in winning over the young and perhaps inexperienced, though thoroughly sincere, members of the League. Differences of opinion in Committee can be soothed by sound argument and mutual but courteous give and take on both sides. The usual amount of laxity ordinarily allowed to a President will, of course, never be grudged to Mr. Ameer Ali by the young Moslem. On the contrary, from what I have been myself able to realise, they are only too anxious to extend to him all respect due to his position and all freedom of action as their President, but they would like to feel that, in taking any such action, Mr. Ameer Ali would consider himself as their spokesman. And after all no one could justly accuse the young Moslems of any unreasonable or extreme demand. However there are indications that League in London is going in future to be worked on popular lines, as suggested by the Aga Khan, and the President and his Committee are to be heartily congratulated on having at last given way to the cherished feelings of the community. The scheme they have adopted for the purpose of popularising the London League, referred to above, will commend itself to all those who have the true interest of the Association at heart. A new era is thus being opened in the history of the London League, which, if conducted honestly and conscientiously, will develop into a powerful and truly representative institution, worthy of the great Moslem community of India and equally worthy of this great Capital of the Empire, where it is so rightly situated.

THE TRAFFIC IN HONOURS.

The recent debate in the House of Lords, initiated by Lord Selborne, dealing with the question of "honours" in England, cannot fail to interest those who are familiar with the system of distributing titles in India to "worthy" sons of the soil. In this country, of course, as is well known, the Prime Minister of the day recommends the persons to His Majesty for the various honours, and this is almost always done on purely party lines. The recipients are generally people with long purses, who are contributors of large sums of money to the Party Funds. The Lords' debate was "supposed" to be a purely disinterested non-party discussion, though, reading between the lines, one could easily detect the detestable party spirit underlying their lordships' speeches.

It is true we have no "party system" in India, but the bestowal of honours there has nevertheless been carried on in an equally disgraceful manner. It is very seldom that we find in the usual Honours

List names of people, who have been rewarded entirely on their own personal merits or that the recipients of such favours have been really distinguished citizens of the country, of which their fellow-countrymen could justly feel proud and whose genuine services to the community, in various walks of life, one could rightly appreciate. In the long list of titled nobility and decorated aristocracy there are, of course, honourable exceptions, but unfortunately such exceptions are few and far between. It is only fair to this deserving minority as well as to the interest of the purity of public life in India that the existing practice should cease. Let science, literature, arts and public service be rewarded by all means, but do not allow ulterior motives underly the distribution of such rewards. Then and only then could public opinion in India fully realise the proper value of such Imperial recognitions, and not until then could the bearers of such titles honestly and conscientiously appreciate the full significance of their rewards.

The Times of yesterday contains a letter on this question, the writer of which—under the pseudonym of "Pandion"—appears to be fully aware of the real facts in India. I cannot do better than reproduce his own words:—

Sir,—In the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne said that in regard to the honours conferred upon the Sovereign's Indian subjects he did not think there was a word to be said. The statement may be applicable enough to the time when Lord Lansdowne was in India, but it does not bear examination to-day. In recent years titles of English origin have been bought and sold in India. It is not the Viceroys, but the heads of certain provincial administrations who have been to blame. The price has not been contributions to party funds, but heavy subscriptions to various public enterprises and institutions in which minor setraps happen to have been interested. I regret to add, however, that there have been instances in which politicians in England have not disdained to negotiate with Indians for help to party funds.

The result is that in India to-day there is a widespread and justifiable belief that the fountain of honour can be tapped at a price. Some Indians hold titles which are the well-earned reward of long and honourable service to their country and to the Empire: but others owe their dignities to nothing but a long purse.

THE PERSIA COMMITTEE.

A meeting of Persia Committee was held at the House of Commons yesterday. Among those present were Dr. Chapple, Mr. T. E. Harvey, Mr. A. C. Morton, Mr. Philip Morell, and Mr. A. Ponsonby. Lord Lamington was re-elected President, and Prof. E. G. Browne, Chairman of the Committee. A resolution was passed expressing regret for the severe loss sustained by the death of the late chairman, Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, who had devoted himself to the cause of Persian independence and integrity. Attention was drawn to the grave menace to the integrity of Persia caused by the continued presence of Shuja-ed-Dowleh as the self-constituted Governor of Azerbaijan, and it was resolved to urge the Government to use their influence to extend the Swedish Gendarmerie into that province, and to secure the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

THE "TIMES."

The Daily Chronicle learns from what it describes as a "reliable source" that The Times will shortly be reduced to a penny-paper. It will not, of course, come as a surprise to those who have been following the recent career of the "national" journal of England. The paper has been gradually though steadily losing its old influence amongst the thinking men and women of this country. In the good old days The Times was justly famous for its independence and its freedom and rightly enjoyed a unique reputation owing to its absolutely non-party character. As a matter of fact, even in the latter part of the Victorian era, the opinions and views expressed in the editorial columns of The Times would be everywhere accepted as the true interpretation of British public opinion, but, alas, circumstances, as usual, have altered the case. This hitherto great journal of Great Britain is now, as once described by a prominent member of the present British Cabinet, only a "two-penny edition of the Daily Mail." It now belongs to the huge Harmsworth concern, which is presided over by Lord Northcliffe. It is to-day one of the most bitter partisan papers in existence in the Conservative world and as regards its attitude on Eastern questions in general and Indian problems in particular, your readers need no further enlightenment on the subject. Sometimes, it must be frankly admitted, even The Pioneer of Allahabad and the The Times of India of Bombay must humbly take off their hats to this powerful contemporary of theirs in London for its superior and more genuine loyalty to the Anglo-Indian policy, of which they are such noisy advocates.

TETE À TETE



LAST week we had to record the enlistment of nine new subscribers and the discontinuance of fifteen; but we had pointed out that this was only for the week ending on 12th March, by which time our

Our Supporters.

appeal could not have produced any appreciable effect, so that we could not grieve over it as a "response" to our appeal. There were indications, however, that we had not appealed in vain, and we alluded to two letters which we had received last Saturday. During the week ending 19th instant the promise of the first day or two was kept, and while we have to record nine cases of discontinuance, we have been glad to record no less than twenty-four cases of enlistment of fresh subscribers. This is, no doubt, encouraging in a way, but the response must be far more prompt and from many more quarters than has yet been the case. We shall quote only one instance to show what a single honorary canvasser can do. From the "unpromising district" to which we had referred last week we received four fresh subscribers again this week. Now if one man can do this in less than a fortnight in an unpromising place what can several thousand not do in a month's time in more promising places? Should the hope of 2000 fresh subscribers be considered extravagant in that case? We think we have earned some title to beg for ourselves by having successfully begged for others. As regards those whose names have been removed this week from the list of subscribers, it may interest our supporters to know that we have hopes of being able to re-enlist some of them as it appears that in some cases the V. P. packets were returned without the knowledge of the addressees. In some cases the *Hamdard* has ousted *The Comrade* while in others some subscribers have begun to share *The Comrade* with others who have asked us to discontinue their copies. Only in one case has a subscriber desired the discontinuance of the paper on account of its delays in 1913. Now in this last case we certainly sympathise with our subscriber, and our apologies have been sincere even if they have also been numerous. But we fear our subscriber has not sympathised with us as he should have done. When one man sets out to the work of a dozen, it is certain that he could not do it as well as a dozen would do. Something must be below the standard of efficiency, and when we were engrossed in work which was not ours only but of all the Mussalmans of India, it is a wonder that our own journalistic work did not show a much greater falling off. It would have been kind of our less indulgent subscribers to have shared our labours at the time and set us free for *The Comrade*. But they did not, and as a matter of fact encouraged us to persist in all we were attempting, and morally, if not legally, they are estopped from voicing a complaint against us for the shortcomings of *The Comrade* in 1913. As for those who wish us to discontinue sending *The Comrade* to them because they have commenced sharing somebody else's *Comrade* with him, will they let us know with whom we are to share the expenses of the production of *The Comrade*. Shall we apply to Government for a subsidy, give weekly puffs to "territorial magnates" and such other "natural leaders of the people"? Had we had a long purse we could have afforded to be philanthropic enough to take the *Comrade* as a propaganda. But we make no complaint that we have not the wealth of a *Cresus*.

فست بري من به طبيعت بري نهين
هي شكري جگه نه شكایت نهين بھي

Under the circumstances our readers must be our only supporters, as they know we have always relied upon them and only sought their suffrage. Official or semi-official subsidies are not difficult to secure. The trick is an easy one and is within the meanest intelligence. But we think our readers also know something of our limitations.

جاننامدون ثواب طاعت وزهد
پر طبيعت ادمر نهين آتی

(I know the reward of obedience and piety, But my nature can not be prevailed upon to incline that way.) If *The Comrade* does represent the views of a large and important section of the people and is in their estimation discharging the duties which they have imposed upon it, then it is for them to see that the paper is properly financed. It has no capital behind it now, nor did it start on its career with any such capital. Faith and Hope were the only assets and they have served us well hitherto. But Faith must be an easily convertible paper currency, and Hope may do well enough for a Reserve Fund, but cannot cover expenditure nor provide dividends. As a matter of fact one is likely to lose both Faith and Hope if subscribers who can well afford to pay for a copy of *The Comrade* cease to do so because they have found some one to share it with them. The devout believe that angels fought at Badr and filled the depleted ranks of Islam in its first encounter with the unbelievers. More recently *Haji Baghlot*, the antithesis of our valued confederate, the Hon. Mr. Gur, has given currency to the view that the number of pilgrims at Mecca is the same every year, angels making up all human deficiency, and that after the pilgrimage of "Political Hajj" all that will happen will be an increase in angelic contingent. We wish we could substitute angelic subscribers for all those who begin to show the far-from angelic tendency to share some other dev—, we mean subscriber's *Comrade* with him. We hope the Legislature would amend Indian Companies' Act once more and make such joint stock business punishable with transportation for life, or that the Executive would bring it under the provisions of the Press Act "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or otherwise."

MR. ZAFAR ALI KHAN writes to us from London as follows:—"The appeal which I circulated to Members of the House of Commons has not been in vain. In addition to Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Keir

The Press Act.

Hardie, Mr. Phillip Snowden, and Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, who had already expressed their sympathy and promised to join in any Parliamentary protest, we have now received the support of Mr. Phillip Morrell and Mr. Rowland Hunt, who are Liberal and Conservative M. P.'s respectively. These two gentlemen took the earliest opportunity on the 24th instant to raise their voices on our behalf, and they received most welcome support from an unexpected quarter—Sir J. D. Rees. Mr. Morrell asked the new Under-Secretary to direct a further inquiry into the question of the *Zamindar* in view of the fact that the articles complained of contained no expression of seditious views and no incitement whatever to violence and disorder. Mr. Roberts replied that I must appeal to the High Court before the Secretary of State would consider the matter any further, and he refused to answer supplementary questions by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Morrell as to whether there was anything treasonable in the articles or anything but fair comment. It was then the turn of Sir J. D. Rees, who wanted to know whether it was proposed to amend the provisions of the Press Act in view of the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the Macedonia Pamphlet case. Mr. Robert's answer was in the negative, and this brought up Mr. Morrell again, who spoke of the dissatisfaction caused by the Act and a number of suppressions, the worthlessness of the appeal, and the desirability of an alteration of the law. This timely speech brought a valuable statement from Mr. Roberts, who said that the hon. member was extending to all actions taken under the Act certain remarks which the Chief Justice of Bengal made with regard to action taken under Section 12. The only possible inference from this is that when action is taken under other Sections the High Court has wider powers. As the confiscation of the "*Zamindar*" Press and security takes place under Section 6, I shall not fail to take the hint to lodge an appeal in my own case, and I have cabled instructions to my people accordingly. Mr. Morrell also secured a promise that Mr. Roberts would inform the Secretary of State of the views expressed by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah at the last meeting of All-India Moslem League. We have thus set the ball rolling vigorously, but we must not let it stop. It now requires combined and persistent agitation, and eventually the repeal of the Act is bound to follow." After reproducing the questions and answers to which he refers above Mr. Zafar Ali Khan writes:—"The next question is as to what is to happen in the case of successful appeals. A newspaper property in the great majority of cases receives irreparable damage if its publication is suspended pending an appeal, and it may, indeed, be impossible to restart it. How is that to help the aggrieved party? Is the loss to be made good by the Secretary of State? It is a poor consolation to the owner of the property who may have been reduced to beggary to admit that the action of the officials was arbitrary. Then we have to consider the case

"of the unfortunate proprietor who cannot afford the expense of an appeal, and as his paper is gone, he cannot even appeal to his supporters for funds; for be it remembered that it is not every newspaper proprietor who is able to fly in the face of Deputy Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors and wealthy enough to engage barristers to fight his case. An effective safeguard against the irresponsible action of officials must be provided. We have thus a number of points which must be pressed home to the public and to the Government both in India and in Great Britain. With the help of a number of sympathetic English friends I have been doing all I lay in my power by means of letters and articles in the Press, private interviews with M. P.'s, Editors, and other influential people. The Nationalities and Subject Races Committee held a Conference immediately after the Parliament opened, and they asked me to be the principal speaker on the Indian Press Act. Sir Henry Cotton presided. I took the opportunity to suggest the formation of an Indian Press Defence League, to be supported by British subjects, Indian and European alike. Dr. Rutherford (who, by the way, seems likely soon to return to a seat in the House of Commons) immediately moved a resolution welcoming the proposed League, Mr. William H. Seed seconded it, and it was carried unanimously, Sir Henry Cotton adding his personal word of support. The League is now in process of formation, and its prospects are bright. We are convinced it will be a powerful factor in the situation. It is essential to its success that Hindus and Moslems should work hand in hand in promoting it, and it will not be my fault if they do not do so. Your support and that of your friends is required to make it thoroughly representative. I ask you kindly to help the cause by taking it up in the columns of your paper and in any other way that may be open to you, as it will secure for every paper and Press in India a voice in the Press and Parliament of Great Britain in case they come under the harsh provisions of the Press Act. We have many friends in Parliament, and some eminent journalistic friends also, who are helping to found the League. I welcome the news that a Deputation is coming to England next April to agitate on the subject, and that it will include Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Gokhale, Jinnah, and Surendra Nath Bannerji. I hope by that time the League will be in full swing and in a position to give them a hearty welcome."

Owing to pressure on our space we have deferred a close and detailed study of the recommendations of the Commission appointed by the Union Government to enquire into the grievances of the Indians in South Africa, nor have we yet received as full a report as it required for a detailed study of

The South African Commissioners' Report.

the question. The £3 poll tax was of course doomed and no defence of such extortion was possible, and we are glad that the Commission did not undertake the impossible task of defending it. We shall therefore say nothing about it should the action of the Union Government be in conformity with this recommendation of the Commission. But we feel it necessary to say that the recommendation of the Commissioners on the subject of marriage difficulty is unsatisfactory. If the motive of the non recognition of Indian marriages is that fewer Indian women and children should immigrate into South Africa, we can understand the significance of the compromise that only one marriage would be allowed to be registered and recognised. If, on the other hand, there is an abhorrence of polygamy at the bottom of the marriage difficulty, then the compromise is futile, for the South African champions of monogamy refuse to recognise more than one wife and yet permit the polygamous Indian to wed as many as he pleases. That is a poor sort of social reform and we wonder how the Christian conscience of South Africa is going to tolerate it. We are told that monogamy must be the law of Christendom, but nobody has told us why South Africa is part of Christendom. In Natal while the European population in 1908 was only 91,448 the Indian and Asiatic population was 116,679 and the "native" population was nearly a million. In Cape Colony European population is a little over half a million, but the remaining population is three times as much. The proportion of Europeans to others in the Transvaal is 1 to 4 and in Orange Free State 1 to 2. If all Europeans may be presumed to be Christians, even then heathenism and other religions are in an overwhelming majority. We may be told that population offers no test as regards describing any country as part of Christendom and that such a test is supplied by the fact that Christians rule in South Africa. If that view be correct, we should like to ask for a definition of toleration. Mussalman at his very worst did not tolerate the worship of three gods when he is ruled over by Christians. The Christian at his best refuses to tolerate devotion to four wives. Which was the more awful and pernicious heresy of the two, we leave the world to judge. But there is not the least doubt that between the spirits of the non-recognition of three gods and four wives there is no more to choose than between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Let none of our readers mistake us for advocates of polygamy under all circumstances. Only the married can appreciate

single blessedness, and he was a genius who likened matrimony to a besieged citadel. Those who are out want to get in and those who are in want to get out. That being the case our tolerance of polygamy must be the tolerance of an institution which has to satisfy the requirements of every kind of circumstance imaginable. Wherever law has permitted polygamy, fact has put its veto in the majority of cases; and it is the glory of Islam that it alone among all the religions in the world sets a limit on the plurality of wives. No other religion has done it, although the civil law of European countries has supplied this deficiency in Christianity as a religious code of laws; but even this has gone far beyond the necessary limits and has given to the institution of marriage a rigidity which should not characterize laws made for all human beings. The result has been that Europe is not satisfied with its institution of marriage, and it is the perpetual theme of novelists who propound problems of life and attempt the solution in the form of stories. When Europe is itself in this state of discontent it is strange that Europeans in South Africa should impose their own marriage laws on people who are neither Europeans nor Christians. As we said before the ideal of monogamy will not be benefited to any appreciable extent by the proposed compromise, but an endless trouble would be caused to polygamous Indians in the matter of succession and inheritance. The matter is too serious to be settled by the "twitting" of a Mohammedan deputation in Johannesburg by Sir Benjamin Robertson on the score of "their long silence." We thank Sir Benjamin for all that he has done for our countrymen, but if he thinks that so important a matter can be settled so easily he is much mistaken. The argument of "Moslem leeches" should by now be quite familiar to us all, but familiarity must have produced the proverbial feeling. We shall refer to this question at a greater length in a subsequent issue and have written this only to ensure that we too are not accused of laches and twitted by Sir Benjamin Robertson.

THE readers of *The Comrade* have not perhaps forgotten the Sakhawat Memorial School for Girls at Calcutta in the fortunes of which we tried

Miraculous Progress.

more than once, and not without success, to interest them. The late Mr. Malabari sent a contribution himself and got others to help it too, and we believe Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal also assisted the institution with characteristic generosity when she visited Calcutta two years ago. Mrs. Sakhawat Husain is the widow of a Deputy Magistrate of Behar who died quite young and left a generous endowment for Mohammedan girls' education in which he and his wife were deeply interested. This high-minded lady not only carried out the wishes of her husband by starting a girls' school in Calcutta under strict *purdah* arrangement, but has devoted all her time and a good deal of her own money to the school. One could not but praise her courage when, in spite of the failure of the Burma Bank in which a good portion, if not the whole, of the endowment had been deposited, she resolved to carry on the school. We must confess the Mussalmans of Calcutta did not support her courageous and persistent efforts as they should have done, but her own determination met every discouragement and overcame a host of difficulties, and when we left Calcutta we felt certain that nothing would daunt her. Such examples are rare even among the sex that claims a sort of monopoly of courage and determination, but when one finds it one need not despair of the ultimate triumph of so determined and bold an endeavour. About this time last year we read in the *Statesman* of the opening of another *purdah* school which owed its existence to that talented lady, Suhrawardya Begum (Mrs. Zuhad-ur-Rahim Zahid). We must confess we prefer a large number of small girls' schools dotted all over a big city to one large school, for under the special social circumstances of the Moslem Community in India it is easier to manage a number of small girls schools, than to manage a single large school, and Moslem parents more readily trust their girls to a neighbouring small school managed by some one whom they know. We therefore rejoiced to hear of the rise of this new school and we felt sure that the talents of Suhrawardya Begum would be well utilised in such an institution. The *Statesman* of 18th February 1913 stated that the opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Maynard and the *Habul matin* of the 29th February gave a portion of the speech of Suhrawardya Begum on the occasion of the opening of the school. In the course of this speech, however, Suhrawardya Begum seems to have ignored the existence of the Sakhawat Memorial School and of the brave sister who had been carrying on this school with so much self-sacrifice and determination. But we attributed this to the requirements of rhetoric, for when we indulge in jeremiads we cannot always pause to be accurate. But the *Statesman* of a year later took our breath away when we read that on the occasion of the "annual prize distribution" of the same school Suhrawardya Begum announced that the cost of upkeep of the school "during the five years of its existence" had been borne by herself. Now if the school was founded on the 16th of

February 1913 it will take some time to understand how it could have been in existence for five years on the 28rd of February 1914. We also read of "the speaker's struggle and the difficulty of her task in attempting to remove from the eyes of Mussalmans the veil of prejudice and the bondage of ignorance and to emancipate their minds from the thralldom of bigotry and self-conceit." It appears that Suhrawardya Begum's address closed with a pathetic appeal to Her Excellency Lady Carmichael who attended the function and to other ladies present on the occasion. She said: "I appeal to Your Excellency and the ladies present here to-day not to let my humble efforts die with me but to induce someone to come forward to take up the cause of the women of Islam." This evidently touched the hearts of all present and, according to the *Statesman's* report, "Her Excellency briefly expressed her admiration and sympathy with the work of Suhrawardya Begum and exhorted her not to lose heart but to continue her efforts to make the girls of the Mohamedan community better mothers, better daughters and better wives." Now there is something peculiar in all this for, although we were near neighbours when we were in Calcutta only a year and a half ago, we never heard of a Suhrawardya *Purda-nashin* Madrasa for Moslem Girls, and unless the *Statesman* and the *Hablat-matin* both lied badly last year nothing short of a miracle could have made an institution founded last year of five years of age. A correspondent from Calcutta writes to us to say that "it is curious that in the list published yearly by the Education Department of all schools (both recognised and unrecognised by Government) in Calcutta and the Mofussil there is no mention of this school. In the list of educational institutions published in Thacker's Directory this institution is not to be found nor is there any trace of it in the 'Street Directory of the aforesaid publication.'" With reference to the statement that 104 girls had attended the school during the year he informs us that "it is a physical impossibility for so many girls to be accommodated in such a small building as the school has at 'No. 2 Beparitolla Lane, just behind the old Pumping Station at 'Wellington Square. To those who have seen the building it appears to be just large enough to contain only a quarter or a third of the number stated." Nothing could give us greater pleasure than the success of Suhrawardya Begum's endeavours and, if 104 girls have joined her school within a year of its foundation, we see no reason why she should talk of people letting her efforts die with her. But we must frankly say that we detest the very idea of self-advertisement on the part of our sisters for, as it is, our brothers are doing a little too much of it, and it may well be left to them as a special prerogative of the males. *Purdah* and modesty in all its forms should go together, and no one has much sympathy with the *purdahnashin* of whom Iqbal wrote:

یہ کہ پردے میں بی پردہ ہوی جانی

We are sure that Suhrawardya Begum whose abilities would do credit to any man would be the last to approve of such a type of woman, and we are inclined to think that in giving the report of the Prize Distribution ceremony some one has blundered. Suhrawardya Begum need not despair, for honest efforts seldom die with the person that makes them. Let us not talk of graves, but think of the perseverance of fellow-workers like Mrs. Sakhawat Husain, who has been doing a good deal of solid work quietly and without hope of any public reward.



Verse.

False Life.

Wouldst make God-gifted Life a glittering show,
And in false Seeming centre all delight ?
Wouldst thou, in Nature's and in God's despite
Let thy soul's darker passions overthrow
Its tranquil joys ? What charms from Virtue flow.
What motives pure the generous soul invite
To self-denial, what the heavenly light
In thee demands, wouldst thou disdain to know ?
The greed of wealth, the lust of rank and power,
Wouldst thou let these thy withering heart devour,
And mar the sweet serenity of life ?
Or let false aims and false desires control
Each wayward impulse and corrupt the soul ?
Behold thy gains—the bitter fruit of strife !

NIZAMAT JANG,

The Comrade.

A Moslem Ruler on Aligarh.

I.

ONE can have very little sympathy with theories that are entirely divorced from practice, and on the whole it is true that a long continued practice undermines a most deeply rooted theory to the contrary and finally destroys it. But it is an interesting philosophical speculation whether practice reacts more powerfully on theory or theory reacts more powerfully on practice. Indeed, some root-ideas have such a vitality that they survive even persistent and almost invariable practice to the contrary and finally mould it after the pattern of the original theory. Such a root-idea is the democratic spirit of Islam which has survived centuries of despotic rule throughout the Moslem world. Indeed, it is not often that one can put one's finger on any period of democratic government in Islam after the rule of the first four Caliphs, but so extraordinarily tenacious of life has been the principle of democracy which was practiced by the Prophet of Islam and his first four successors that even in the worst period of despotism, when the best of Mussalmans had to bow the head and bend the knee before tyrants, they clung all the more eagerly to the idea of that distant and short-lived democracy of the glorious days of Islam and dreamt through the miseries of the time of a millennium when once more their practice would conform to the divine behest

و امرم شورى بينهم

(And their affairs were decided by consultation among themselves.)

India has been emerging since the establishment of the British Rule from despotism into democracy ; but although she must be grateful to England for this change in the spirit of her government, Indian Mussalmans have found in the change nothing to which they could not readily reconcile themselves, for democracy has always meant to them a reversion to the practice of the earliest days of Islam. These are undoubtedly democratic days in spite of all the cheap sneers of some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, and having found their voice the educated section of the Mussalmans will not be silenced by any prince or potentate unless, it finds it more profitable for the entire community to hear and to obey than to be heard and to be obeyed. Nowhere in the world can one rob wealth and social rank of the consideration that is paid to them, and so young indeed is democracy in India that her Princes and territorial magnates will find the world hanging on their words for a long time yet to come. But much will henceforward depend on the words themselves which drop from the lips of Indian Princes and territorial magnates, and although even to-day their names are to be found amongst the foremost leaders of Indian Mussalmans, it is a happy augury for the future that these leaders of Indian Mussalmans maintain their position not by their wealth and social rank, but by their love of the people and their wise and wholly disinterested direction of popular affairs.

Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal occupies a unique position among Indian Mussalmans inasmuch as she is not only separated from the commonalty by the richness and extent of her possessions, but also by the rigid conventions prescribed in a by-gone age for her sex. But in spite of these disabilities, she has found her way into the hearts of her people, because her own conception of her position has not been that of a princess far removed from the occupations, haunts and ideas of the people, nor even of a preacher holding forth from a high pulpit to sinning masses far below her who deserve reams of sermons yet not a syllable of sympathy, but of one who is of the people, and must live with the people and for the people. Those who have been privileged to know Her Highness for any length of time have had ample opportunities of being able to testify to this, but even casual observers could not have failed to note that no one has appealed to her for assistance in a good cause and has failed to receive a hearty and a generous response.

Aligarh has benefitted in many ways from the generosity of Her Highness, but in our estimation Her Highness's latest gift to Aligarh far exceeds in value anything which it has owed to her generosity. She was the recipient during her recent visit to Aligarh of three important addresses by three important bodies, namely, the Educational Conference, the Aligarh College and the Girls School, and the advice that she gave on the affairs of these three institutions in the course of her replies to their addresses will prove of inestimable value if it is taken to heart and followed in the spirit in which it was offered. Her Highness has not preached homilies of the nature of those to which Indian Mussalmans in general and Aligarh in particular were becoming somewhat used in recent days. She has evidently studied the cases carefully ; she has rescued the real issues from a mass of trivialities more or less irrelevant and likely to warp judgment ; and

she has judged impartially, with the result that where she has permitted herself to criticise, her criticism goes to the root of the matter and cannot be lightly treated.

In reply to the address of the Central Committee of the Mohammedan Educational Conference, Her Highness pointedly drew attention to the paucity of Local Committees and expressed a doubt whether such Local Committees as were in existence were doing their work satisfactorily. A perusal of the Conference's Annual Reports had created in Her Highness's mind the well-founded suspicion that the Conference had established more Sections than it had been able to organise effectively and Her Highness laid her finger on the weakest spot in the Constitution of the Conference, namely the absence of a well recognised relationship between the Central Committee and the various Sections.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan has been the Honorary Joint Secretary of the Conference for many years now, and during all this time the control of the Honorary Secretary, who is of course the Honorary Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Aligarh College, has been nothing more than nominal. The Constitution of the Conference provides for a periodical change in the personnel of the Central Committee and the Constitution of the Aligarh College provides for a similar change in the office of the Honorary Secretary. But apparently the office of the Joint Secretary of the Conference is immune from such changes inasmuch as no rule has yet been framed with reference to the election of that office. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan is, therefore, in a unique position among the office-bearers of the various institutions of the Community and may well be regarded as the Joint Secretary of the Conference for life. For some reason or other the Secretary of the Conference has, as we have said, left its affairs entirely to him and one by one the members of the Central Committee who took interest in its proceedings were tired out and have ceased to take any appreciable interest in its deliberations. Therefore whatever the Conference does to-day must be placed to the sole credit of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, and whatever it is to-day must be regarded as his handiwork. We state this as mere fact and not as our criticism, for perhaps it is best to leave things for a while as they are and avoid the counter-criticism that if the end is failure it is so because of the intervention of the critics. Unlike the Aligarh College where there is danger of the work done being injurious to the growth and development of those who are studying in its quadrangles, the Conference can only suffer in one way, namely that no work, good or bad, may be done so that the community can suffer only from loss of time and money misapplied.

But such happiness as falls to the lot of a public man responsible for the well-being of a public institution by reason of his being left unmolested by critic, brings along with it a heavy load of responsibility. He enjoys the luxury of despotism for a time, but when the day of reckoning comes he must be prepared to show what he has done for his charge during the period of autocracy. The fate of the Female Education Section of the Conference, of which Mr. Shiekh Abdulla has been practically in sole charge from the date of its birth twelve years ago must be a warning to the Joint Secretary of the Conference. In spite of our criticism the Secretary of the Female Education Section succeeded in keeping off from its affairs everyone who could bring to them a fresh and independent judgment, and in spite of the liberal assistance given to the Girls School by Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal there is nothing to show for the work, so loudly claimed to have been done all these years, but a mere building, the praise or blame for such a result is entirely his own. Her Highness who had gone to Aligarh chiefly to open the Girls School Boarding House, was constrained to declare in her reply to the address of the Conference Committee that "in connection with female education 'also the Conference has not yet accomplished anything worthy 'of note.' This is a tremendous judgment on the work of the Female Education Section for more than a decade, and if after another five years Her Highness pronounces a similar judgment on the work of the Conference itself it would be a judgment far less on the community than on the individual in whose hand all real power in the affairs of the Conference is centred. "I had told you so before" is a remark worthy only of natures that find a malicious satisfaction in the fulfilment of their prophecies of evil, and we hope the Joint Secretary of the Conference would believe us when we say that it will cause us far more grief if in the end our fears are realised rather than his hopes.

But we see no chance of excellent results if the present apathy towards the affairs of the Conference continues in the community. It is not enough for the Joint Secretary to work himself, but he must also create in others a desire of co-operation with him. Her Highness the Begum Saheba very wisely laid stress on this point in a characteristically tactful manner. In the course of her reply she said: "Gentlemen, even in the days of intellectual poverty Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had

"succeeded in gathering together from different parts of the country 'a select body of men who had devoted themselves to the work of the 'national College and the fruit of whose united efforts is the progress 'of the College on which we all pride ourselves. In my opinion in 'these days of educational progress and new light when the important 'question of the Moslem University is before us and the circle of your 'needs is being extended, it is exceedingly necessary that you should 'have at this educational centre a select body of men to pilot 'the ship of the community.' Co-operation is the touchstone of success in all national work, and the success of those responsible for the work of the Conference must be measured according to the success achieved in inducing other workers to co-operate with them in the work of communal education. No one can say that it is harder to find qualified men to run institutions like the Aligarh College and the Conference to-day than it was in the days of intellectual poverty when Sir Syed Ahmed flourished and Aligarh was not turning out sixty or seventy graduates every year as it is doing to-day. The problem now is not to discover the friends of Mohammedan education but to retain them, and it is according to the possession of this magnetic attraction that those who possess power in the management of various institutions at Aligarh will be judged.

The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

I.

THE freedom that His Majesty's Indian subjects enjoy of bringing in a formal manner and collectively to the notice of the representative of the Crown in this country their hopes and fears, their gratitude and grievances is a privilege of inestimable value in the special circumstances of the governance of India. No doubt such a privilege must be exercised with a due sense of responsibility and we think it will be agreed that Indian Mussalmans have approached the Governor-General only when the importance and the urgency of the occasion have dictated such a course.

Now that the Mussalmans are once more approaching H. E. the Viceroy in a deputation it is not unprofitable to recall the circumstances when such a necessity arose and a deputation of Muslim representatives from every part of India waited on the late Earl of Minto at Simla on the 1st of October, 1906. It is difficult to exaggerate the debt which the Indian Mussalmans owe to the memory of one of their foremost leaders, the late Nawab Moshin-ul-Mulk, who realized the importance to his community of the new political situation that was just emerging into shape at the time and in collaboration with some of the leading Mussalmans organized the memorable Simla deputation. The need for such a step on the part of Mussalmans had grown urgent in the circumstances of the day. India was entering on a new era of political development and advance. Western education had been progressing at a steady pace for upwards of two generations, and its natural and inevitable results were beginning to manifest themselves in the broadened outlook, greater social activity and new political hopes and aspirations of the people. Their demand for a steadily increasing share in the administration of the country had become more vocal and persistent, and those responsible for the good government of India were, with their sure national instincts, beginning to perceive the undesirability of delaying the political satisfaction of a demand which was gaining every day in cogency and strength. Unfortunately this travail of a new birth was attended with horrors that heralded a new and sinister movement not only foreign to India but also alien to the spirit of constitutional advance permeating her educated classes. Lord Morley's advent at the India Office happened to synchronise with a period of grave unrest in parts of the country which made the direction of Indian affairs an exceptionally heavy and anxious charge. But it is a remarkable fact in British political history that the hour has always called forth the man. The situation in India at the time was met by Lords Morley and Minto with statesmanship of a rare order, and while the tide of anarchical crime was stemmed by the application of drastic measures, what was described as "healthy unrest" was dealt with in a wholly different spirit. The attitude and policy of Government were defined in terms of generous breath and wisdom and the task of governance was informed with a new spirit of courage and sympathy.

While a general wave of expectancy swept over the land and portents of organic changes in the machinery of Indian administration loomed above the horizon, the Indian Mussalmans also awoke to a fuller understanding of their own political situation. The prospect of important reforms designed to give to the Indian people a much larger voice in the administration of the affairs of their country could not but be gratifying to Indian Mussalmans, but could not also fail to arouse certain very natural apprehensions in their minds. Changes of such scope and character as were contemplated were to sow the seeds of constitutional development for the future of India, but the Mussalmans

felt that the seed would grow into a vigorous tree and bear fruit only if due consideration was shown to the nature of the soil also. So long as the difference of creed, and all the differences that it involves in culture, social institutions and outlook, kept the Indian races distinct and separate, and so long as they lacked the vital impulse of a common patriotism urging them to address themselves unitedly and without communal bias to common secular tasks, so long would the Mussalmans have reasons to fear that in the absence of effective safeguards all new constitutional experiments tending towards the establishment of government by majority are likely to end in disaster. It was apprehensions such as these that took the Mussalmans in deputation to Simla in 1906. Lord Minto, to whom the Mussalmans can never be too grateful, and to whom the country as a whole owes not a few of its vitalising influences, recognised the justice of the Muslim attitude and accepted the principle of communal representation as the only suitable basis for representative institutions in this country. We have been led into making these observations because the Muslim Deputation in 1906 was a distinct landmark in the political history of Indian Mussalmans under British Rule, and recent Muslim activities owe to it their initial impulse. The generous policy of Government made it imperative for the Mussalmans to organise their forces with a view to co-operate with Government and with other communities in the common task of working for Indian progress. The earlier attitude of a resigned passivity would have made the community the sport of chance in the stress of the new political conditions. Government itself could no longer champion the Muslim cause without serious apprehensions of being suspected of partiality. These were the considerations that eventually led to the establishment of the All-India Muslim League which is and has always been the true representative of Indian Mussalmans and their only comprehensive political organisation.

The latent vitality of the community has been manifesting itself since the epoch-making Deputation of 1906 in all directions. Along with a keen appreciation of their political interests and an earnest desire to take their full share in the responsibilities of civic life, the Mussalmans of India realized even more vividly than ever that their salvation lay in devoting themselves whole-heartedly to the task of self-improvement through education suited to their peculiar needs and conditions. Within a year of the establishment of the reformed Councils they galvanised the scheme of the Muslim University, and all financial demands that were made by those who had to satisfy themselves that the proposed University was sufficiently well-endowed to be able to carry on its great work were met by the Mussalmans with an unprecedented and, in fact, unexpected promptitude. A no less important work, namely, the elaboration of a Constitution for the Muslim University, was undertaken in right earnest, and those who believe, or at least pretend to believe, that the present generation of Indian Mussalmans is capable of destructive criticism only will find it impossible to reconcile with this accusation the constructive work done by the community in this connection. Whenever required willing and competent workers were forthcoming, and neither time nor labour was grudged. Although it is impossible to forget that a good deal yet remains to be done, we hope we are justified in thinking that the prospect before the Mussalmans of India is far from discouraging. Unfortunately, however, the Secretary of State intervened at the eleventh hour, upsetting all plans and disconcerting the Government of India as well as the Muslim community, and the long-cherished desire of the Mussalmans for establishing a Muslim University still remains unfulfilled.

While the Mussalmans were still busy in planning their University, events of unparalleled magnitude and far-reaching importance followed one another with bewildering rapidity. Some of them were peculiarly Indian and concerned the Mussalmans of India directly, while others, although they occurred abroad, powerfully reacted throughout the Muslim World. First in chronological order came the intrigues of France and Spain in the country of the Moors, the tradition of whose conquest and domination over Spain, lasting as it did for many centuries, is a memory which could not be effaced from the mind of any Muslim that takes pride in the culture associated with his faith. Close on the heels of these sad events in Morocco came the unprovoked raid of Italy on an outlying province of the Ottoman Empire in the same continent, and it was not to be expected that the Mussalmans of any part of the world would remain unmoved by the tale of horrors perpetrated in the oasis of Tripoli. After the French conquest of Algiers and occupation of Tunis, and the British occupation of Egypt, Tripoli and Morocco were the only countries in Africa under effective Moslem domination, and on its disappearance the Mussalmans of the world could not fail to experience deep and sustained grief not accompanied by anxiety and alarm.

Affairs in an other part of the Muslim World, with which Indian Mussalmans were still more intimately concerned, had for sometime

past worn a disquieting appearance, and before the year 1911 came to an end, the Persian crisis had become dangerously acute. Although Arabia is to the Mussalmans a land the sanctity of which no part of the world can equal, Persia can rightly claim to be almost in an equal degree the cradle of their culture, literary grace and artistic refinement. Her poets have in innumerable instances kindled inspiration in those of Indian Mussalmans and her philosophers and mystics have stimulated in only too many cases the thoughts of their best thinkers. Even the ethics of the Mussalmans, based as it is, on their Holy Scriptures, has often come to the Mussalmans of India through the moralists of Persia, while it must be manifest even to a superficial student of the language of their daily intercourse throughout India which they cherish so dearly that its poetic imagery, its fund of allusions, its many happy turns of expression and a considerable part of its vocabulary have been directly derived from the hand of Hafiz and Sadi and Omar the Tent-maker. Naturally enough, Indian Mussalmans could not contemplate the passing of Persia with equanimity, and when to the sad fate of her newly awakened political consciousness were added the unspeakable horrors of the hanging of some of her livings and the wanton outrage perpetrated at the shrine of Imam Riza at Holy Meshed, it was inevitable that a wave of indignation should sweep over the entire community.

About the same time His Majesty the King-Emperor announced at his Imperial Darbar certain momentous changes in India itself, one of which, namely, the modification of the Partition of Bengal, was received by the Mussalmans with considerable dissatisfaction. The fact that this announcement was made by His Majesty himself and that the promise of a gradual evolution of provincial autonomy was distinctly held out in the Despatch of the Government of India recommending the Darbar changes, reconciled the Mussalmans to them and they have no desire to re-open the settlement even though it was itself the result of the modification of a prior settlement. We only mention it in this connection because, coming as it did in the midst of the troubles of Indian Mussalmans, it could not but add to their distractions.

Just when things seemed to be settling down, there broke out in the Balkans with no less abruptness perhaps the bloodiest war that has yet been recorded in the annals of the world. So far as we know, there is no haven or creek, however remote and sequestered, that has remained immune from the ravages wrought by a tidal wave of anguish and indignation due to the sanguinary storm that raged in the Balkans. While bearing the amplest testimony to the wisdom and sagacity of His Excellency the Viceroy, who realized the intensity and poignance of the feelings of Indian Mussalmans at the time and showed his sympathy with them in many ways, we must say that the speeches of His Majesty's Ministers in England appeared to the Mussalmans to be not only lacking in sympathy with their sorrow but also unfeeling if not wantonly provocative. The foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey again appeared to be guided less by a desire to satisfy Indian Mussalmans than to please Russia and in fact submissively follow her wherever she led. We do not ignore the international commitments of England when we say that Sir Edward Grey seemed to have ignored her imperial responsibilities. Horror and indignation at the cruel spoliation of Moslem kingdoms and states was sufficient to create excitement among the Mussalmans in this country, but dangerous feelings might have been roused by a suspicion that instead of being a friendly advocate of Turkey and other Moslem states in the councils of Europe, England was unjustly siding with their enemies. Whether such feelings would have been natural or not can be judged best if we recall to mind what Lord Morley said in 1909 on the subject of the international position of the Indian Mussalmans in reply to a deputation of the London branch of the All India Moslem League that waited on his Lordship in connection with the projected Council Reforms. Speaking with all the authority of a Minister of His Majesty responsible for the good government of India, Lord Morley said on that occasion: "I know very well that any injustice, any suspicion that we were 'capable of being unjust to Mohamedans in India, would certainly 'provoke a severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople.'" It therefore follows only too clearly that any injustice or any suspicion that His Majesty's Government was capable of being unjust to Turkey must naturally provoke a severe and injurious reaction among the Mohamedans of India. Whatever criticism was levelled at Sir Edward Grey and the British foreign policy during the last three years was not inspired by the belief that His Majesty's Government was guilty of wanton injustice to Turkey or any other Muslim country, nor that responsible Muslim opinion ignored the well-known fact that Lord Hardinge invariably used a restraining influence whenever events in Persia provided a plausible reason for the forcible intervention of Great Britain. Indian Mussalmans were also aware of the fact, and were deeply grateful for it, that His Excellency availed himself to the full of every opportunity that presented itself during the recent troubles of Turkey to represent to His Majesty's Government the feelings, hopes and fears of Indian

Mussalmans and to befriend their Turkish brethren. What the Indian Mussalmans felt and desired was that still greater friendliness should be shown by His Majesty's Government towards the Ottoman Empire and that a settlement should be effected whereby their unimpeachable territorial loyalty should run in the same direction as their unmistakable extra-territorial patriotism. Lord Curzon, who cannot be accused of any desire to seduce Indian Mussalmans from their loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, voiced their feelings when speaking towards the end of 1911, at the banquet of the Persia Society, he was reported to have said that "the Mohamedan countries of the world were fully entitled to the benefit of the law of nations and with them treaties ought to be kept. When they sought their own salvation, we ought to give them all assistance. The loyalty and contentment of the Muslims was one of the strongest things of our rule in India, so we would like the Muslims of the world to feel that in England they had their truest friend, who was prepared to make every effort and to make a sacrifice on their behalf."

We have no desire to dwell any longer on painful topics such as the horrors perpetrated in Persia, Tripoli and the Balkans, but we desire to emphasise the fact that not in other things which may appear strange in Christendom are the accepted truths of the Muslim World. One of these is the fact that Mussalmans willingly share the joys and sorrows of their co-religionists although they may differ from one another in language, race and country and, in fact, in everything that goes in the West to constitute nationality. Islam is the greatest solvent of linguistic, geographical and ethnic differences, and however much one may desire to substitute a secular basis of nationality, he is bound to admit that as things are at present and so long as the Muslim believes in Islam, his creed provides and will continue to provide for him all the cohesion that language, country and race provide for Western nations.

That being so, was it strange that the troubles of Mussalmans abroad should have had a powerful reaction among the Mohamedans of India as in other parts of the world? The situation was wholly abnormal and, as an important English official interested in the Mussalmans of India said, they had some reason even to be unreasonable. But we defy even the most captious critic of the Moslem community to point to a single incident throughout the protracted sufferings of Indian Mussalmans suggesting, however remotely, that they had departed even by hair's breadth from the tradition of staunch and unwavering loyalty to the British Throne and to His Majesty's Government established by law in India. We challenge anyone to place his finger on any record of wanton disregard of law and breach of public peace by any section of the Mussalmans of India even during the period of their greatest misery. This historic community has been noted for its sanity of judgment and self-restraint during periods of unusual gravity, and we do not think it lost these characteristic qualities at any time during the troubles of the last three years. There is nothing in its record of which it need be ashamed, and we say this not by way of apology but as a full justification of its attitude throughout its protracted sufferings.



The South African Deportations.

THE Debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was resumed in the House of Commons.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald moved an amendment asking "that instructions should be given to the Governor General of the Union of South Africa that the Indemnity Bill, now under discussion in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, should be reserved under Section 64 of the South Africa Act 1909, until a judicial enquiry was instituted into the circumstances of the proclamation of Martial Law within the Union and into the scope of the Indemnity Bill, particularly the provision relating to the deportation of trade union leaders." In dealing with the course of events in South Africa, he said that the subject was a difficult one. He was perfectly well aware of the jealousies of self-governing Dominions. He desired to be absolutely generous when giving self-governing powers, and was not anxious to interfere in the exercise of those powers once they were given. But there was another great problem now facing this Empire in a very acute form. He did not believe any Member of the House could appreciate what was the feeling as a result of the treatment of the Indians in South Africa unless they had been privileged to be on the spot, as he had been when it formed the subject of cables and articles in the newspapers every day. They had to face this problem regarding Imperial citizenship. Was there any meaning at all in the expression *Civis Britannicus Sum*? Had it any common meaning from one end of the Empire to the other? Was it going to give any pride, any inspiration? Was it, or not, a fact that the privileges attaching to Habeas Corpus, Petition of Rights, and so on, were

to be carried wherever British subjects went provided they kept under the shadow of the Union Jack? If not, he ventured to say that the Empire could not possibly remain in the place of honour which it occupied to-day. If the civic liberty which had come to them, not merely by generous accident, but because it was essential to the very spirit and genius of our people, was not to be an assumption in the constitutional procedure of the Governments of the self-governing communities, then the expression "Empire" must be used in future in an exceedingly limited and exceedingly narrow sense. But it was because, at the back of his mind, he had an idea that Empire really stood for something that was constitutionally magnificent, he felt himself in duty bound to raise this question, even though at the same time he desired to be absolutely generous in his thoughts and in his criticisms of self-governing communities exercising their rights as such.

Mr. Pointer formally seconded the amendment.

MR. HARCOURT ON IMPERIAL-CITIZENSHIP.

Mr. Harcourt, in the course of his reply, said that autonomy carried with it no immunity from the Press or public criticism, but it deserved and it was entitled to the largest amount of relief from official interference and Parliamentary censure compatible with the inherent rights of freedom. The British citizenship to which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald referred was really a misnomer. It did not, in fact, exist, and was an attempt to make too literal a translation of the *Civis Romanus Sum*. What did exist was British subjecthood, which entitled its possessor to the protection of his Sovereign through the Executive. But it gave to the individual no right and no licence in any part of the Empire to violate the laws which it was within the competence of the Dominion to pass and to administer. The Imperial Parliament could not grant responsible self-government, as it had done throughout nearly a century in varying degrees, in different climes, and to different races, with practically unqualified success, and then hope or attempt, when feelings or prejudices were aroused, to interfere or intervene as if it were still dealing with a Crown Colony or a Protectorate. He did not want to discuss the matter of the so-called "passive resistance" by the Indians, because there was a Commission now sitting in South Africa, with the countenance of the Indian Government and with the assistance of a distinguished Indian Civil Servant, which would, he hoped, arrive at a settlement.

Mr. Wedgwood, speaking as one who had had the privilege of administering justice in South Africa, supported the amendment. In the long run, that which was unjust could never be expedient. Although statesmen in South Africa might come to the conclusion that it was expedient under the circumstances to break all the laws of individual liberty, it was well known that by drawing the sword in this way, by starting a class war, by objecting passive resistance to a strike, they were inviting the sword to be drawn on the other side. That was what came of action, with the best intentions, actuated by ideas of expediency, but neglectful of those more elementary laws which are based on justice. They had no right to put a man in prison who had committed no crime, or to deport him either in India or in South Africa.

Sir J. D. Rees: In India our laws are different.

Mr. Wedgwood: The fact that the laws are different in India does not make them just.

Sir J. Rees: It makes it legal in India.

Mr. Wedgwood said that things might be a little better in that respect in South Africa, although it did not make it accord with English ideas of justice. It had been said over and over again that they could not successfully interfere. But suppose an Indian or a Kaffir in South Africa were treated in a way so monstrously unjust that they could hardly conceive South Africa to be guilty of it. They would then be justified in saying, "Unless you refuse to pass this Act, or unless you consent to our vetoing this Act, we will withdraw the British troops from the country." The position of the ordinary worker on the Rand was to a certain extent comparable with the position of the Indian or the Kaffir in South Africa. It was more comparable to the position of members of those two subject nationalities than it is comparable to the position of the trade unionist in England.

Sir J. D. Rees observed that Mr. MacDonald had taken exception to General Smuts' statement that he had put in a memorial prayer for the deportation of Mr. Galbraith Cole from British East Africa. He immediately accepted that denial, but did he not heartily approve of the deportation of Mr. Cole, which was a perfectly legal act, because in British East Africa, as in British India, there were laws which allowed the Executive to resort to such measures?

After further discussion, the House divided, when there appeared—for the amendment, 50, and against, 214.

Supplement to the "Comrade", 21st March 1914.

The Muslim Deputation.

THIS week's *Comrade* was ready on Saturday, but in view of so important an event as the projected Muslim Deputation to H. E. the Viceroy which was to be received on the 25th instant we delayed the publication of the week's issue and now reproduce both the Address and His Excellency's reply. The Deputation was fully representative of various shades of Muslim opinion in India, and although some notable Mussalmans such as Dr. Iqbal, the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca were unavoidably absent, they have expressed their sympathy and full agreement with its objects. The veteran leader of the community, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, was to have headed the Deputation at the invitation of the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad who organised it; but ill-health prevented him from doing so, and his medical adviser, Dr. Ansari, after examining him carefully could not agree to the proposal to bring the Nawab Sahab to Delhi in his present state of health. It is worth noting, however, that the Nawab Sahab expressed the fullest confidence in the Raja Sahab and said that although he was formerly a prey to grave apprehensions about the well-being of the community in the future, he was now happy in the belief that a man of the devotion, courage and determination of the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad had been found to guide the counsels of the Mussalmans of India. The Raja Sahab headed the Deputation, reading its Address and subsequently presenting its Members to H. E. the Viceroy who shook hands with every one and graciously asked them to partake of refreshments served in the adjoining room. To-day we publish our first article on the subject of the Deputation and shall deal with His Excellency's reply in our next which we hope to bring out at an early date.

Address of the Muslim Deputation.

To

His Excellency the Right Honourable

BARON HARDINGE of PENSHURST.

P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O.,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the representatives of the Muslim community, reflecting various shades of responsible Muslim opinion in India, humbly beg to approach Your Excellency on behalf of our co-religionists and ourselves with a view to lay before Your Excellency certain matters of the highest moment relating to our community. For this opportunity so graciously afforded to us by Your Excellency we cannot but be deeply grateful. The privilege which enables the Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor to wait in deputation upon his representative on occasions of importance is highly prized, and is, we venture to think, of inestimable value in the special circumstances of the governance of India.

As Your Excellency is aware, the political activity of our community in recent years took its initial impulse from the great Deputation that waited in 1906 at Simla upon Your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Minto, whose recent sad death we, along with the

rest of the people of India, so deeply mourn. The extended opportunities for participating in public affairs which the liberal policy of the Government was then creating for the people of this country had brought home to the Mussalmans the imperative necessity of organising themselves for effective and fruitful co-operation with Government and with other communities. Responding to the call of such a generous policy on the part of Government, the Mussalmans succeeded in a great measure in drawing together and organising their social and political forces in an incredibly short space of time, and as a prominent instance we may quote the establishment of the All-India Moslem League, which has ever since continued to be the true representative organisation of Indian Mussalmans. The latent vitality of our community began to manifest itself soon after and marked the new era of an awakened consciousness. Along with an earnest desire to take their full share in the responsibilities of civic life, the Mussalmans of India realised even more vividly than ever that their future progress depended chiefly upon the energy and vigour with which they undertook the task of carrying out the educational policy formulated by their greatest leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, more than three decades ago.

Your Excellency, we may with pardonable pride here refer to the unprecedented promptitude with which the community met and overcame the financial difficulties that stood in the way of the grant of a Charter for the establishment of a University of our own. In this connection it will not be perhaps out of place to mention that the extremely arduous and constructive work of elabora-

ting a Constitution for the Muslim University was taken up by the community with earnestness and zeal, and the result leads us to hope that, whenever required, willing and competent workers will be readily forthcoming. That long cherished desire, however, for the establishment of the Moslem University still remains unfulfilled.

Before we could secure the result of our labours in this connection events of unparalleled magnitude and absorbing interest to Mussalmans followed one another in a rapid and bewildering succession. Your Excellency, it could not have been expected that they would fail to make a deep and painful impression upon the Mussalmans of this country. It must be apparent to all observers that the combination of such unfortunate events as then occurred was absolutely unprecedented, and the Mussalmans of India were face to face with a wholly abnormal situation. Your Excellency, whose great sympathy was with us throughout our protracted sufferings, is well aware of the intensity and poignance of our feelings in that dark hour. But no one can point to a single incident suggesting, however remotely, that the Mussalmans of India had lost their sanity of judgment and self-restraint during a period of unusual gravity, or that they had departed even by a hair's breadth from the tradition of staunch and unwavering loyalty to the British Throne and to His Majesty's Government established by law in India.

Despite these undeniable facts, we have noticed with deep pain and resentment a series of deplorable attempts that have recently been made in certain quarters to vilify our community, misrepresent our attitude towards Government, and cast unmerited aspersions on the character and motives of whole classes of His Majesty's Muslim subjects with a view to discredit them in the eyes of Government and of their British fellow-subjects. It has been openly declared that leaders of the Muslim community inflame religious passions, promote racial antagonism and lose no opportunity of abusing British Rule and vilifying the Christian religion, and that a new party already begins to dream of expelling the British from India. It has also been stated that a sinister feature of this new Muslim movement is that Aligarh graduates are in the van and are openly preaching hostility to British Rule, and that attempts are being made to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops.

Your Excellency, after having stood the repeated test of actual experience in times of great public excitement, we never expected such cruel attacks at a time when we were under the shadow of a great calamity and needed all the sympathy and good-will to which we were entitled. Your Excellency will, we trust, pardon us for any warmth of language into which we may be betrayed in repudiating such wicked libels on the fair name of seventy millions of His Majesty's loyal Muslim subjects in India. We, on behalf of our community and ourselves, unhesitatingly characterise these allegations as gross and baseless calumnies opposed in the highest degree to the best interests of the Empire. In ordinary circumstances irresponsible attacks on communities, as on individuals, may be treated with the silence of contempt. But those who have taken upon themselves the task of maligning our community are both persistent and resourceful, and their sinister efforts have been assisted by the wide publicity given to their allegations in England as well as in this country. We, therefore, apprehended that, unless some opportunity such as this was afforded to us, it was not possible for a community circumstanced as ours to give such allegations an effectual, authoritative and adequate contradiction.

Your Excellency, our desire is not to prefer requests or to give expression to grievances of a character such as in ordinary practice form the subject-matter of deputations. But there is nothing that we prize more highly than the recognition of our loyalty, and it is with reference to this that we have craved

Your Excellency's leave to approach you. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to declare with all the emphasis that we can command that Indian Mussalmans cherish this tradition no less dearly to-day than they did at any time previously in their history.

Your Excellency will, we trust, accept our assurance that we desire nothing better than this, that absolute confidence should exist between the people and the Government, and that that friendliest feelings should prevail between the various communities of India; but it has pained us greatly that sinister motives should be ascribed in some quarters to the efforts that are being made to make the relations between the two great sister communities of India more harmonious and friendly.

Your Excellency has endeared yourself to the whole of India by your large-hearted sympathy with the people of this country, your generous appreciation of their aspirations and the high statesmanship which has characterised your rule. Grateful as we are for the benefits that have resulted from your liberal and progressive administration in which we have participated with the rest of India, we have special reason to offer our respectful gratitude to Your Excellency for the unfailing consideration that you have shown for the feelings and sentiments of our community, and for the policy of Your Excellency's Government with regard to our educational requirements of which we hope to see an early fruition. It is, therefore, a matter of special pleasure to us to approach Your Excellency with this our humble address conveying to Your Excellency our heart-felt assurances of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community we represent, and we trust Your Excellency will be pleased to communicate these assurances to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves

Your Excellency's

DELHI : March 25th, 1914.

Most Obedient Humble Servants

[We give below the names and distinctions of the signatories to the Deputation's Address. Ed. Comrade.]

Signatories to the Address.

1. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan Saheb, C.S.I., of Maler Kotla. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)
2. Dr. Naziruddin Hasan, M.A., (Cantab.) LL. D., (Dublin) Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow.
3. The Hon. Raja Sir Mohamed Ali Mohamed Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad.
4. Haji Mohamed Musa Khan Saheb of Datanli, Aligarh.
5. Munshi Mohamed Ehtesham Ali Saheb of Lucknow.
6. Prince Ghulam Mohamed, Ex-Sheriff of Calcutta, (Mysore Family.)
7. Aqa Syed Husain Saheb Shustari of Calcutta.
8. Prince Afsar-ul-Muluk Akram Husain, Calcutta. (Oudh Royal Family.)
9. Prince Ahmed Halim-uz-Zaman, Calcutta (Mysore Family.)
10. Haji Bakhsh Ellahi Khan Saheb, C.I.E., Delhi.
11. Shafa-ul-Mulk Hakim Raziuddin Khan Saheb, Delhi.
12. The Hon. Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, C.I.E.
13. Mufti Fida Mohamed Khan, Bar.-at-Law, Peshawar.
14. Mazharul Haque Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)

15. Mohamed Azhar Ali Esq., B.A., Vakil, Hon. Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow.
16. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, B.A., M.S., M.D., (Edin.) M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., (Lond.) Delhi.
17. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Sahab, Retired Political Assistant of Lahore.
18. Captain Nawab Ahmed Nawaz Khan Sadozai, Dera Ismail Khan.
19. Nawab Abdul Majid Sahab, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)
20. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Amritsar.
21. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Sahab, Amritsar.
22. Syed Abdur Rashid, B.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, Ajmere.
23. The Hon. Mr. Ghulam Husain, B.A., LL.B., Hyderabad Sind.
24. Haji Usuf Haji Ismail Sobhani, President Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay.
25. Moulvi Syed Abul-Aas Sahab, Honory. Magistrate, Patna.
26. Khan Bahadur Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan Sahab, (Formerly Member of the Provincial Legislative Council.) Patna.
27. Mohamed Ali Tyebji Kaderbhoy, Esq., Bar-at-Law, President, Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam, Bombay.
28. Shaikh Mohamed Faeq Sahab, B.A., LL.B., Fyzabad.
29. Hafiz Mohamed Abdul Halim Sahab, Cawnpore.
30. Syed Fazlur Rahman Sahab, B.A., LL.B., Cawnpore.
31. Mohamed Ali Esq., B.A., (Oxon.), Editor of "The Comrade" and "The Hamdard" Delhi.
32. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali, Madras.
33. The Hon. Syed Qamarul Huda, Bar-at-Law, Bakhtiarpore, Patna.
34. Mohamed Ali Jinnah Esq., Bar-at-Law, (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.) Bombay.
35. Shaikat Ali Esq., Mo'tamid-i-Khadim-ul-Khuddam-i-Kaba, Delhi.
36. Maulvi Habibur Rahman Khan Sahab Sherwani, Aligarh.
37. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan Esq., Bar-at-Law, Aligarh. (Formerly Member of the Provincial Legislative Council.)
38. Shaikh Abdullah Esq., B.A., LL.B., Aligarh.
39. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Maqbool Alum Sahab, Vakil, Benares.
40. Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Esq., Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
41. The Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurguri, Bar-at-Law, Sind.
42. M. Abdul Aziz Esq., Bar-at-Law, President N.-W. F. P. Muslim League, Peshawar.
43. Shams-ul-Ulama Moulvi Shibli Sahab Nouani.
44. Maulvi Ghulam Haider Khan Sahab of the "Zamindar," Lahore.
45. Nawab Mohamed Jafar Ali Khan Sahab of Shish Mahal, Lucknow.
46. Nawabzada Mohamed Syed Ali Khan Sahab, B.A., Shish Mahal, Lucknow.
47. Maulana Maulvi Abdul Bari Sahab, Firangi Mahal, Lucknow.
48. Moulvi Ghulam Mohiy-ud-din Sahab of Kasur, Pleader, Punjab.
49. Khan Bahadur Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana Abul Khair Sahab, Ghazipur.
50. Masudul Hasan Esq., Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.
51. The Hon. Maulvi Syed Mohamed Tahir Sahab, Vakil, Monghyr.
52. Chawdhry Mohamed Ajirul Haque Sahab, Bakhtiarpore, Monghyr.
53. Maulvi Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Ahmad Sahab, Zamindar Mushkipore, Monghyr.
54. Shaikh Zahur Ahmad Esq., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
55. Khan Sahab Maulvi Bashir Ali Khan Sahab, Hony. Secretary Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore.
56. Nawab Mohamed Ali Khan Sahab Qazilbash of Lahore.
57. Abdul Majid Khwaja Esq., B.A. (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
58. Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Esq., Hon. Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, Peshawar.
59. The Hon. Nawab Mohamed Ibrahim Ali Khan Sahab, Kunjpura, Punjab.
60. Syed Zahur Ahmed Esq., B.A., LL.B., Joint Secretary, U.P. Provincial Muslim League, Lucknow.
61. Syed Abdul Aziz Esq., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
62. Khan Bahadur, Syed Ali Hasan Khan Sahab, Retired Member of the Council of Indore State, Ex-Prime Minister of Jaora State.
63. Syed Wazir Hasan Esq., B.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Lucknow.
64. Ahsanul Haque Esq., Bar-at-Law, Jullunder.
65. Maulvi Mahboob Alum Sahab, Editor of "The Paice Akhbar", Lahore.
66. Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub Sahab, Vakil, Moradabad.
67. Khan Bahadur Maulana H. M. Malak Sahab, President, C. P. Muslim League, Nagpore.
68. The Hon. Mr. Abdulhusain Adamji Peerbhoy, J.P., Bombay.
69. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Hafiz Ajmal Khan Sahab, Delhi.
70. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, M.D., D.P.H., I.M.S., Retired.
71. Khwaja Gul Mohamed Khan, Pleader, Punjab.
72. The Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, K.C.I.E., Bombay.
73. The Hon. Raja Syed Abu Jafar Sahab of Pirpur, Fyzabad.
74. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry, of Dhanbari, District Mymensingh, Bengal.
75. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, Kt., Bombay.
76. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Wahid-ud-din Sahab of Meerut.
77. Syed Alay Mohamed Esq., Bar-at-Law, Retired Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.
78. Maulana Syed Karamat Husain Sahab, Bar-at-Law, Ex-Judge, High Court, N.-W. P., Lucknow.
79. The Hon. Shaikh Shuhid Husain, B.A., LL.B., (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, Lucknow, Taluqdar of Gadia.
80. Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab, Hon. Secretary to the Board of Trustees of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh.
81. Shams-ul-Ulama Syed Ahmed Sahab, Imam Jami' Musjid, Delhi.
82. Qazi Najm-ud-din Ahmed Sahab, Meerut.
83. R. M. Ghulam Husain Esq., B.A., Sub-Editor of "The Comrade", Delhi.
84. Maulana Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Delhi.

H. E. the Viceroy's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,—

It is a source of much pleasure to me to have this opportunity of receiving a deputation of the Mohamedan community of such a representative character as that which I have the pleasure of seeing here before me to-day.

You have referred, in the address which I am very happy to receive from you, to the reinvigorated vitality of your own community during the past few years, and it is a fact to which I am able to bear testimony and at the same time to welcome. There is no doubt that during the past 40 years a great change has swept over Islam in India, but zeal for the Moslem faith and for the uplifting of the community, and the loyalty of the Moslems to the Government of this country where they live and find freedom of worship, have gone hand in hand, and have created a high ideal from which the community has never wavered. This indeed was the policy advocated by the late Sir Syed Ahmed, the distinguished reformer and leader of the Indian Mohamedan community, and I can only state my firm conviction that in pursuing that policy the true salvation of the Mohamedans of India is to be found. It is a policy worthy of a community of political and social importance such as your's. There is no doubt that Mohamedan sentiment has been greatly stirred by recent events outside India, and that for a time a restless spirit prevailed which might have been interpreted by those who regarded merely the troubled surface of the water as a dangerous portent, but which those who could see below the surface were well aware, betrayed no real antagonism between Government and your community. It is true that feelings have been sore, and that here and there this has found expression in bitter or heated words, which it would have been better to have left unsaid. And it is true, unfortunately, that writers in the English and foreign press have been misled by such expressions and, owing to a merely superficial comprehension

of the Mohamedan train of thought, have misrepresented the attitude of your community and attributed to them actions and thoughts which those who know you well can only regard as a deep misunderstanding. I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at aspersions that have been cast upon you and your people as a whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community. I need hardly repeat to you here what I said in the Legislative Council at Simla on the 17th September last to the realisation by the British Government of the absolute necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the Holy Places in Arabia, but I would point out that this is an important and powerful link between your community and the Government of our King-Emperor, for it is only in view of the religious interests of the Mohamedans of India and the value that the Government attach to religious freedom and Mohamedan control of the Holy Places that such a responsibility could rest upon Great Britain. Now that peace has been happily restored in Europe and Asia, I look forward with hope and confidence to a period of peaceful development of the Mohamedan community by means of self improvement and education, and to a policy of solidarity and co-operation with Government of all loyal, moderate and sober opinion for the welfare and progress of this Empire which we all of us have so much at heart.

In conclusion I thank you very warmly for the friendly tone of your personal references to myself and the policy that I have tried to follow. I cordially welcome the assurances that you have given me of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community which you represent which I will not fail to transmit to the King Emperor, although for me such assurances were not needed, and I devoutly hope that the pure and unalloyed faith of your people in the unity of God and of loyalty to their rulers may burn like a flame and ever grow brighter to lighten your path for many ages to come.



India in the House of Commons.

THE SITAPUR MURDER CASE.

Mr. Morrell asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he could now give any further information with regard to the Sitapur murder case, and especially as to the trial and acquittal of a man named Bachan Singh, on the charge upon which two men who had been acquitted by the Sessions Judge were afterwards hanged, and the third man named Ganga Singh was still in penal servitude; whether he could say why no mention was made of the prosecution of Bachan Singh in the Papers laid before the House; and whether, in view of all the circumstances of this case and the suspicion that existed in the minds of many unprejudiced persons that there had been a serious miscarriage of justice, the Secretary of State would now advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy in favour of Ganga Singh.

Mr. Montague: Bachan Singh absconded after the murder and was not arrested until October 20, 1912, about six weeks after the execution of the other two men. He was tried by the Sessions Judge, Lucknow, on February 15, found guilty, and condemned to transportation for life. He appealed to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner. The appeal was decided on May 13 in favour of the appellant. At the time when Papers were presented this case had not been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. Full information was received on August 25. After careful consideration the Secretary of State is convinced that the circumstances of this case in no way affect the justice of the decision in the previous case; and he has already, in reply to a petition on behalf of Ganga Singh, refused to advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that this man was tried and acquitted on the same evidence as the three other prisoners, two of whom were executed, and as to the one who is now in penal servitude, is he likewise aware that one of the judges, the Judicial Commissioners, who acquitted this man, constituted the bench that convicted the other three?

Mr. Montague: I think that the hon. gentleman has a question later upon the evidence. It is not the case that he was either convicted or acquitted on the same evidence. In regard to the question as to the judges, the Secretary of State took all the circumstances into consideration.

Mr. Morrell: Is it not the case that Ganga Singh, who is now in penal servitude, is serving that under a sentence which was never passed upon him by the judge who tried him, because he was acquitted by the judge who tried the case and was sentenced by a man who had never seen him?

Mr. Montague: I believe he was sentenced on appeal.

Mr. Morrell: Did my hon. friend himself say that the appeal was in no sense a re-trial, but was merely an appeal against a previous acquittal?

Mr. Montague: I believe my hon. friend remembers the elaborate discussion we had on a former occasion.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was now aware that for the same offence for which Chalkau Singh, Sikhdan Singh, and Ganga Singh were tried by Mr. Ball, the Sessions Judge at Sitapur, and acquitted, and were, five months after their acquittal, re-tried by judicial Commissioners on the report of the evidence of witnesses in the Court below who were not examined or seen by the Commissioners, Chalkau Singh and Sikhdan Singh being sentenced to death and executed, and Ganga Singh being sentenced to Penal servitude, a fourth man named Bachan Singh was tried by another Sessions Judge on exactly the same evidence as was offered in the case of the Singhs, convicted by him and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment, and that that very appeal resulted in an acquittal; had he ascertained the cause of his having had no information from India as to the trial of Bachan Singh so lately as August 13 last; had he yet enquired what was the reason of this circumstance, which tends to throw additional doubts on the guilt of the Singhs and to show that the Government of India would have favourably entertained their petition for mercy if that petition had not been withheld by Sir John Hewett, not having been communicated to the India Office in the history of this transaction sent from the authorities in India and communicated by the Indian Office to this House; and whether the Secretary of State would now advise the exercise of the prerogative of mercy in the case of Ganga Singh.

Mr. Montague: I would refer my hon. friend to the answer I have just given to Mr. Morrell. But I must point out that the evidence upon which Bachan Singh was acquitted was not exactly the same as that upon which the other three men were convicted. With regard to the second and third parts of the question, I would remind my hon. friend that up to the time when Papers

were presented, this House was concerned with the Sitapur case, so far as it concerned the trial of the three men acquitted by the Sessions Judge and convicted by the Judicial Commissioner on appeal, and thereby raised the general question of appeals against acquittals and the disposal of petitions of persons under the sentence of death. The records of the subsequent trial of Bachan Singh were not among the papers called for by the Secretary of State, who was then unaware of the proceedings against him, and were evidently not judged relevant to the specific issue raised. But when the appeal of Ganga Singh, under sentence of transportation, came before the local government, the possible hearing of Bachan Singh's acquittal was not overlooked by them, and the record was then transmitted to the Secretary of State, and was considered by him when he disposed of the appeal and refused to advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: When did the Secretary of State first hear of this case? Bachan Singh was convicted on October 12, 1912, and the other case did not come up until June of last year.

Mr. Montague: If the hon. gentleman will look at the answer I gave to Mr. Morrell, a copy of which I will give him, he will see all the dates he asks for are set out.

Mr. Morrell: Can the hon. Member tell me if the appeal of Ganga Singh ever came before the Viceroy-in-Council?

Mr. Montague: I think it was granted, but if the hon. gentleman will give notice I will give him accurate information.

APPEALS AGAINST ACQUITTALS IN INDIA.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that during the years 1902-11 no fewer than twenty-six Indians who had been tried on capital charges by session judges, and having stood in peril of their lives had been acquitted were subsequently, on appeals preferred by Government against these orders of acquittal, convicted of a capital offence, sentenced to death, and actually executed; whether the system under which in India persons tried for murder and acquitted could subsequently be retried, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed, applied only to persons of Indian birth and not to persons of European birth and descent and was of recent origin; whether in these appeals from acquittals on capital charges instituted by the Indian Government, the witnesses in the court below were not produced, their evidence given in that court being simply perused by the judges, and that the accused persons themselves were not necessarily present; and whether the Secretary of State for India, who some months ago had decided to consider if there were grounds for re-examining this method of procedure in conducting such appeals, had yet taken the matter into consideration; and, if so, whether he had decided that the same method of trial for capital crimes should obtain for Indians and for Europeans alike, that in cases other than capital, in which appeals from acquittals were allowed this procedure should be reformed; and, if so, what were the contemplated reforms in that procedure.

Mr. Montague: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The system dates, as my hon. friend is aware, from 1872; that it indirectly applies in the manner stated in the second part I have already explained in my answer to him on July 8 last. The answer to the third part is in the affirmative, except that the Appellate Court may take additional evidence. With regard to the remainder of the question, the Secretary of State has under consideration the whole of the important question of appeals against acquittals in all its bearings: no decision has yet been reached.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that this appeal against acquittals was instituted by Sir Fitzjames Stephen in order to prevent Europeans being improperly acquitted, and that it is now being used against a different class of persons?

Mr. Montague: I heard the hon. gentleman argue that.

DEATH SENTENCES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that, of the twenty-six cases, in which, during the years 1902-11, Indians acquitted as the result of trials before sessions judges on capital charges were subsequently retried, convicted, sentenced to death, and actually executed, no fewer than thirteen were in the United Provinces and not one in Bengal; and whether he could assign any reason for this divergence in the number of death sentences executed on prisoners in the first instance acquitted of murder in the United Provinces and in Bengal.

Mr. Montague: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second part, I would hesitate to give an opinion which, having regard to the differences between one province and another, would not be authoritative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that judges upon the Bengal Bench, especially the Chief Justice, have expressed themselves in unmeasured terms about Executive action?

WHIPPING SENTENCES IN INDIA.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India the result of his enquiries into the prevalence of whipping sentences in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in Burma.

Mr. Montague: The Secretary of State has received reports from the two local governments concerned, and is satisfied that in both provinces the spirit as well as the letter of the Whipping Act of 1909 is carefully observed, and that the punishment of whipping is in neither case unduly awarded.

Mr. Swift MacNeill also asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he would state how many judicial sentences for whipping were passed in India, province by province, during the years 1911 and 1912.

Mr. Montague: Burma—1911, 2,159; 1912, 2,205. United Provinces—1911, 2,992; 1912, 2,662. Punjab—1911, 1,135; 1912, 1,149. North-West Frontier Province—1911, 81; 1912, 120. Bombay—1911, 859; 1912, 901. Central Provinces—1911, 518; 1912, 529. Madras—1911, 618; 1912, 684. Bengal—1911, 816 (including Behar and Orissa, but not Eastern Bengal); 1912, 689 (including Eastern Bengal). Eastern Bengal and Assam—1911, 228; Behar and Orissa, 1912, 256; Assam, 1912, 125.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked if the United Provinces did not top the list.

Mr. Montague said he believed that was the case.

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Prime Minister if he would state what progress had been made with the School of Oriental Languages.

Mr. Asquith: The charter for the school is now being considered by the Privy Council. The alterations in the buildings recommended in the first interim report of Lord Cromer's Committee are still under consideration.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that progress has been much faster in the smaller City of Vladivostok, where they already have a well-equipped Oriental School?

Mr. Asquith: I am not acquainted with that.

Ottoman Public Debt.

Sir Adam Block's Report.

THE annual report of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt for the period from March 14, 1912, to March 13, 1913, is now published, with a special report by Sir Adam Block, the representative of the British and Dutch bondholders. Referring to the war, immense areas of territory, he says, were for months devastated by the opposing forces, and in those districts the collection of revenue was naturally almost out of the question. "Owing to the naval operations of the belligerents, all business and trade, as well as transport and sale of salt, were restricted on the coasts of the *Ægean* and of the Red Sea. By the closing of the Dardanelles communication with the Capital was almost entirely suspended for a considerable period. It is not surprising under these circumstances that the receipts of the Public Debt Administration should show a decrease compared with the preceding year. From the outbreak of the war with the Balkan States the Council of the Debt had to rely chiefly on the Anatolian Provinces for its revenues, and in spite of the natural reaction of the war in these districts the receipts have come in with praiseworthy regularity, the decrease on the total receipts being, as I have said, less than was to be expected. The results of last year compared with the preceding year show decrease of £1,886,461." "Pessimistic rumours," says Sir Adam Block, "have been so persistent that anything I may say of an optimistic nature may be received with scepticism, but nevertheless I have no hesitation in affirming that the check in the steady improvement of the economic condition of the country for a number of years past is only temporary; and that in spite of the war and the financial straits of the Turkish Government there is every reason to believe that with peace assured the revenues will continue to show a steady increase." The Bondholders, it is said, need have no apprehension of any serious fall in the yield of the revenues in general. The Turkish Government have been hard put to it to make both ends meet, but great credit should be accorded to them for having throughout scrupulously respected their engagements to their creditors. Not only have they observed a perfectly correct attitude with regard to the ceded revenues but they have, as in preceding years, afforded the Debt Council all possible assistance throughout twenty-four months of political and financial crisis.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

As soon as the Council perceived that the occupation of the Turkish Territories in Europe and in the *Ægean* Islands by the Balkan States would interfere with the collection of the assigned Revenues, urgent representations were made to the Great Powers with the object of protecting the rights of the bondholders of Turkey in those districts where the Turkish writ no longer ran. The Debt Council subsequently received assurances from the Balkan States that no prejudice would be caused to the creditors of Turkey. These assurances, unfortunately, were not entirely adhered to. A considerable loss of Revenue has been incurred which the States concerned will be called upon to make good. In spite of the representations made by the Council of Foreign Bondholders, and some of the other syndicates, the admission of a representative of the Debt Council was found unacceptable. The Council of the Debt has recently prepared tables for the next meeting of the Conference fixing the share of the Debt for each State in proportion to the new territory acquired, and it is to be hoped that the final decision of the Conference will not long be delayed, and that ultimately the Great Powers will ensure that the rights of their respective bondholders are duly respected. Should this prove to be the case, the bondholders will not suffer by the loss of territory to Turkey.

THE FUTURE.

The last two years have been a most critical period for Turkey, and it has seemed at times as if the financial resources of the country could not stand the strain without recourse to the adoption of regrettable measures which would have affected the acquired rights of the creditors of Turkey. If the Balkan States are called upon to pay their proper share of the External Debt of Turkey, the loss of revenue will not be so keenly felt, and the Anatolian Revenues, which will show renewed elasticity as soon as the effects of the war have passed away, will not be burdened by an increased share of the Foreign Debt, thus depriving Turkey of the means of ensuring a better administration and of consolidating the financial stability of the country. It is on this that the interests of the Bondholders of Turkey depend for the future security of their holding, and the settlement of the share of the Balkan States in the Foreign Debt of Turkey requires therefore the special attention and the vigilance of all those who possess a stake in the Ottoman Empire. The situation to-day is very serious, and the finances of Turkey will require careful handling and much care and attention. But, whilst the situation is undoubtedly critical, it is by no means desperate. If Turkey continues to be deprived of legitimate means of placing the finances on a sound basis, that danger becomes more imminent. If Turkey is to be financially boycotted for political ends, the Bondholders may have to suffer, even if only for a time. Immediate financial relief is necessary in the form of a consolidating or funding loan. The Government cannot without risk impose further direct taxation on the agricultural population of the country. Serious efforts are being made to reduce expenditure, and it is confidently believed that in the coming year a very large reduction will be effected both in the civil departments of the State and in the military estimates. It is hoped that the deficit of the coming year of the ordinary Budget will not exceed two millions. "Turkey," says the writer, "has for many months past been asking the Great Powers for foreign experts and inspectors, as well as for gendarmerie officers, for the reform of the Civil Administration of the Anatolian provinces, and for the reorganisation of the provincial gendarmerie. The Government have spontaneously offered to give foreigners so employed very extensive powers. Up to the present, however, for reasons which it is difficult to understand, no decision seems to have been come to, but I have reason to hope that the Great Powers will no longer decline to agree to the proposals made, nor further hesitate to award what they themselves have been advocating and insisting upon in the interest of Turkey for more than a quarter of a century."

The Morning Post's Opinion.

SIR ADAM BLOCK's annual report on the Ottoman Public Debt is one of the most trustworthy sources of information not only about Turkish finance but about many other aspects of Turkish government and Turkish affairs. Its author is a Member of the Council of Administration of the Debt and has the great advantage of a mastery of the Turkish language. He thoroughly understands the Turks and has their confidence, and in his reports aims at explaining their position, as far as financial report allows, to the British public. His official position on the Council of the Debt is that of representative of the British and Dutch bondholders, and he has therefore to consider their interests. This year he has to review a period in which Turkey was at war, and in which she has lost the greater part of the European territories from which two years ago she was still collecting revenue. During the war, of course, revenue was not to be had from the

European provinces. But from the Asiatic provinces, especially from Asia Minor, the receipts were regular and the decrease of income was less than had been expected. The loss of Tripoli has not been a loss of revenue except for the period of the war with Italy, because the Italian Government has paid Turkey two millions, equivalent to the capitalisation at four per cent. of the revenue of Tripoli in the period before the war. Nor will the loss of the European provinces be more than a limited financial loss, for the Powers have agreed that arrangements are to be made by which the Balkan States are to make up to the bondholders whatever revenue would disappear in consequence of the annexations. The financial conference meeting at Paris for this purpose has not yet finished its work, but the principle of compensation by the Balkan States appears to have been established without question.

The war has upset for the time the attempts made for a year or two before it began to set in order the financial administration of Turkey. It was natural and necessary that all the resources of Turkey should be devoted to the war and that the civil departments of the State should be temporarily starved. It is now needful to restore those departments, without depriving the bondholders of the interest due to them. This will be difficult without a loan, and Sir Adam Block pleads for a loan. The total external debt of Turkey is a hundred and one millions, together with new loans, Treasury bonds, and advances from banks, amounting to twenty-four millions. Sir Adam Block thinks that sound security can be found for a loan which would pay off the recent advances and provide for immediate administrative wants. These are urgent. Officials, Judges, and Police cannot work unpaid, and though salaries were paid regularly from 1908 to the outbreak of the war they have fallen into arrears. Unless their regular payment is speedily resumed "the administration will slip back to the old system of corrupt and inefficient officialdom which had brought Turkey to the verge of ruin." The Turkish official, in the opinion of Sir Adam Block, is as good as the official of any other country so long as he is regularly and adequately paid and properly controlled. Meantime the receipts are not yet adequate to cover the ordinary expenditure. Accordingly Turkey must for some time to come practise economy. Her Government must understand that the only salvation consists in a policy of thrift, and that a period of peace is necessary for restoring the vitality of the country. This is, so far as the Turkish Government is concerned, the chief moral to be drawn from Sir Adam Block's report. But unless there is some assurance that the Turkish Government is determined on a peaceful policy there is little prospect of any fresh loan, at any rate from Western Europe. The expressions used with regard to the islands of the *Ægean* in the Turkish reply to the Note of the Powers were consistent with the intention to begin another war against Greece at an early date, and the recent expenditure of a large sum, which Turkey obtained not from revenue but by borrowing, upon a battleship seems to point in the same direction. The Governments of the Powers have in their hands a means of influencing the Turkish Government towards peace. It consists in making the settlement of the financial conference dependent upon the definite acceptance by Turkey of the decision made by the Powers in regard to the islands. This would be a right and proper step to take, for it would be absurd for Greece to pay Turkey money to cover the Turkish debt in respect of Macedonia and the islands if that money were to be used for mobilising the Turkish Army and Navy for an attack upon Greece. The improvement of Turkish administration is impracticable without European assistance. This Sir Adam Block freely admits, and he points to the excellent work done at the request of the Turkish Government by Europeans such as Sir Richard Crawford at the Customs. But he reminds his readers that Turkey has for many months past been asking the Great Powers for foreign experts and inspectors, as well as for gendarmerie officers, for the reform of the civil administration of the Anatolian provinces. Up to the date of the report, however, which was the 9th of January, no decision had been reached in regard to what Sir Adam Block evidently thought the greatest service the Powers could render to the Turkish Government and the population of Turkey. There were some reasons for this delay. Some of the Powers are jealous of the employment in the Turkish service of subjects of some of the others. The matter is therefore one requiring delicate and sometimes prolonged negotiations. But since Sir Adam Block wrote progress has been made. Only the other day it was announced that an agreement had been reached between Turkey, Germany and Russia for the administration of the two Armenian provinces under European inspectors.

If there is, among those who now have control of the government and policy of Turkey, a statesman large-hearted enough to be devoted solely to his country's welfare and large-minded enough to face the real facts he may learn from Sir Adam Block's report, of which he will be able to read between the lines, what are the conditions of the preservation of the Turkish Empire and of the restoration of its prosperity. They are to begin with a frank acceptance of the result of the late war and a resolute preservation

of the peace for the next ten years. The first necessity is the establishment of efficient administration in Anatolia. That means competent and upright heads of provinces and districts; impartial courts administering justice to all classes, races, and creeds; and the construction of good roads through the country as adjuncts to the railways that have been made and are about to be made. If these three things are done the people will have security for work, for earning, and for saving. The revenue will then increase, and it will be possible to establish a budget and to have a series of years with a surplus instead of a deficit. Then it will be possible to look further into the future, for Turkey's credit will then be re-established. Any other course, and above all a fresh war, means that Turkey will run further into debt. In the case of a State in Turkey's condition an increase of debt means an increase of foreign control. Turkey is no longer independent. She is in the hands partly of her creditors and partly of the States that have created interests in her territories. If she aims at recovering her independence she must choose the right means, which consist in solvency or financial independence. A Turkey able to pay her way would be in a position to have a policy and to play a part in the world. A Turkey drifting towards bankruptcy must be drifting at the same time towards disintegration.—*The Morning Post*.

Honor.

The idea of honor is supposed to be one of the contributions of Norse chivalry to the ethical culture of mankind. In the age of chivalry, said Gibbon, all the men were brave and all the women chaste, and the two virtues embodied the distinctive 'points of honor' for each sex. The fusion of Christian sentiment, which in its original purity knew nothing of military bravery, with barbaric militarism produced the peculiar cult of personal dignity as centred on a restrained strength which could be used only in a righteous cause; and the *very parfit, gentil knight*, who might fight for God or his lady, for the weak and oppressed, but in no less noble contest, became a central figure, is the moral ideal of the western world. The code of honor supplied gaps in the ordinary system of morals and law. Debts of honor were those which a sensitive man felt to be only the more binding because they could not be enforced. Honor forbade to take the advantages which circumstances, law, or public opinion might allow. Even conscience was less sensitive. A thing might be within the bounds of actual right, but honor, as a super-conscience, would avoid anything that could seem tainted by winds wafted, however far, from the realms of the base or the weak. Who shall deny that honor has really meant these things to many, and has motivated acts beyond count, unnoticed and unrecorded, of chivalry and abnegation?

But, as with other servants of mankind, the best work that honor has done has been secret and unnamed. As a reality, she whispers in the ear of the individual man or woman, stimulating or shaming him in the most intimate of his personal dealings. When she goes forth into the market-place, or offers her wares as the badge of a caste or of a nation, her leadership is of very different quality. When we begin to hear talk of the national honor on the platform or in the Press, we know that there is going to be a hard time for common sense and common decency. The national honor, far from being hypersensitive on nice points of conduct, knows very little of the commonest obligations, and will barely leave to the public men who serve it the rags of private honesty to cover the nakedness of their dealings. It is in vain for a few to protest that the nation's honor cannot be exalted by acts that would disgrace its humblest member as a man; that, on the contrary, a great civilized people may win its highest honor by scrupulous regard for the rights of a weaker nation, and that a land which boasts itself the mother of liberty may add to its laurels by extending the borders of freedom within its world-wide empire or by holding out a hand to oppressed Armenians or threatened Persians. To the upholders of national honor, these are words, breath, garnished possibly for platform rhetoric when they happen to chime in with other needs of policy, but utterly incongruous with the real forces which underlie their appeal to public sentiment. To them the national honor means the power of the nation to make itself respected, and respect for a nation means fear based on physical force. For honour in this connection, we should read brute strength and the determination to use it remorselessly.

It is much the same when the code of honor is the creed of a caste. It may be even worse, for honor as a caste possession is something exclusive. Outsiders do not share it, and to admit them to its laws and usages is contaminating. All the circumstances of the birth of honor, all its history and lineage, play upon the meaning of the word in this connection. The code of honor is the appanage of those that bear arms, and except as mere 'common' soldiers, flesh for the cannon, men hired for slaughter at a shilling a day, or driven into battle under the lash of conscription, and commonly are not arm-bearers. The mastery of arms is the hall-mark of aristocracy.

and use of arms the foundation of honor. The shameful accusation, the insult, the blow, must be wiped out in blood. Not only is it a point of honor to give satisfaction to the man one has wronged, but to stand his fire, to measure swords with him, wipe out the wrong from the scutcheon of the door. The tarnish is removed from the name, baseness is redeemed by the overshadowing greatness of courage, which, like charity in the rival code, covers a multitude of sins. But if the wrong is due to or by the inferior, who can bear no weapon, no such remedy is of avail. To cross sword with such a one would be to derogate from the dignity of caste. He may be chastised, but not fought.

These conditions of the law of honor have been refined and softened in many dwelling codes. The duel could not wipe out all offences, and there are acts of baseness which would make a man unworthy to be fought. The duel, moreover, at least contemplates a fight on equal terms, in which each party exposes his life, and to most votaries of honor the principle of the fair field is elementary and the meanness of undue advantage axiomatic. The legendary chivalry of the duellist is replete with instances of the surrender of points vantage, the return of the dropped sword, the courteous delay till the opponent has recovered a slip. Here at least, if honor means anything but brutality, we expect to see her restraining hand at work in the hottest of the encounter.

It is reserved for Prussian militarism, with the characteristic national thoroughness, to work out the real implications of honor as the machine-soldier is to understand it. Honor for the German officers is that which can brook no insult; so far we are still in the duellist's code. But the Prussian officer in resenting insult must make no miscalculation of the chances as between him and his opponent. He must know no restraints, and submit to no delays. He must give chase to those who have ventured to smile in his dignified presence, and if he only catches a lame cobbler, he must then and there slash him over the head while his underlings hold the man's hands. To this he is prompted, not by hot resentment, not by innate brutality, but by the inexorable command of a lofty duty. It is his honor which is assailed, his personal dignity which is exalted, by this exposition of the power of ten men, armed, to deal with one in his shirt. To what strange uses do words come. The private schoolboy in his first term learns, if he did not know it before, that to hit a smaller boy is mean, that to get others to hold him for the purpose is still meaner, and to belabour him so held with a weapon, mean beyond the credibility of meanness. But with the Prussian the dialectic of honor, as a metaphysician might say, has worked itself through. Its inner contradiction has come to the surface, and it has passed over into its opposite of the utterly abased.

Take honor in its sub-intention as that title to the respect of others which is justified by their well-grounded fear, and you have its full meaning proclaimed in all its glory in the sabre marks on the lame cobbler's head. Hideous to all beholders in its nakedness, this same conception parades through the speech of many of us, muffled up in the trappings of lofty sentiment when we talk of saving the honor, it may be of a man, it may be of a family, a class, a profession, or a nation, by that which, if revealed to all the world in its essence, would only cover them with disgrace. The logical Prussian—worthy countryman of Kant—only shows us whither we are going, and where our half thoughts tend, just as he teaches us what the rule of the soldier means when it realizes its ideal of emancipation from the restraint of Parliaments and the checks of civil law. It is not our part to scold him but to thank him for a double object-lesson in sincerity and in political philosophy.—*The Nation*.

The Bagdad Railway.

In 1875 the first section of what was known as the Anatolian Railway was built by German Engineers to the order of the Turkish Government. In 1888 it was transferred to a German company. In 1890 the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, granted to the Emperor of Germany, whom he styled "his only friend in Europe," the concession "for the extension of the said railway from the Bosphorus, across Asiatic Turkey, to the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, on the Persian Gulf."

This concession was transferred to a German Syndicate, which assumed the name of "The Bagdad Railway Company," and after certain modifications, it commenced business.

In 1903 the German company made certain proposals to England, Russia, and France to participate in the construction—by taking shares in the company.

Russia refused, as she believed it was an aggression against her spheres of influence in Armenia and North Persia, and her frontier south of the Caucasus. The interests of France were mainly financial, but the alliance with Russia compelled her to act in unison with her. England feared an intrusion upon her interests in the Persian Gulf and so also refused.

The concession to the German company was in the following terms:—

1. A ninety-nine years' lease.
2. The construction of the line from Konia, the terminus of the Anatolian Railway to Bagdad, the ancient capital of the Saracen Caliphate on the River Tigris, and from thence to the Persian Gulf. The distance from Konia to Bagdad is 900 miles, and from Bagdad to Bassorah, 350 miles.
3. The line to be divided into twelve sections of 200 kilometres each—and to be built under so-called "Kilometric Guarantees."
4. The company to receive an annuity per kilometre of 11,000 francs for construction, and 4,500 francs for working when the line was opened.
5. The capitalised value for each of the twelve sections to be calculated at 54 million francs, and Turkish 4 per cent. bonds to be issued to the company, before starting work on any given section.

These bonds, though not worth their nominal value, have nevertheless, so far, been enough to enable the company, not only to meet its expenses, but also to make a fair profit.

If Russia, France, and England decided to boycott the Bonds, then the German company could proceed only very slowly in the construction. This is what has occurred.

The line, so far, has been built to Burgulu, which is situated at the foot of the Taurus Mountains, a distance of 125 miles. It was opened in 1904. Tunnelling through the Taurus Mountains is proceeding. It has still to cross these mountains, and to cover more than two-thirds of the distance to Bagdad.

Financial difficulties, revolution, the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, and the publication by the new Sultan, under the inspiration of the Young Turks (the so-called Committee of Union and Progress), of constitutional government, have all operated to retard its progress.

The Young Turks really disapproved of the concession, but German diplomacy, and the natural leaning and good-will of the leaders of the Turkish Army toward the German Government, restrained them from annulling it.

Since 1903, when the Conservative Government rejected the overtures of the Bagdad Company, our relations with the German Government have been very strained. This is indicated by the following extracts from German papers:—

1. *Die Post* brands English demands for control of the Gulf terminal of the Bagdad Railway as "interference with the rights of Turkey, which the Ottoman Government cannot, and will not, in any circumstances tolerate. The Bagdad Railway is a Turkish line, crossing Turkish territory. No State has a right to demand supremacy over any section of this work of civilisation. England has no right in the Turkish Bagdad Railway, other than financial. The railway is Turkish, and will remain Turkish, from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf."

2. *The Vossische Zeitung* accuses Great Britain with "trying to secure for herself rights of predominance, to the exclusion of Germany, which represents the capitalists concerned in the German portion of the Railway." And adds that "other ways and means to solve the problem must be found." Further, "that British proposals will not be considered satisfactory unless Germany approves of them, and that Germany can, if necessary, refuse her consent to the 4 per cent. increase of Custom duties"; also that "*the Wilhelms-trasse will repay Downing Street on the Persian Gulf for unfriendliness shown in the Morocco question.*" With regard to 1903, it says that "Mr. Balfour was not wholly responsible, but he failed to resist the popular agitation aroused by an ill-informed Press. The mistake he then made continues to bring its own punishment to the present day, and it will grow worse the longer England delays to repair the mistake."

3. *The Boerse Courier* says: "If Great Britain fails to profit by Germany's conciliatory attitude with regard to the Gulf section of the railway, that section, like the rest of the line, will be built without the co-operation of British capital."

4. *The Kreuz Zeitung* says: "The British claim to a protectorate over Koweit is unjustifiable, and should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal."

5. *The Berliner Tageblatt* says: "Turkey, as the Sovereign Power over the whole region traversed by the railway, has the right to have the first word in the matter, also the final decision. The question whether Bassorah or Koweit shall be the terminus requires a solution by which Turkish interests are not threatened. Germany seeks nothing more."

6. *The Abendpost* says: "British influence at Koweit, which is the only possible Gulf outlet to the Bagdad Railway, has hitherto proved a fatal obstacle to this great project."

7. *The North German Gazette* says: "It is Britain's business, if she has any special wishes regarding the Bagdad Railway, to formulate and submit them to the only factors contractually concerned in the undertaking, namely Turkey and the Bagdad Railway Company."

8. *The Frankfurter Zeitung*: "While people in Germany have accustomed themselves to treating the Bagdad Railway as an exclusively commercial affair, Englishmen are apparently unable to divest it of the political aspect with which it has been artificially endowed. English supremacy in India, control of the Persian Gulf, the pretended protectorate over the Turkish town of Koweit, all serve as a basis for demands directly concerning what is, indisputably, Turkish territory. The British Government is urged to demand control of the terminal section of the railway, and to make the granting of this demand a *sine qua non* for future friendly relations with Turkey and Germany. That England lays claim to a protectorate over Koweit and to a control of the terminal section of the Bagdad Railway is an incontrovertible fact. But the question is: What right has England in connection with the terminal of the Bagdad Railway?"

"No matter how the Koweit pretensions may be settled, no sort of half, or full, protectorate would give the English any claim upon the southern section of the Bagdad Railway.

"As soon as the English Government applies the right standard of their own practical interest to this question, they will find the Turks and German sensible parties with whom to deal."

9. *The Frankfurter Gazette* says: "The Grand Vizier has made the important pronouncement that the construction of the Bagdad line as far as Bagdad is an absolute necessity, and he was personally, and irrevocably, determined to carry this policy into realisation. But in regard to the final section, from Bagdad to the Gulf, an understanding was inevitable; and he pledged the credit of the Government to the attainment of a suitable settlement."

A semi-official communication in the same paper offers to English people who are nervous about the danger to the Indian Empire the advice to consult a map, pointing out that the distance from Koweit to the Indian frontier is about the same as from Portsmouth to Naples. And it hopes that the sound instincts of Englishmen will enable them to overcome the political Chauvinism from which their handling of the question has hitherto suffered."

10. *The Norddeutsche Zeitung* invites England to formulate her wishes and demands regarding the final section of the line, and adds that they will be sure to receive friendly consideration on the part of Germany.

11. *The Vossische Zeitung*, in an issue subsequent to the one previously quoted, says: "Any proposal which would involve British control of the final section of the Bagdad line would, under no circumstances, be entertained by Germany. The agreement with Russia enables Germany to override British resistance. If England persists in her demands, Germany will know how to act, despite England."

"If Englishmen would reckon up the net profit which has accrued from their country's anti-German policy of recent years, they will find that the total is nil."

As a sequence to the above extracts, I will quote what the *Tanin*, a Turkish paper says:—

"In 1901 Great Britain undertook not to occupy Koweit, or to extend protection to Sheikh Mubarak. Turkey simultaneously agreed not to send troops to Koweit and to respect the *status quo*. Nevertheless, in consequence of the project to build a railway from Bagdad to Bassorah, the existing situation cannot continue. Moreover, there is a necessity for securing order in Mesopotamia."

It adds: "As Turkey will respect the rights of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf, she hopes, by friendly negotiations, to obtain a favourable solution of the Koweit question."

I think there is very little doubt that the article in the *Tanin* was inspired by German diplomacy, and that the Turkish Government has been tutored to lay claim to a suzerainty over the Sheikh of Koweit. It is borne out by a further article in the *Vossische Zeitung*, to the effect that "the British Government has proposed that the four Powers chiefly concerned, viz., England, Turkey, Germany and France, should each participate in the financing of the scheme, to the amount of one quarter of the capital required; in return for which England is willing to admit the Turkish claim to the suzerainty over Koweit." It appears, however, that the proposal of participation in the financing of the scheme emanated from Turkey, and not from England, and was to the effect that Turkey and Germany should each hold 80 per cent. of the shares, and England and France 20 each. As this would have placed the control of the line entirely in the hands of Turkey and Germany, England objected to the proposal.

Now let us examine the political status of Koweit. In 1899, when the Conservative Government was in power, and Lord Cranborne was the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, concluded a secret treaty with the Sheikh of Koweit, by which "the Sheikh agreed not to cede any territory to third parties, and to conduct all his foreign relations in accordance with our wishes." This treaty bears the

date January 25th, 1899. Either the Sheikh had the power, or he had not, to make this treaty. It is argued that, though he was practically independent, as all the Sheikhs in those parts are, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan; and that the Crescent, as an emblem of the suzerainty, floated over his house. His explanation of it was that it was merely an emblem of the Moslem faith, and by no means a symbol of Turkish sovereignty; and that he paid no taxes to the Sultan.

When Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, this subject was discussed in the House of Lords, and this is what he said on the 22nd of March, 1911:—

"The position as his Majesty's Government found it in December, 1905, when they assumed office, was that the concession of the Bagdad Railway, from Konia to Bagdad, Bassorah, and some indeterminate point on the Persian Gulf, had been granted some years before. The concession was not only for the main line, but also for certain branch lines, the most important of which was the line to Kanakin, on the Turco-Persian frontier. Articles appeared in the papers daily assuming that we had a right there to do what we pleased. But the fact was, it was not our soil, but belonged to Turkey. The Germans were there, because the Turkish Government had given them the right to be there." He understood that certain important arrangements had been recently arrived at in Constantinople, and that they were substantially as follows:—

"By arrangements between the Turkish Government and the German Concessionaires under the Convention of 1903, the Bagdad Railway Company acquired the right to build a line to some point on the Persian Gulf, to be determined thereafter. Under Article 12 of the Convention, the Company acquired certain preferential rights to construct branches to the Mediterranean, on the coast of Syria."

"Under the arrangements now arrived at in Constantinople, His Majesty's Government understood that the Company renounced their right to the section of the railway between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and also their right to construct a port of Bassorah, on condition that they received a certain share in any new Company—presumably a Turkish Company—formed to carry out the parts of the line which they had now renounced. On the other hand, in fulfilment of the terms of the Concession, the Company had come to an arrangement whereby first their branch line was to be built from Oormanich on the main line to Alexandretta—on the Gulf of that name. And secondly, that certain revenues were to be allocated to them, in accordance with Article 35 of the Concession of 1903. By this arrangement the Turkish Government had regained its liberty of action regarding the section of the railway between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. His Majesty's Government now wished to arrive at a settlement which would remove all apprehension that the Bagdad Railway and its terminus would create diplomatic friction between the parties interested. But Germany, as the original Concession-holders would have to be consulted, and her agreement would be necessary."

Since the 22nd. of March, 1911, when the above speech was delivered, further developments have been as follows:—

1. A correspondent, writing from Constantinople to the German paper, *Lokal Anzeiger*, says: "The Porte has decided to negotiate with Germany alone about the construction of the Bagdad Railway as far as Bagdad. There is to be an exchange of views between Turkey and Germany with reference to the extension of the line to the Persian Gulf, and on the basis of these views negotiations will be opened with England and France."

2. In furtherance of these views, the following proposals were made:—

The capital to be equally divided between Turkey, Germany, Great Britain, and France. Each to have equal participation on the Board of Directors, the President to be an Ottoman, with, however, one vote only. Regarding the branch railway to Alexandretta, mentioned by Lord Morley in his speech, the Ministry of Public Works in Constantinople, having finally approved the plans for the Mediterranean port of the Bagdad Railway at Alexandretta, and the Branch line from Toprakale to Alexandretta work on these lines is being carried out.

The negotiations regarding Koweit, and England's sphere of influence in that State and the Persian Gulf, were temporarily suspended when the Turco-Balkan War broke out. Russia has withdrawn her opposition, as the result of the meeting between the Czar and the Kaiser at Potsdam in November, 1910, and no longer desires to have a share or any control over the railway. The reason for the withdrawal is said to be an arrangement that Germany will not oppose the construction by Russia of a railway in the north of Persia, linking on to the Bagdad Railway at Khanikin on the Persian frontier.

I really cannot see what interest financial or otherwise, France has got in this matter. She certainly poses as the protector of the Syrian Christians, and has done so ever since the Druses and Maronites of Mount Lebanon were at war with each other about

fifty years ago; but this does not give her any claim to share in the construction of the Bagdad Railway. And now that her ally and predominant partner, Russia, has retired, we ought, if our "Entente Cordiale" is more than a name, to get her to retire also.

It appears from the Paris papers, notably the *Temps* and the *Libre Parole*, that the French Foreign Office still thinks it has an interest in the negotiation. We ought to be able to convince it that the continuance of this attitude only perpetuates the existing friction between ourselves and Germany, and prevents an amicable settlement. The question would then concern only Turkey, Germany and ourselves. And with resolution and firmness, we ought to be able to arrange that Germany should construct the railway as far as Bagdad, and we from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. We should strive to get our protectorate over Koweit acknowledged by the Sultan (Germany has no right to object to it) or under his suzerainty. If possible, we should try to arrange matters amicably, and not be deterred, or intimidated, by bluff and bluster. Our attitude must be immovable; we cannot divide with Germany the control of the line between Bagdad and Koweit. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, spoken in 1903: "We should regard the establishment of a naval base, or of a fortified port, in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a grave menace to our interests, and should certainly resist it by all the means at our disposal."

The following is the present Grand Vizier's statement on the subject:—

"The granting of the Concession to a German Company, with kilometric guarantees, in preference to an English Company, which was ready to undertake the enterprise without such guarantees, was the work of a previous Government. It would be useless to criticise it now.

"The duty of the present Government is to respect the arrangement. We shall never tear up the convention which we have concluded. The state has lost nothing through kilometric guarantees. The prolongation of the line has been definitely decided. The linking up of Constantinople and Bagdad will guarantee our future prosperity. The £300,000 a year which the final section to Bagdad will cost us is nothing beside the result we are determined to attain. We will never abandon the scheme. Regarding the line from Bagdad to Bassorah, we hope to conclude a satisfactory arrangement. We shall overcome all obstacles. Our only aim is the interest of our Empire."

It will be observed that he has said nothing about the German Company's right to continue the construction of the line from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, nor has he touched on the claim of Turkey to the suzerainty over Koweit.

Since the above statement was made, a considerable change in the demeanour of Germany has occurred. Some people attribute it to Lord Haldane's mission to Berlin, followed by Lord Morley's visit; others, to Sir Edward Grey's firm attitude, he having declared that it was England's firm intention to insist on our rights in the Persian Gulf. These combined appear to have impressed Germany and Turkey with the conviction that England cannot be trifled with, and that without her adherence and whole-hearted consent, the difficulties which exist at present cannot possibly be removed. This is shown in the more moderate language now used by the German Press.

In almost similar terms, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Kölnische Zeitung* publish the significant statement that "there is not the least reason, political or otherwise, why English money should not be allowed to share in the construction of the final section of the line, the railway being nothing more than a route intended to open up the districts of Turkey-in-Asia, at present unapproachable, to the trade of all nations."

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *North German Gazette* say: "We desire to call special attention to the fact that the name of Koweit does not appear in any form in the Bagdad Concession. The Bagdad Company is authorised to build the line from Zobeir (near Bassorah) to some point on the Persian Gulf. It need not, therefore, be built directly to Koweit, although the harbour of that place has many advantages."

The *North German Gazette* further "assures England that doubts regarding anti-British preferential rates on the Bagdad line are groundless.

The French paper, *Le Temps*, remarks on this: "The English Government will, no doubt, recognise Turkish sovereignty at Koweit, on the condition that the autonomy of the Sheikh is respected, and that English interests are fully admitted and safe-guarded."

It is now said that an Anglo-Turkish understanding, in connection with the Persian Gulf, has been arrived at, as follows:—

"The Turkish Government recognises the British protectorate over Koweit, and concedes the eventual right of the construction of the line from Bassorah to Koweit; that Bassorah shall be considered the terminus of the Bagdad Railway, and that the line shall be continued from Bagdad on the same conditions as the other sections of it.

"At least two British delegates shall be appointed to the Directorate, in order to supervise all transactions, and prevent discrimination in the treatment of goods."

Now let us consider the agreement at which the Emperor of Germany and the Czar of Russia arrived, when they met at Potsdam in November, 1910.

By this agreement, as already stated, "Russia withdraws all opposition to the construction of the Bagdad Railway, on condition that she is allowed a free hand in the building of railways in the North of Persia. That is, that Germany will raise no objection to it." And that the "Bagdad Railway Company will connect at Khanakin with the projected Russian line."

I presume that, if our present relations with Russia continue, the projected railways, from Baku on the Caspian Sea to Julfa, Tabriz, Enzeli, Resht, Kazvin, Teheran, and Meshed in the north of Persia, and branch lines from Teheran to Astrabad, and from Tabriz to Khanakin—as shown on the accompanying map—will be constructed. Although they will not pass through Turkish territory and do not concern Turkey, they are a much greater menace to our Indian Empire than the Bagdad Railway, and apparently beyond our control. Meshed the sacred city of Persia, is only 200 miles from Herat, which is on the boundary of Western Afghanistan, and about 340 miles from Merv in Russian Turkestan. Russia has already a railway line extending from Merv to the borders of Afghanistan. If we should ever be at war with her, and this, owing to her tortuous policy and the difficulty of our placing any reliance on her diplomatic methods, is very probable, she would have two lines of railway, by which she could throw large bodies of troops into Afghanistan, and overthrow all the force that the Afghans might bring against her, long before we could reach Herat, which is 399 miles from Kandahar and 881 miles from Peshawar. The *Noroye Vremya* of December 9th, 1912, says, with regard to Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords: "It is criminal. Even England's enormous influence in Asia would not avail to put back for a single day the inevitable destiny of Persia, if Russia determined to bring matters to an end there. The invincible British Fleet could not prevent Russia from occupying Teheran, if she so desired."

It does not appear probable, at the present moment, that the Ameer of Afghanistan would agree to our extending the Scinde-Peshin Railway to Kandahar, and from Kandahar to Herat. Even if he did, it would take years, and cost millions of money, before it could be completed. What is there to prevent Russia from forestalling us, and occupying Herat on the commencement of hostilities?

It cannot be too seriously impressed upon Parliament and the Foreign Office that our interest in Persia and the Persian Gulf have been in existence ever since the founding of our Indian Empire; that Russia's interest, if at all admitted by us, is, in comparison, of very recent date; while Germany's interest in Asia Minor and Asiatic Turkey dates only from 1888 and 1899.

Our *entente* with Russia, for which France is responsible, has not only created ill-feeling in the hearts of all the Mohamedan races throughout the world, but has also discredited us in the eyes of Europe. It is openly talked about on the Continent that the war between Turkey and the Balkan States, with its dire results, has been due to the intrigues of Russia and France. That they were both jealous of the influence which Germany had acquired in the councils of the Sultan, and of the concession for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. The first step in the intrigue, it is said, was the instigation of the Young Turks (a great many of whom were educated in France, and who formed a large proportion of the leaders of the army) to depose the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and to set up a constitution. The second step was an attempt to induce the new Sultan and the Young Turks to cancel the Bagdad Railway concession, on the plea that, owing to his deposition, all the acts and concessions of Abdul Hamid lapsed *de jure et de facto*. But the Young Turks, and the Turkish people generally, had for years been in favour of the railway, believing that it would be of great advantage in assisting them to consolidate their military strength, and to bring over large bodies of fighting men from the Asiatic provinces, and thus enable them to cope with the Balkan States in the war which they knew was approaching. The Balkan States had not completed their arrangements when Montenegro precipitated matters by proclaiming war. It is said, and believed, by Germans, Austrians and Hungarians that this was done at the instigation of Russia. We have been drawn into the negotiations which are now taking place, although we have no political interests in the quarrel.

An article in a French paper, *Le Temps*, now states: "The position in the negotiations between Turkey on the one hand, and England and Germany on the other, in connection with the Bagdad Railway, is as follows:—Several months ago Turkey and England arrived at an agreement with regard to the Bagdad-Persian Gulf section (1) that English capital was to be represented

in the Bagdad-Bassorah section by two English administrators ;
(2) that the Bassorah-Koweit section was not to be constructed ;
(3) England obtained certain advantages in the Koweit region."

The German Government, on being informed of these negotiations, declared that "it by no means considered the rights appertaining to it by virtue of the *Firman* of concession of the Bagdad-Persian Gulf section had been annulled by the concession of the port of Alexandretta. It claimed, therefore, to participate both in the negotiations and the construction of the Bassorah-Koweit section of the railway, or at any rate to secure compensating advantages."

"The advantages it claimed were : A promise that, at the financial conference in Paris, the representatives of Great Britain will support those of Germany when they ask that the Customs surtax affected by the guarantee of the Bagdad Railway be maintained, and renunciation on the part of England to construct a branch starting from Mohammerah. This matter is being discussed with the French Government." 1.

In connection with it, let us carefully study the announcement just made in Parliament by Sir Edward Grey, viz. :—

(1) "That Great Britain withdraws objections to German construction of the Railway as far as Bassorah."

(2) "An extension of the Railway from Bassorah to the Persian Gulf must be conditional upon British approval"

(3) "Two British Directors will have seats on the Railway Board, as a guarantee against differential rates ; not that these have ever been a subject of grievance on the Anatolian and other German Railways in the Ottoman Empire."

(4) "Great Britain waives the idea of participation in the construction of the line."

(5) "The navigation of the river up to and beyond Bagdad is a substantial British interest which may be developed and consolidated." 2

(6) "Turkey's suzerainty of the Gulf is recognised ; and the proposed agreement is direct between Great Britain and Turkey, not between Great Britain and Germany ; but Turkey recognises the autonomy of the Sheikh of Koweit at the Gulf."

(7) "In south Persia Great Britain claims the right to construct railways ; and such a railway is under survey from Mohammerah to Khoramabad." 3

As we have "waived the idea of participation in the construction of the Bagdad line," the right of it, of course, will belong solely to Germany. Suppose—and it is not an impossible supposition—that Russia and Germany were at some future date to join hands, the peril to our Indian Empire would be very serious.

In the explanation given in 1908 by Sir Edward Grey in Parliament, in connection with the treaty with Russia regarding spheres of influence in Persia, he said : "The main part of the agreement is not commercial but strategical, and of the strategical position Seistan is the key. To have left Seistan within striking distance of Russia would have been a real danger, and would have led to an increased charge on India for extra defence." No doubt this was all quite true. But when Russia has completed her railway from Batoum and Baku, on the Black and Caspian Seas, to Meshed—within striking distance of Herat—the danger to India will be very much greater, and very real.

A French paper, the *Journal*, now states that, in addition to the diplomatic negotiations relative to the interest of Germany and Russia in Turkey and Persia, pourparlers have been opened for floating a Russian loan of twenty million pounds in Berlin ; and that the banking firm of Mendelssohns will undertake it.

I append a translation of an article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of December 29th, 1913, alluding to one in the *Tagliche Rundschau*, regarding the developments which have taken place in this matter :—

"For years this undertaking (the Bagdad Railway) has threatened to become a bone of contention between Russia, England and Germany. The German Government has now, through its cleverness and tenacity, succeeded in removing all differences, and in bringing the line altogether into German possession.

(1) Evidently the above article has been inspired by the French Foreign Office.

(2) Bagdad is on the River Tigris, 190 miles above its junction with the Euphrates. Nothing is said about the latter river, although it is also navigable almost up to Aleppo.

(3) It will be noticed in Germany's claims already mentioned, and underlined by me, she claims "renunciation on the part of England of her claim to construct a branch starting from Mohammerah." There is therefore, apparently, a conflict between her and England on this point ; and she very probably thinks that as she has gained her wishes on all other points, she will succeed in this one also. The Government (Conservative) which was then in power is very much to blame for allowing her to obtain a footing in Asiatic Turkey. Perhaps it was in return for the assistance she gave us at the Berlin Conference in 1878, regarding which the Earl of Beaconsfield declared that "he had brought back peace with honour."

"When the 'Deutscher Bank' sought and succeeded in obtaining the first concession for the Anatolian Railway, that forerunner of the Bagdad Railway, nearly twenty-five years ago, the first section of the Anatolian Railway was granted to France, as later the section of the present Bagdad Railway to the Mediterranean (Adana-Merina) fell to an English Company. At the present moment the completion of the whole line from Constantinople to Bassorah via Bagdad ; from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf ; is secured by a Company controlled by the 'Deutscher Bank' without English or French participation. And in three years' time the Bagdad Railway will run from the Bosphorus to Cassarah, via Bagdad, and will be able to convey its passengers and goods to the steamers of the Hamburg-America line. Not only is the main line across Asia Minor secured, but also two branch lines, stretching east and west—from Bagdad past Khanakin into Central Persia, and from Aleppo to the Mediterranean, via Alexandretta. In addition, three forts, Constantinople-Haiderpasha on the Bosphorus, Alexandretta on the Mediterranean, and Basra on the Persian Gulf, all bear witness to the result of German enterprise and capital."

In this way will be accomplished, says the *Tagliche Rundschau*, a work in which Germany has from the beginning invited the participation of all the Powers, including France, England and Russia ; it will be achieved without Russia, England, and in spite of their opposition.

Russia was the first to come to terms with the Bagdad Railway—which, though it could not be prevented, could still be delayed—in the Potsdam Treaty of two years ago, which brought about the understanding between Germany and Russia, and arranged that they should share in an extension from Bagdad to Teheran. By this, Germany obtained the yield of the rich petroleum wells on the Turco-Persian border, and access for her trade with Persia itself ; Russia gained access to the Mediterranean and, via the Bagdad Railway, to the Persian Gulf, both hitherto prohibited by England.

England has also, during the Balkan war, seen her way to change her Eastern policy, and that with regard to Germany especially. An understanding was arrived at in the Anglo-German negotiations, and an agreement was reached as to the future extension to Bassorah by the Bagdad Railway Company, to give it its present title ; and, in addition, the completion of the harbour of Bassorah on the Gulf, by means of an Anglo-German company under a German board of directors.

Paul Dehn reckons the Indian parcel traffic over the Bagdad Railway at fifteen trucks a week, and 15,000 passengers per annum.

With regard to shipping on the Tigris, and the African and other questions, the Anglo-German agreement shows a satisfactory understanding. Turkey on her part, changes her false position in Koweit for the real advantage of the consent of England to the increase of the Customs duties there, and the employment of them for the Bagdad Railway.

Finally, France also has now made up her mind. She was originally invited to join, but Delcasse refused, putting, as he did the policy pursued by Russia before the consideration of the interests of the French railways in Asia Minor in connection with the Bagdad Railway. France now renounces all further opposition to the railway, and agrees to the increase in the Turkish Customs, and its employment on the line.

She also gives up all influence in the Bagdad Railway by returning to the Deutscher Bank all her shares (one-third).

Le Temps is right in saying, with resignation, that only one settlement could be expected in the future. There were two possibilities ; the admission of the Bagdad shares on the Bourse, or the return of them to the Deutscher Bank. It is the second of the alternatives that has taken place.

With Russia and England indifferent, the French share in the capital of the railway, a mere third, ceased to have any practical influence on the management of the German undertaking in Asia Minor. Therefore, a settlement was obviously necessary.

This shows clearly that German diplomacy, backed up by German bluff and bluster, has gained its ends. It will, no doubt, in time squeeze us out of Asiatic Turkey, as it succeeded in squeezing us out of East Africa, where we surrendered to her country which was ours by virtue of having been explored by Speke, Grant and Stanley.

Parliament alone should have the power in the making of treaties. The Foreign Secretary should be only the medium for presenting the necessary information.

—T. A. O'Connor in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Going to Work.

SCHOOL was only yesterday, and yet it was finished for ever. The little world of green fields, of wide walls covered with maps, of well-thumbed, dog-eared books, of all kinds of friendships, jealousies and competitions had already faded so distantly that it seemed faint as a dream.

About him now were wide, long streets, and all the bustle and movement, of a strange world. Outside, cars with their eager drivers were spanking past; there were cabs and trams, lorries and bicycles—a very whirlpool of movement, which seemed to have no other direction nor purpose. They came from all sides, and they went away from every side without as much as a look at him. The footpaths were equally thronged. So many different people, and all grown up! Only now and again were boys to be seen. The world had suddenly become mustachied and grave, and yesterday a mustache was the badge of age! It seemed that the world was full of people who had mustaches and spectacles. Yesterday a person who wore spectacles was called "Old Four Eyes." It meant a silly person, an incompetent, at whom one flung snowballs or clods in their season, and whom one held at a distance always.

A fat man was waddling along the road, but no person looked at or made fun of him. A woman fought with her umbrella, which had become twisted among parcels—not a living soul laughed at her! A driver had just set down his fare, and, climbing to his seat again, he slipped on the greasy wheel and fell, but nobody shouted the funny things which were customary.

These matters would have been enough to make one die of laughing yesterday, but yesterday was undoubtedly dead, and to day was a world in which he had no part. Things had always centred about him before. Lessons, fights, games, all had swung in his immediacy, not alone within focus, but actually within reach of his hand, and here, suddenly, he was out of focus and out of touch. There were happenings on every side, which had nothing to do with him. None of the drivers of these cabs and cars looked to him for approbation or assistance. Not a tram-man suggested that he should do anything for him. The very cyclists kept their eyes for themselves as they whizzed steadily past. No one stopped even for a minute to ask him a question, or to say—"It's a nice day!" or "That's a fine building over yonder!" Nobody said a word. They went here and there, and if he did not get out of their way, they got out of his without so much as looking at him.

He was lonely, it is true, but he was not unhappy. A curious person has no time to be miserable, and he was very curious. There were such multitudes of things to look at and listen to—the never-ceasing stream of people who came towards him on the pavement, and the hurrying swarm of those who caught up, passed, and disappeared every moment. Where did they come from, and to what places were they going? They appeared before him, vital and human, for one brief moment, and then they disappeared. Had he anything to do with them? Was there no point of contact between himself and these hurrying strangers? Were they hastening utterly out of his sight, or would they return to-morrow or the next day to clap him on the shoulder and say—"You and I must know each other well: we will walk together and tell our secrets to each other and be friends"; for, without knowledge, he knew that people must be friends, and that no other life than that of friendship is possible.

He had these feelings, but not these thoughts, and even the feelings were not verifiable because the sun was shining, and the bustle and movement of the world forbade any exercise other than those of eyes and ears, but somewhere, without effort and without cognizance, he was recording and storing away impressions and intricacies, raw stuffs of every kind, which his mind would digest later on when it got a little time to itself.

Meanwhile, there was something to be done which did not admit of loitering. He looked again at the paper in his hand: it was crumpled and dirty, but he clung to it as to an anchor. The pencilled address on it was almost indecipherable, but, although he knew it by heart, he read it again with the same care as at first. At the end of each street he had asked some hurrying stranger "Did he know the way to—Street?" and they had all given him a complicated direction, of which he could remember nothing but the first turning. He halted again and asked one of those flying nobodies, and the stranger replied without looking at him—"You are almost beside it," said he: "it is the second turn on the right," and the stranger melted away as all the others had done.

He paced on. All kinds of thoughts were in his mind. Perhaps that man did not really know where the street was. He might have answered only to get rid of him, or he might have thought, honestly enough, that he was giving the proper direction and yet was mistaken, for in a place of the hugeness of this city one might easily be mistaken. There were streets everywhere, and off each street other

streets branched endlessly. It did not seem possible that one could know with such readiness where any particular place was in such a congeries of streets: furthermore, he had a feeling that the place for which he was seeking could not be so easily discovered as the man's remark implied. It was only one street off! Can one reach a place of wonder and terror in half-an-hour's easy walking? One should take ship and fight through savage forests and naked enemies to come to any place worth winning to.

At the end of this street also he halted, and although his heart began to beat painfully, yet he was chilled. There was a sensation of emptiness at the pit of his stomach. He felt that now he had come so near to the end he would be glad not to search any farther. The end was too definite, too immediate. Half-an-hour was not sufficient time to make one accustomed to any consummation. He might have turned and walked away again, but there was no place to go to. He would not be allowed back to school, and his parents were away in England—he walked on.

At the next turning he halted again, and asked another man where—Street was?

The man looked at him.

"This is it," said he calmly. He raised his hand slightly and pointed, "There it is," said he, and he also went quickly away.

He was standing by the very street. Six paces more, and he was standing in it. It was a narrow place. Two lines of high houses frowned over a long strip of road. The road was dotted here and there with a few cars, and there were perhaps half-a-dozen people walking in it. It was very silent.

He walked down the street consulting his crumpled piece of paper, and at a certain house he halted. Then he put the scrap of paper in his pocket, and knocked very gently on the door.

JAMES STEPHENS.

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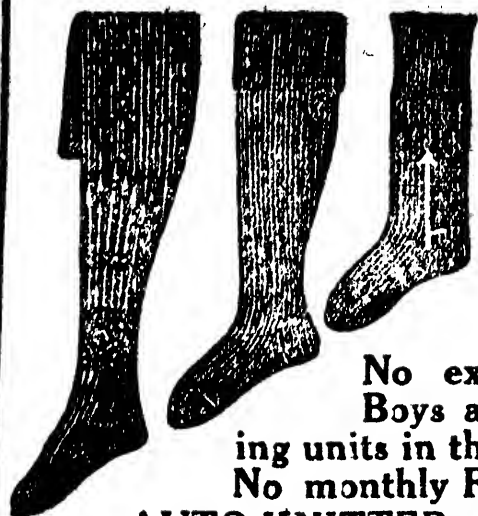
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—Morris.

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The Week.

Indian Finance.

London, Mar. 19.

Presiding at the meeting of the Chartered Bank of India, Sir H. C. Turner said that it had been decided to open a branch at Peking. It was impossible to look for great improvement in China until the finances had been put in order. He suggested that the Powers should reduce or abolish the Boxer indemnity payments in return for which they might arrange for the abolition of Ekin on foreign goods, paying only Customs duty of 5 per cent.

He referred to India's adverse balance in trade and thought that over-importation was symptomatic of India's increased spending capacity. He endorsed Sir William Meyer's statement that "the staying power of the Indian people had increased." The collapse of native banks was entirely due to the absolute disregard of elementary principles of banking. The position of European banks had not been impaired. It had even been strengthened. He paid tribute to the prompt and skilful action of the syndicate which restored confidence by taking over silver, and extolled the Currency Commission's report, which he said would dispel many misapprehensions, and show that the Government of India had not mismanaged the finances as was believed. He agreed with most of the conclusions of the Commission, notably in regard to more liberal granting of loans to Presidency Banks from treasury balances, which the mercantile community of India would much appreciate. As regards a State Bank, he endorsed the opinion of Mr. Robert Campbell of the National Bank of India, that it would be a serious and new departure for the Government of India to interest itself in a State Bank.

Patna University.

Banpikore, Mar. 21.

The Government has published the report of the Patna University Committee to-day for opinion. The Lieutenant-Governor in

Council will consider the report on 1st May before which suggestions should be submitted. There are eleven notes of dissent appended to the report. The Beharee members have opposed the introduction of the School Final Examination. The report states that the University Colleges will be teaching and residential, and admit a number of non-collegiate students also. There will be the Patna College, the Bisheshwar College, (the present Behar Nation College), a Missionary College, besides Law and Sanskrit Colleges. The mofussil colleges which have all been made Government Colleges will be affiliated to the University for examination purposes. There will be a paid Vice-Chancellor. Students, after passing the Intermediate Examination, will be admitted into the Law College for a three years' course for a degree in Law. Science teaching in B. A. will be concentrated in the University College and also the Outback College.

Later.

The report of the Patna University Committee is just published. The University will be located west of the new capital on a comparatively high plot of ground, well-wooded and suitable for building purposes. It comprises an area of nearly two square miles. It is proposed to open a railway station close to the University area and run trains at convenient times and issue cheap season-tickets. There will be a good direct road from Banpikore to the University and a subscription of a rupee a month can place the student in possession of a bicycle "which would ultimately become his own property." The new University will be composed of the following colleges situated within the University area:—Patna College, Bisheshwar College (by which name the Behar National College will henceforth be known), King's College, a Mission College, a Sanskrit College, a Training College for teachers, and a non-collegiate department. For the present the following will be the external colleges of the new University: Greer College of Muzaffarpur, T. N. J. College of Bhagalpore, Ravenshaw College of Cuttack, and St. Columba's College of Hazaribagh. Of these, Muzaffarpur and Cuttack Colleges are shown as Government institutions. One feature of the University will be the Archaeological Department. The fees paid for tuition, residence, athletics, and social amenities will vary in the different University Colleges and classes from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 17. Another feature characteristic of the Patna University will be that students will be allowed after passing the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science to sit for the L.L. B. Degree without being required to graduate in arts or science, as is at present the case. The administration of the University will be vested in a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Convocation and Council. The Lieutenant-Governor shall be the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor will be paid at Rs. 2,250 a month, in addition to a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 250 a month and free quarters. The Convocation will consist of about 160 members, of whom 25 will be elected by the general body of registered graduates. The Council will be the supreme executive authority of the University, and will be responsible for its general and financial administration. The capital expenditure has been estimated at Rs. 77,40,030, and the recurring charges will amount to a little over Rs. 10 lakhs. There are in all 16 notes of dissent, of which the most important are the two signed by all the five Behar members. There appears to be considerable opposition to the abolition of the Matriculation Exami-

nation. The Raja of Kanika, in the course of his note of dissent, given expression to the hope of the Uriyas to have a University of their own in the near future.

Indians in South Africa.

London, Mar. 20.

According to a telegram from Johannesburg to the *Daily Telegraph*, a Mahomedan Deputation recently waited upon Sir Benjamin Robertson and requested that the Government would recognise the religious aspect of the marriage, divorce, and succession laws according to the Koran. They said that the Mohamedans would accept nothing less.

Sir Benjamin Robertson, while sympathising with the Deputation, twitted them with their long silence. He said that he would lay their request before the Viceroy, but held out no hope. It would be unfair, he declared, to ask the Union Government to change the laws.

The Deputation begged Sir Benjamin Robertson to thank the Viceroy for his efforts on their behalf, and to assure him that whether the law was passed to suit them or not, they would always be loyal to the King and the Flag.

Greek Navy.

Athens, Mar. 20.

In the Chamber to-day, the Minister of Marine announced that orders had been placed for additional three dreadnoughts, three armoured cruisers, and a proportional number of light units.

Gardens of the Moghals.

London, Mar. 20.

At a crowded meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts yesterday, Mrs. Villiers Stuart epitomised her recent book on the Gardens of the Moghals. She urged that the possibilities of the new capital were not even yet fully realised. "It is not necessary," she said, "to confine ourselves to the Indian craftsmen to imaginative reproductions of the East. The new needs and our modern wealth of flowers would give a fresh life of loveliness to the ancient symbols and ideas, while by busts and statues, Indian heroes could be honoured in the garden of their Emperor."

Mr. Abbas Ali Baig said that the idea of beautifying New Delhi in conformity with the traditions and sentiments of the Indian people was both realisable and desirable.

Mr. Lawrence Weaver, of *Country Life*, pointed out that Mr. Lutyens had done more than any other architect to develop the water gardens so praised by the lecturers in this country.

Delhi Sedition Trial.

Delhi, Mar. 28.

The application made by the defence in the Delhi sedition trial to have the case heard at Lahore, instead of Delhi has been refused by the Chief Court.

Rash Behari Bose, the absconding accused, has not yet been arrested. Rewards of five thousand and two thousand rupees are offered for information concerning him. The preliminary examination will be resumed to-morrow.

Esperanza Riots.

Durban Mar. 22.

Thirteen of the Indians charged with public violence in connection with the affray at Esperanza last November have been sentenced at Umtata to six months hard labour. The fourteenth Indian was acquitted.

Epirotes' Revolt.

Athens, Mar. 24.

Fifty-two Albanians, including 25 gendarmes, were killed and many wounded and seventeen Epirotes wounded in a four hours' battle at Andritsaina, which ended in the rout of the Albanians. Many bands of Epirotes are marching on Korytza, which Albanian gendarmes have abandoned.

Vienna, Mar. 24.

The *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* understands that in yesterday's conversations between the German and Austrian Emperors the international situation was adjudged absolutely peaceful and reassuring.

Petroleum Near Bagdad.

Constantinople, Mar. 24.

The British and German Governments have reached an agreement with regard to joint exploitation by an Anglo-German Company of petroleum fields in the Vilayet of Mosul, the concession for which a British petroleum syndicate obtained two years ago. An application will be made to the Porte with a view to the transference of the concession to the new Company.

Constantinople, Mar. 24.

The British and German Ambassadors have informed the Porte of the agreement reached with regard to the exploitation, for petroleum in the Vilayet of Mosul, and negotiations will now proceed with the Porte.

Kurdish Revolt.

Constantinople, Mar. 24.

The newspapers report a serious riot on the Bagdad Railway near Jerablus. Several hundred Kurdish labourers, it is said, revolted on the question of pay. Firearms were used and three Kurds were killed and five are missing. It is believed that they were drowned. Many were wounded in the affray, including seven employees of the Company. The Vali with the British and German Consuls and troops here started for the scene.

London, Mar. 24.

According to advices received at the offices of the Anatolian Railway Company, the rioting at Jerablus was more serious than was at first supposed. Eight German engineers, one Austrian, and one British were among the wounded.

British Consul's Report.

Constantinople, Mar. 25.

A telegram received from the British Consul at Aleppo on the subject of the rioting at Jerablus makes no mention of any British subject having been wounded, but states that two British subjects, who were excavating on behalf of the British Museum, had difficulty in restraining their own Kurds from joining in the fray.

The Circassian Guard belonging to the Germans fired on a British subject, who, however, was not hurt.



Our London Letter.

London, 6th March, 1914.

THE LATE EARL OF MINTO.

THE death of Lord Minto will undoubtedly cause as much sorrow and grief in India as it has caused in this country. His opponents in common with his supporters could not fail to recognise in him that broad sympathy, honesty of purpose and courage of conviction so essential for an administrator and a governor. The late ex-Viceroy was by no means a brilliant Governor-General, but he was amply gifted with an unusual degree of insight into affairs and fortitude, which proved of immense value to him during his trying period of office in India. It was Lord Minto who had to face the perils and the dangers of a situation that had been created by his immediate predecessor. To him fell the burden of ruling an India which had been saturated with sedition and anarchism as a direct sequel to the misdeeds of Lord Curzon, whom the *Times*, by the way, has described as "the most brilliant and energetic Viceroy India has had since Dufferin." The Indian situation on Lord Minto's appointment was indeed critical and required very sound statesmanship for its solution. His appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty did not at the time create any degree of confidence in those who "knew" India, both in that country as well as in England. Lord Curzon's resignation, they argued, was nothing less than a disaster from the Imperial point of view. The retiring Viceroy, who had revelled in the most barbarous splendour, who had always looked down upon the Indians from a lofty eminence of superiority and who was ever remote from the spirit of the Indian peoples, according to them, was the only man who could successfully tackle the then existing condition of affairs. In other words, these "well-informed" personages did not hide their well-known doctrine that India was to "be ruled with a rod of iron," if all discontent and sedition were to disappear. They had openly drawn their swords against the new Viceroy with malice gleaming over the steel. They had condemned the man before he was tried. Things, however, proved otherwise. From the very moment Lord Minto landed in Bombay, in the end of 1905, he won the affection and the esteem of the Indian population by his characteristic courtesy and his well-known amiable disposition. India at once recognised in him that genuine sympathy which he so vividly demonstrated throughout his term of office. It cannot be denied that Lord Minto, notwithstanding his faults and shortcomings, was a sincere man. He was no slave to the detestable characteristics of self-consciousness and conceit, which were the prominent features of his predecessor, who had attempted to act the despotic Moghul of Delhi. Lord Minto had at once made it abundantly clear that his first and foremost aim was to "serve" India. On the other hand Lord Curzon had endeavoured to "rule" the great Dependency of the Empire with such disastrous results. The contrast was indeed astonishing. The changes brought about in the political life of India during Lord Minto's Viceroyalty were equally bewildering.

During the epoch-making five years, when Lord Minto presided at the head of the Government of India, a series of measures were for the first time introduced in the administration of the country, which will render his association with the government of India truly historical. The appointment of two Indian representatives on the India Council and the subsequent inclusion of an Indian Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council were the most important steps on the programme which Lord Minto's far-sighted policy had laid down in active co-operation with Viscount Morley, that

Veteran "Guru" amongst the Liberal statesmen. The enlargement of the Councils, in spite of the not unjust criticisms levelled at them in certain quarters in India, was another honest attempt on the part of Lord Minto towards the more extensive and closer association of the Indian people with the administration of the country. It has not really provided for the long-felt want, but it has certainly proved itself as the first step in the field of representative Government. The creation of the All-India Moslem League in 1906, when the late ex-Viceroy received the famous Mohamedan deputation at Simla, is another great event, which will for ever maintain his memory fresh and revered among the successive generations of that great community.

There are, however, one or two factors connected with Lord Minto's administration which do not unhappily permit of the period under review being recorded as wholly and completely successful in every respect. Part of the repressive measures directed, contemporaneously with reforms, towards the suppression of sedition, was a very serious restriction on the freedom of the Press. Attacks upon the liberty of opinion are always dangerous, just as a plausible case for them can usually be made out; but in India they went beyond the point at which justification ceased, and the change in the temper of the new India makes their inaptness to-day particularly glaring. Here is the opportunity for a simple and highly desirable change. It is also to be regretted that Lord Minto did not succeed in throwing open the commissioned ranks in His Majesty's Indian Army to the Indians themselves. Had his government introduced this over-due military reform in India, his name would have certainly gone down to posterity in the annals of the Empire's military history and the introduction of such a highly desirable measure would have added the crowning glory to his undoubtedly otherwise successful Viceroyalty. The martial races of India keenly feel the persistent denial meted out to them, on the part of the authorities, of their traditional privilege of defending the country and the Empire. The loyalty and the bravery of the Indian soldier have been repeatedly tested and found true. The Indian subject of His Majesty is second to none in his devotion and attachment to the King-Emperor's throne and person. The Indian commissioned officer will be equally devoted to his King and country and in fact will be able to exhibit his loyalty to, and his sense of duty in the service of, the King-Emperor to a still higher degree. It is now well-known that Lord Minto was personally in favour of awarding commissioned ranks in the Army to suitable Indians and that as a matter of fact he had strongly urged upon the India Office the adoption of his scheme. But the Secretary of State did not find himself in agreement with Lord Minto's views and the proposed reform was necessarily dropped. It is certain that at no distant time this matter will again become prominent, and let us earnestly hope the authorities will see their way of immediately removing this stigma, which has for so long stained the military administration of the Indian Empire.

It must be mentioned to the great credit of Lord Minto that in spite of numerous trials and ordeals, which had fallen to his lot in India, and notwithstanding the admittedly difficult and serious questions which had constantly engaged his attention throughout the stormy and critical period of his office, the late ex-Viceroy never mistook the constitutional demands of the Indians for revolutionary agitation and never for one moment confused the legitimate "unrest" in the country with sedition and anarchism, as has been done in certain ill-informed quarters. Lord Minto was a true servant of India and in that noble capacity promoted her interests and welfare to the best of his ability. He may have had his weaknesses and his failings, but judging his work in India as a whole, it will be no exaggeration to say that to-day India mourns the loss of a man who had treated her with that sincerity, sympathy and devotion, which the millions of His Majesty's subjects in the great Eastern Dependency of the Empire rightly and with justice expect in their Emperor's representative. Lord Minto discharged the duties of his high office honestly and conscientiously, and his name will hold an honourable, if not an eminent, position on the distinguished roll of Indian administrators.

MR. SHAW DESMOND'S ARTICLE ON INDIA.

"Shall We Lose India?" forms the subject of a remarkable article by Mr. Shaw Desmond in the March number of the *London Magazine*. The article is illustrated and contains the portraits of Lord Morley, Lord Carson and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. Mr. Desmond, according to the editorial note inserted in the Magazine, has for some years been in very close touch with prominent people—both English and Indian—who have made a close study of the question of Indian unrest in the great Dependency itself. That Mr. Desmond honestly believes the statements made in his article to be absolutely true the editor does not for one moment doubt, but he is quite prepared to find that many well-informed people will take a different view of the Indian question and he (the editor) will probably be able to publish letters taking a more hopeful view of the situation in an early issue of the *London Magazine*. What is wanted, of course, is to get at the absolute truth about the matter, (says the editor), whether that truth is pleasant or unpleasant. Nothing can be gained by living in a fool's paradise;

and if there is any justification at all for what Mr. Shaw Desmond says in his article, it is only right that the British public—which, after all, is responsible for what occurs in India—should be acquainted with the facts.

A careful study of the article itself makes it clear to an impartial observer that, notwithstanding the true representation of the Indian situation on the whole, as far as poverty, discontent and strained feelings go, the writer is certainly acting the alarmist to an unusual degree. He is creating an "Indian peril" almost akin to what was so recently dealt with in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Desmond's article is also deficient and imperfect in the sense that, in spite of his having narrated at length the various factors responsible for the present "dangerous" situation in India, he concludes his communication without in any way attempting to offer any remedial measures for its solution. This is to be regretted as the panic, which his article is bound to cause in the mind of the average Englishman, would have been necessarily mitigated, had he tried to produce a suggestive plan on the lines of which he would advise those concerned to follow, if peace and happiness were to be restored in India.

"The cord", Mr. Desmond proceeds, "which binds Britain to India may be cut at any moment. The great Brown Continent is 'becoming so packed with combustible matter that a flare-up is only 'a question of time unless Britain wakes to the truth at once, and, 'by sweeping reforms, sets her Indian palace in order.' One, however, searches in vain in the article for the expounding of the "sweeping reforms" referred to in the above lines. He shows, however, a proper acquaintance with facts when he goes on: "The men who are 'sending home 'official versions' have a dreadful blood-guiltiness on 'their shoulders. Official versions are—well, just official versions. 'They are routine—'comfortable' versions. They represent the 'skeleton, not the soul, of India.' He again shows a real grasp of affairs in India in the following lines:—"Official reports may be some- 'where near the truth when they start from the men at the bottom 'of the ladder, but they are trimmed and pruned as they ascend, 'through higher officials, until, on reaching the Imperial Government, 'they are merely documents of deceit. Heaven help the lower official 'who tells the naked truth"! "India," the writer concludes, "is the 'powder magazine of the world, into which a spark at any moment may 'be thrown, followed by such an explosion as will reverberate around 'the globe. If English officialdom has any imagination, it will tackle 'the problem of India ere it be too late." But the reader is not enlightened as to how Mr. Shaw Desmond would require English officialdom "to tackle the Indian problem." It is not without its significance that this article on the "Indian bogey" has been prominently advertised in the *Times*, from which your readers will no doubt draw their own conclusions.

"India" has been rather a favourite theme on which great "authorities" have been lately airing their views in the periodical Press of this country for the "benefit" of their less-informed fellow-citizens. Mr. F. H. Brown has written an article on the "Social Dawn of India" in the current issue of the *Nineteenth Century*. It is a harmless communication, which deals more with the recent report on the Indian Census than with anything else and is not likely to furnish the reader with any particularly intelligent material for consumption. Incidentally we are told by Mr. Brown that Christianity is "spreading" in India and also that the number of Indian literates is likewise increasing, which is a new "discovery" indeed. The former piece of information will, let us hope, bring some consolation to the broken-hearted Church dignitaries in this country, who are at loggerheads with one another over the Kikuyu controversy, though those who are in touch with the missionary propaganda in India can well understand what is meant by Mr. Brown when he says Christianity is "spreading" there. However, as I have said before, his article is perfectly harmless, thoroughly uninteresting and absolutely devoid of any special significance and as such, I suppose, has been unfortunately considered well worthy of publication in the *Nineteenth Century*. In fairness to the high reputation this periodical enjoys amongst thinking men and women of to-day, it must be frankly admitted that the article under review is not likely to enhance its good name by any means.

"Asiatics" contributes an article in the *National Review* on the South African Indian problem, in which he takes the Indian National Congress and its leaders to task for having deliberately neglected the question until lately, apologises himself with becoming modesty for his past efforts in warning the public men in India of the urgency of the situation in South Africa and thinks Sir Muncherji Bhownagree is the only Indian deserving any praise for his constant advocacy of the cause of his fellow-countrymen in that Colony. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta and the other Indian leaders, who have devoted all their energy, time and attention to this burning question it is curious to note, do not receive any recognition of their services at the hands of the superior "Asiatics."

The current number of the *Fortnightly Review* also contains an able article on the same subject from the versatile pen of Sant Mital

Singh, who is a frequent contributor to the British periodical Press. Obviously he traverses the old familiar grounds of argument, but on the whole his article is certainly entitled to careful consideration on the part of those who are desirous of studying the present Indian situation in South Africa.

TURKISH AVIATION DISASTER.

The recent disaster to the two Turkish airmen, Fethy Bey and Sadick Bey, at Samha Station on the Hedjaz Railway, during their flight from Damascus to Jerusalem, will no doubt cause universal grief and sympathy throughout the Moslem world. Fethy Bey was one of the most daring aviators that has ever ascended in the air and his death will certainly be a great loss to the Ottoman Army. He had distinguished himself during the Balkan Campaign and had proved himself of immense value to the military authorities for "information" purposes. Sadick Bey, though an officer of bright promise, was comparatively a novice in military aviation and was in the fateful flight, which has cost him his life, merely a passenger.

Such sacrifices are the necessary toll of the conquest of the air and Turkey, ever ready to sacrifice her sons for the defence and welfare of the Empire, will in this case accept over her recent bereavement with her traditional and accustomed fortitude. The loss of two gallant lives in the service of the Caliph will still infuse greater enthusiasm and keener passion amongst the Ottoman soldiers for further proficiency in this modern arm of the Sultan's forces. It is satisfactory to note that aviation is very popular in the Turkish military circles.

KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN'S WORK AT WOKING.

I have from time to time informed your readers of the useful work which is being done at Woking by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. Gradually though steadily the Khwaja Sahib's work in that secular little town in Surrey has been expanding, and now the influence of his spiritual activities is being happily spread over the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. He has recently started a series of lecture-sermons in the beautiful Mosque at Woking mainly for the benefit of the local residents, for whose convenience he has selected Sundays for his meetings. Men, women and children flock to the Khwaja Sahib's sermons on Islam every Sunday afternoon, and though a good many of them are no doubt attracted to his meetings in the mosque by the novelty of the proceedings and merely out of curiosity, yet from what I could see last Sunday, the learned lectures of the Khwaja Sahib on matters Islamic and his eloquent sermons on the teachings of the holy Prophet are undoubtedly creating a sympathetic interest in Islam among the townfolk, who are being greatly impressed by the simplicity and straight-forwardness of the faith of the Moslems. In spite of obvious difficulties which are facing him in his sacred work—to a great extent due to the missionary reaction in Woking, brought to bear just recently in order to counteract the Khwaja Sahib's religious activities—the attendance is increasing week by week and last Sunday the mosque was overcrowded. As a matter of fact, the lack of accommodation in the mosque, judging by the present enthusiasm that prevails in Woking, will be a serious drawback, as the small rooms in the adjoining Sir Salar Jung Memorial House do not permit of the sermons being delivered there. Besides the sanctity of the mosque itself and the sacred character of its environment naturally exercise a unique and wholesome influence on those present. Our old friends, the missionaries, now preaching at Woking, almost all of whom have served in India, have started, it seems, a regular campaign against Islam in that particular locality. It appears that they have been trying their utmost to convince their congregation of the fact that the Islam preached to them with such dignity and force by the Khwaja Sahib is quite alien to the Islam practiced in India and other Moslem countries. The reason for this, of course, is not far to seek. Finding, much to their disappointment, that all their usual tricks had hopelessly failed in Woking to prevent the "Christian" public from entering the mosque and week after week listening to the truly practical, common-sense and self-convincing doctrines of Islam—which they had themselves for years deliberately and wantonly kept away from their hearers and which they had studiously represented as a terrible form of heathenism—the ever-zealous missionaries have now adopted this new line of attack. Nothing could be further from the truth. Every true Moslem in England is fully alive to the fact that the advocacy of Islam in Europe on sectarian principles would serve a fatal blow to the great cause in this part of the world, and nobody has acted more conscientiously in accordance with the letter and even the very spirit of this sound and only possible doctrine—one of the unwritten laws, so to say, for the promotion of Islam in non-Moslem countries—than the Khwaja Sahib himself. Those who have had the privilege of listening to his sermons in London will, I am sure, completely bear me out in what I have stated. His lectures at Woking similarly deal with that beautiful and magnificent picture of "United Islam," which has been checking the Christian missionary efforts abroad with such telling effects. For the moment, at any rate, Woking is the centre of Islam in England, and until the proposed mosque in London is

an accomplished fact, that little town in Surrey will continue to be our religious head-quarters. Where are the workers?

THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY INAUGURATION AT NEWCASTLE.

An Inaugural Dinner was held last week for the Orientals residing in Newcastle-on-Tyne, at the Collingwood Restaurant, to form an Oriental Society, with Mr. M. Ba Gyaw, B. Sc., in the chair.

After the loyal toasts to their "respective rulers," the Chairman proposed the toast of the "Oriental Society," which was eloquently supported by Messrs. F. C. Li (China), A. K. Motawi (Egypt) and A. David (India).

The object of the Society is to promote the spirit of co-operation and closer social intercourse amongst all the Orientals in Newcastle; to discuss and adjust matters that relate to their well-being, both as a class and as individuals and to carry with them the spirit of good-will to their respective homes. This was the greatest gathering of its kind ever held at Newcastle and the large presence of the representatives of different Oriental nationalities showed promising signs that this small beginning will have a great future. Mr. A. Fahmy was appointed Honorary Secretary, after the Provisional President, Mr. M. Ba Gyaw, and Vice-Presidents, Messrs. David and Li were duly confirmed in their respective posts. The Society deserves every encouragement and has the best wishes of all Orientals in this country for its successful career.

INDIAN BOXER AT CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. P. L. Roy of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a son of the well-known lawyer of Calcutta, who obtained his boxing Blue at the University last year when he was still a fresher, has won further laurels in the art. He went up to the Varsity with no little reputation as a boxer, which he had gained for himself at St. Paul's School. While at Cambridge Mr. Roy has fully maintained his reputation as a young pugilist and the expectations of his friends about him have been realised. He represented his University as a bantam-weight in the recent inter-Varsity competition held at Oxford on the 3rd inst. when the Light Blues won by five events against four. The Indian on this occasion met R. Balcombe-Brown of Oriel College, Oxford, whom he beat fairly easily on points. All these St. Paul's boxers have been well taught, but Roy is exceptionally good. Footwork and quick leads (left or right) are all his; moreover, he has nice height and reach. Roy outclassed his man from the start. Balcombe-Brown went the three rounds with great pluck, but Roy, like a chivalrous boxer, let his man off lightly when he had him beaten. Everyone was impressed with the class of Roy; a year's experience has made a wonderful difference to his general work, and it looks as if he had had a good turn with Jim Driscoll. His future career in the ring will be followed with great interest by the lovers of this branch of sport.

MR. H. E. A. COTTON.

Your readers, I am sure, will hear with great interest of the appointment of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton to the Deputy-Chairmanship of the London County Council, on which he has sat as a Progressive for some years and where he has been, until his present appointment, acting as Junior Whip to his party. As a son of Sir Henry Cotton, he has a traditional connection with India, where the honoured name he bears is a household word throughout that vast continent. Mr. Cotton is the prospective Liberal candidate for the Harrow Division of Middlesex at the next General Election and his success at the polls will be undoubtedly an immense advantage to the cause of India in Parliament, where he is certain to enhance the significance of an illustrious name.

MR. MUSHIR HOOSAIN KEDWAI.

Mr. Mushir Hoosain Kedwai attended, by special invitation, the ordinary monthly committee meeting of the Islamic Society yesterday, at which he was requested to take the chair, as a mark of the universal esteem in which he is held by the present members of the Society. Mr. Kedwai, it will be remembered, had for several years ably acted in the capacity of Hon. Secretary to the Society, which in his days was known as the Pan-Islamic Society. His many friends in India will be glad to hear that his cardiac affection is giving way under treatment since he has arrived in London, and it is hoped he will be soon restored to his normal health.

THE LONDON MOSLEM LEAGUE.

During the temporary absence of Mr. G. M. Ebrahim in India Mr. Ghulam Rasul is officiating as the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem League in London. Mr. Ebrahim's tour in India, it is understood, will extend over three or four months. He has been away from his home in Bombay for several years now, during which he has made a prolonged stay in the United States, where he was busily engaged in business. It is interesting to recall that, before finally settling down in London, Mr. Ebrahim, whose knowledge of Persian is very great, had acted as Mr. Morgan Shuster's Secretary, during the whole yet only too brief period of the American Treasurer-General's term of office at Tehran.

TETE À TETE



HIS EXCELLENCY HALIL HALID BEY, who has resigned his post as Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay owing to ill-health, sends to us for publication the following farewell message to his co-religionists in India:—"To all my moslem

A Farewell Message to Indian Moslems.

"friends,—Fate has been against my residing amongst you longer. "Ever since my arrival at Bombay I did not enjoy good health and "therefore I have been obliged to resign my post as the Ottoman "Consul-General. I deeply regret to go away from India so soon, "but I shall always take a most sympathetic interest in the affairs of "Musulmans of India and will always remain a devoted servant to "the cause of Islamic regeneration wherever I go. With affectionate "greetings to you all." We deeply regret that the stay in this country of such distinguished and cultured Ottoman representative as H. E. Halil Halid Bey should have been so brief. The Indian Musulmans share our regret in full measure, and it would be their earnest wish that Halil Halid Bey may be speedily restored to health and continue his life of active service to Islam and his country for many years to come.

THE situation in Ulster has suddenly grown desperate and it is difficult to exaggerate the appalling magnitude of the disruptive elements that have dramatically emerged into view. The Government

The Ulster Crisis.

proposals for the conciliation of Ulster have not proved to the taste of the Tory leaders. They have almost rejected them and declared that nothing would satisfy them short of a Referendum or a Dissolution. The Liberals who are not mere tyros at such game fully understand what it means. The subtle plans carefully laid by Sir Edward Carson and his followers have in the meantime begun to move with fearful rapidity and the results of the bold preaching of Ulster's right to rebellion are revealing themselves. Several high officers of the army resigned as they refused to fight against Ulster. The discipline of the army has been undermined. The War Minister has resigned and other high officials of the War Office are said to be contemplating resignation. The Liberal Ministry has evidently been shaken by the new developments. The end is difficult to foresee. It is quite possible the Opposition may succeed in forcing the dissolution before the Home Rule Bill is passed. But the political situation in Great Britain has grown in consequence of the Tory campaign of an utterly unscrupulous character to be the most desperate within living memory. The most democratic and oldest Parliament in the world is face to face with the supreme issue whether it shall, in the last resort have to bow to military dictation. The issue carries tremendous implications and we will consider them at some length as soon as the situation becomes a little clearer. It is enough to remember for the present that the Tories have, by reckless playing with fire, raised a conflagration with which may destroy some of the most cherished political symbols in their history.

We have received a letter for publication which has been issued by the Hon. Nawab Sir Salimulla Bahadur of Dacca and K. B. Syed Anlad Husain Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Bengal Moslem Educational Conference.

The Bengal Moslem Education- of Conference.

The letter, after referring to the recent administrative changes and the creation of the Presidency of Bengal and the need for the amalgamation of the two Educational Conferences now existing in Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal, states that a conference of the Mohamedans of the whole presidency has been invited to meet at Dacca during the Easter holidays, i.e., on the 15th and 13th April next. This will be the first session of the amalgamated conference after the constitution of the Presidency and urgent matters are obviously pending the decision of the community. The chief office-bearers such as President and Secretary are to be elected; rules and regulations have to be finally

amended and framed; the whole organisation is to be adapted to existing needs and placed on an efficient basis; and definite and practical programme is to be devised for the future. The letter proceeds: "No patriotic movement can be successful, unless men "of education, culture, position and wealth take an active and vigorous part in all its affairs. It is hoped that the Mohamedan public "will be pleased to extend their kind co-operation and sympathy by "joining the Conference and taking part in the proceedings and "also by trying to return delegates and send visitors to attend the "Session of the Conference. The Reception Committee will make "necessary arrangements for accommodation, etc., and concession "certificates in respect of Railway fares will also be issued on getting "reply. All correspondence should be addressed to Khan Bahadur "Syed Anlad Husain, Secretary, Reception Committee, Dacca."

THE custodians of the European commercial interests in Calcutta and their mouthpieces in the local Press have never forgiven Lord Hardinge for abandoning that city and transferring the seat of the Government of India to historic

Vested Interests and New Delhi.

Delhi. The change was announced on a peculiarly solemn occasion to which the King-Emperor himself had set the seal, and it was hailed throughout the rest of India as highly appropriate and gratifying to the people's instincts. But neither the direct association of the King-Emperor with the announcement nor the approval of an overwhelming body of opinion in the land could restrain the press stalwarts in Calcutta from engineering a peculiarly vindictive and violent campaign against the change. The papers like the *Statesman* and the *Englishman* have raved disconsolately since the dethronement of Calcutta and they have disdained to choose their epithets in their rabid and vulgar attacks on Lord Hardinge and his Government. In the delirium of their frenzy they have permitted themselves to say all sorts of wild and bitter things, all manner of devices have been pressed into requisition that the authors of the change might be held up to public ridicule both in India and England. Delhi was first of all pronounced to be insanitary, the haunt of mosquitoes and of snakes, of malaria and cholera and all the dire pestilences that the flesh is heir to. When this scare refused to "boom," the glories of Calcutta were discovered with unctuous pride. It was declared to be the living monument of the rise of British power in India, the mighty symbol of the creative energy of the British muscle and mind. To desert it was a rank betrayal. This tune, too, yielded few stirring notes, and finally fell flat. Recourse was then had to the primitive human instincts, and the stuffed chambers of superstition and creeping legendary horrors were exploited to the full. Delhi was the grave of empires and the spirit of death brooded over her traditions. The activities of a modern State would be unconsciously affected in the atmosphere of a vast, silent graveyard, with its haunting memories, its perpetual reminder of the unreality of things, its gaunt, unnerving suggestions. Arguments of less supernatural pretensions were of course not neglected. Government of India, we were told, would be condemned to isolation and would degenerate into a cumbersome, ill-fitted machine after the manner of all self-sufficing bureaucracies. It would be shut out from all healthy influences of progressive opinion and independent and enlightened criticism. As if the great "critics" of Calcutta were the sole guarantee for Great Britain to hold together its Empire in India! But the one argument that has helped to feed the fury of the Calcutta journalists has centred round "the cost of new Delhi." These reputed and well-tried "well-wishers" of India feel immeasurable anguish at the horrifying prospect that the backs of the poor Indian tax-payers should be bent with the addition of enormous burdens to gratify the vanity of a wasteful and reckless Government. To embark on fresh expenditure necessary to rear huge palaces in Delhi has been described as little short of criminal extravagance. India is too poor to be saddled with a huge capital outlay on an object of sheer vainglory. And the cost would be enormous. The Government of India know this, but they have been afraid to make a clean breast of themselves lest they should provoke hostile criticism and alarm public opinion in England. They have been deliberately bungling with figures. Their estimate of probable cost of £4 million, as set forth in their despatch of 1911, was false; the cost in no way could be less than £10 million.

ONE would have thought that such misrepresentations would be effectually stopped after the clear exposure of the Government attitude and policy in regard to the building of new Delhi which was given by the Viceroy in

A Vulgar Attack on the Viceroy.

the course of his speech at the close of the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council. According to a careful revision of the estimates the cost of new Delhi would not probably exceed £6 million. Lord Hardinge emphatically declared that "you may "safely rely on my vigilance and on that of the Hon. Finance Member and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, whose experience in the "Finance Department stands him in such good stead, to see that no

"extravagance or waste of public funds is permitted." He rightly emphasised that India is worthy of a capital and the capital must be worthy of her. All the non-official Members of the Council who spoke on the subject made it fully manifest that the people of India would not grudge the cost of building a capital worthy of India. Yet the *Statesman*, whose love for India has become so demonstrative in this case, returns to a fresh attack on Lord Hardinge and his Government with habitual virulence and delivers itself with a malicious vulgarity that it would be difficult even for its henchman of the *Liars Street* to rival. It accuses the Government of bad faith and deliberate suppression of facts and starts by saying that "at the outset of the undertaking it was necessary to keep 'down the estimate to a minimum. If the full facts had been disclosed, the British public, who have a certain amount of conscience 'in matters of this kind, would have rebelled against the monstrous 'proposal to spend ten millions sterling upon a new capital." After this uncharitable fling it charges in full fury at Lord Hardinge, who had dared to describe the falsehoods of his Calcutta critics as "irresponsible 'statements made by interested persons." It absolves the innocent merchants of Calcutta of all ulterior, sordid motives in their denunciations of the change of capital. "They have not lost 'a rupee by the transfer," it declares triumphantly; though an unkindly critic may discern in the agonies of "disinterested" Calcutta merchants the sting of a very human pang at the loss of opportunities for social "distinctions," and for figuring in Viceregal functions and levees. But the *Statesman* and its clientele are, of course, above such petty snobishness. It is only the Viceroy and his colleagues who may succumb to a petty desire for selfish gains. "Lord Hardinge and his 'Council have been considerable gainers." Says the *Statesman*, "His 'Excellency receives a considerable entertaining allowance. How 'much has he saved by the attenuated hospitalities of Delhi? Members of Council are paid an absurdly high salary to compensate 'them for the expensiveness of Calcutta. What rent are they paying 'in Delhi?" And after a lengthy rhodomontade on the "project 'estimate" and "probable cost" it rounds off with a hope that public opinion in India and England may be roused to perceive "the 'cruelty and folly of wasting the resources of a comparatively poor 'people upon a luxurious toy." The insinuations in the words we have quoted are pointed enough. All we need ask is if the Press Act is impotent to stop this wicked campaign to discredit the Viceroy and his Government, a campaign which is frankly directed to bring into disrepute their motive, attitude and policy.

teaches them the universal brotherhood of mankind in the faith of Islam; making no distinction of colour or race. He tells them that Moslems are brothers, and that there are none higher or lower in the faith of Islam. He endeavours to turn them into orderly members of the society in which their lot is cast. He impresses on them the value of human life and the responsibility of man to God. He weans them from drink and the barbarous rites of heathenism to the simple worship of an All-Seeing, All-Wise Creator, and he asks them to revere the great Teacher who, in an age of utter darkness, called back the world to worship and the love of God. Is this the 'menace of Islam' against which the Protestant conference at Kikuyu has invented a pretended 'unity' in order to disguise the real divisions and contradictions of the sects represented at Kikuyu, in order to induce a factitious combination against the work of the Moslem missionary? The fundamental differences of belief, doctrine, and ritual are accordingly to be kept in the background with the object of driving the preacher of a simple faith, which admittedly raises the degraded heathen in the scale of humanity, from the field in which he has laboured so successfully. Upon the great question of the equal and absolute brotherhood of all men in Islam, without distinction of race or colour, are the Protestant sects agreed to denounce the colour line in Protestant civilisation? Will they abolish the colour line before asking any longer the natives of Asia and Africa to become members of a Protestant Church? They ask the African and the Asiatic to desert the faith of Islam in the One God, to desert the human brotherhood in the faith of the One God which Islam teaches to all mankind. What do they offer them in return? Had the religion they try to spread among the people of Africa helped to raise the proselytes in the scale of humanity, weaned them from drink, kept them from the vices of what is commonly called 'civilisation,' there might be some justification for the attitude they have assumed against Islam. But when every candid observer admits the difference between a convert to Islam and a convert to any rival creed, in sobriety, manliness, observance of parental and filial duties, and such homely virtues, we ask, would it not be a crime to prevent the Moslem missionary from pursuing unmolested his humanising work? The letter of the Bishop of Uganda published in *The Times* of Saturday, the 14th, shows exactly the spirit which animates the Christian pastors who seem bent on carrying into 'benighted Africa' the intolerance common in Europe and Asia."

The *Times* published extracts from the letter of Khwaja Kamal-ud-din in its issue of the 20th February to which Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Sahib refers in his letter to us. We have, however, received the letter as published in its entirety in another journal, and reproduce it here. It runs as follows:—

Kikuyu and the "Menace" of Islam.

"On behalf of 'the members of the Islamic faith residing in England we desire 'to enter an emphatic protest against the hostility to Islam displayed 'at a conference of missionaries belonging to a number of Protestant 'denominations at Kikuyu, in East Africa, and we rely on your courtesy 'and the fairness of your journal for the publication of our letter in your columns. We are convinced that the whole of the hundred millions of Moslems within the British Empire share our feelings of regret and indignation at the gratuitous attack on our faith; and we feel no doubt that the vast numbers of Christians, who believe with us that conscientious opinions are too sacred to be made the subject of attack by the followers of rival creeds, will consider our protest fully justified. A single quotation from the proceedings of 'The Committee of the Church Pastoral Aid Society' on the 15th January of this present year will be sufficient to show the latent hostility which animated the proceedings of the missionaries' conference referred to above. According to a published resolution of this body:—

The Committee of the Church Pastoral Aid Society desire to express their gratitude to the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda for their patient efforts to promote unity on the East African Mission Fields in the face of the menace of Islam; and to assure the two Bishops of unreserved confidence, and also to express to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society their sense of fellowship with them at this moment of solemn responsibility.

There can be no doubt that those important agencies of Protestant missionary enterprise have adopted against Islam the device of an artificial and pretended unity, for the purpose of increasing the chance of Protestant propaganda against Islam. We are entitled, therefore, to ask, What is the 'menace' of which the Protestant missionaries are afraid? The humble missionary of Islam, without the accessories of wealth and power at the back of others, carries his simple faith to people immersed in absolute darkness; uplifts them from pure heathenism, teaches them the duties of life, and turns them into beings with a true conception of the relation of God to man; he preaches to them the power, glory, and love of God, the Omnipotent, the All-Seeing, Who is not made by hands, Who is the Creator Eternal, Who alone can give happiness to man. He

The Hon. Mr. Surrendranath Banerjee moved a resolution on the 19th instant in the Imperial Legislative Council, which, among other things, pleaded for the creation of advisory councils to help the district officers in the discharge of their executive duties. A similar resolution was moved the year before last which was negatived. Mr. Banerjee's resolution has also met the same fate. As we said on the previous occasion we do not think a district advisory council would prove a very useful institution. There are obvious reasons to fear that it might become an embarrassing dead-weight to a district officer who has real enthusiasm for his work and has genuine sympathy with the aspirations of the people. The district administration depends for its success on the type of the official that is placed in charge of it. A district officer with little sympathy for popular hopes and wishes would have little patience for his advisers, and if they mutually quarrel only the public interests would suffer. A sympathetic officer needs no formal advisory boards, for he would rather be hampered than assisted in his work if he is obliged to hold formal consultations at every step in the discharge of his duties. The real object that evidently underlay Mr. Banerjee's motion was to bring the district administration more closely into touch with the needs and wishes of the people. This object can best be gained by the appointment of increasing numbers of Indians of capacity as district officers. This is the real direction in which the reforms should move. It is also desirable that the district officer should be relieved of some of the duties that he has now to discharge. At present he has to do enormous work as he controls all the threads of the district administration. He is responsible for the peace of the district and for the collection of revenue and the control of a large revenue staff; he supervises the work of subordinate magistrates; he is the head of the Police and the Forest departments and is President of the District Board; he is District Registrar and Political Agent for any Native State attached to the district; he is the head of the P. W. D., supervises the work of Municipalities and is responsible for famine administration and for measures to deal with cholera and plague epidemics. In the first place he should be divested of his magisterial powers, and there are some other functions which he should hand over to District Boards or Municipalities or other local bodies which may be deemed necessary to create for the purpose.

The Hon. Home Member said that the proposed advisory council would impair the responsibility of the district officer. It would

however, be well for the Home Member to bear in mind that the almost unlimited range of the district officer's duties makes it exceedingly hard for him to attend to his responsibilities with unimpaired efficiency. His functions should be distributed and purely local matters such as sanitation, education and sundry other things should be administered by local bodies. And for the efficient administration of the district generally more Indians should be raised to the position of the district officer. As things are, the Hon. Home Member's defence of his attitude is not altogether reassuring. If the reform along the lines suggested by us is opposed on the score that the district officer's authority would be impaired by the intrusion of middle men, we would rather have this "intrusion" inspite of its obvious drawbacks, for it is far better to have a sluggish administration of district affairs than to leave them to be looked after by a single man enjoying almost unlimited authority and occasionally possessing eccentric views on matters closely related to the welfare of the people.

We have received a copy of the pathetic petition which the grief-stricken and aged mother of Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan B.A. (Alig.) has submitted to His Majesty the Amir and in which she humbly prays for the release of her son.

It is an appeal for mercy and no one can read it without emotion and fail to be affected by the deep anguish that moves the heart of the hapless mother. The story of Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan's luckless plight in Cabul is already known to most of our readers. He is one of the most earnest-minded and talented graduates of Aligarh. He comes of a respectable Afghan family in the Jullundar district, and his love and enthusiasm for the progress of his race was boundless. Soon after he left Aligarh he applied for service under His Majesty the Amir in the new Education Department which the enlightened ruler of Afghanistan was organising with a view to create facilities for the education of his subjects on modern lines. The services of many Indian Moslem graduates were requisitioned for the purpose, and Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan was chosen as the head of the Translation Department. He went to Cabul filled with characteristic zeal for his task. The letters that he used to send to his friends in India in the course of the first two years of his service furnished a measure of the devotion that he felt for H. M. the Amir his master, and of the enthusiastic joy with which he dwelt on the prospect of the great Afghan race eventually reaping a glorious harvest of an up-to-date training and culture of which they were beginning to sow the seed. By a curious turn of the fortune's wheel this glorious vision of his was shattered, and he found himself one day suddenly flung into prison with several others including Dr. Abdul Ghani, the then Director of Public Instruction in Afghanistan. How this came to pass no one can exactly tell. Only wild rumours reached India at the time suggesting that Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan and his fellow prisoners were implicated in some sort of a revolutionary plot aiming at the introduction of a democratic form of government in Afghanistan. No authentic facts have come to light since then, no trial of the prisoners has been held up to this moment, and as far as we know no charges have been regularly framed or substantiated against them. In these circumstances it is not difficult to believe, especially in view of the conditions in Afghanistan, that Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan along with his fellow sufferers has been the victim of some cruel conspiracy. All those who know him well can hardly believe him to have been capable of plotting against His Majesty the Amir to whose personality he was attached with loyal and fervent devotion. He has suffered terribly and long—it is upwards of four years that he has been in prison. The sufferings of his poor old mother and his wife, who have none else to support them, have been no less great and pitiful. We appeal to His Majesty the Amir, and we are sure millions of Mussalmans in this country join us in this appeal, that he may exercise a gracious act of clemency and restore the unfortunate prisoner to freedom and to his home which his sufferings and those of his mother and sisters and his wife and his little child have made desolate. We do not know whether the case of Mohamed Husain Khan is ever allowed to come to the notice of His Majesty; but we trust it would be dealt with fairly whenever it reaches his ears, for the ruler of Afghanistan is well-known for his sense of justice and his kingly attribute of mercy. We hope the appeal of Mohamed Husain Khan's mother will reach His Majesty, and we are confident that it will not go unheard.

The Comrade.

A Muslim Ruler on Aligarh.

II.

LAST week we referred to the criticism that Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal offered in her reply to the address of Mohamedan Educational Conference. To-day we deal with her to reply the address of the Trustees of the Aligarh College. Although Her Highness disclaimed any desire "to receive an excellent address and say a few pleasant things in reply," one must read Her Highness's reply to the Trustees' address carefully before he can discover the slender thread of criticism that runs throughout her speech. It must be remembered that unlike the reply to the address of the Conference, this speech of Her Highness was addressed to a mixed audience of Trustees, members of the staff, Old Boys and present students of the College, and this fact always makes it difficult for a critic to speak on such occasions as frankly as could be desired.

Despite these difficulties Her Highness has indicated clearly enough where progress has been slow and improvement is necessary. Referring to the growth of the College and the increase in the responsibilities of those who manage its affairs, Her Highness said: "It would be a clear indication of the evil fortune in store for the community if strained relations should exist between those who had devoted a valuable part of their abilities, time, wealth and life to the work of the community, spread education, founded this great College, strengthened it and endeavoured to spread its fame, and those others who had tasted the fruit of the tree which they had planted, that is to say, had received their education at this College and had become capable of sharing their educational efforts and the great responsibilities of the management of the College."

We do not think it would be difficult for those who are interested in the College to recall the time about ten years ago when one or two Old Boys of the College were the only critics of those who managed the affairs of the College. There was no "Young Party" then in existence, but only a couple of young men ten years younger than they are to-day. If the poet's principle be true and the Brahmin should deserve burial in the Ka'ba, because devotion, if steadfast, is the very essence of faith, then these early critics of Aligarh have ensured for themselves a grave in those sacred precincts. Nothing has yet daunted them, nothing has effectively discouraged them. But that is not their only merit. Their criticism was just and they did not stop at mere criticism. They fought for the good as well as railed at the evil. And the result is that many of those, that did not then comprehend their motives and their meaning are now their friends and comrades. You cannot name a single man, whether old or young, about whose independence of character there is no question who does not agree with them in interpreting the educational policy of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. At least this is incontrovertible that you cannot point out a single Mussalman whose sycophancy is above suspicion who does not invariably vote against them. And because sycophancy is every day losing ground and independence of character, which generally, though not invariably, follows English education, is every day on the increase, the old Cabal can no longer count upon a comfortable majority, while the old minority of two or three is every day enlisting fresh recruits and compels respect for its views even if not acceptance.

Had there been any antagonism between those that planted the tree and those that ate of its fruit, it would have been very strange indeed, and the fault would have had to be traced to the seed that had been sown, the soil on which it had been cast or the husbandry that followed. As ye sow ye reap. But if the affairs of Aligarh are closely examined it will be easily discovered that the grouping of men into parties follows neither the line of cleavage between the Young and the Old, nor between those who created Aligarh and those whom Aligarh has created. Who among those living to-day could be older or more intimately connected with the foundation of the College than the venerable Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur or could be younger than some of the Old Boys of the College who have only recently been co-opted as Trustees with the votes of some of the oldest of Trustees? Yet the late Honorary Secretary of the College is undoubtedly the leader of the so-called Young Party, and it is some of the Old Boys of the College themselves who do not yet boast of wrinkles and gray hair that lead the so-called Old Party. Had it been only a cleavage between the young and the old, those who side with the young would have easily

found consolation in patience, for time is always on the side of the young. But the party of privilege which is in power can always secure a few recruits for its depleted ranks by dangling a certain amount "of distinction," and the victory of those who desire to place the control of a national institution in the hands of those whom the nation elects is thereby delayed. But it is encouraging to know that even under the present system of co-option more Trustees are being recruited on the side of democracy than on the side of oligarchy, and though delayed the hour of victory is not distant.

In the meantime those who are hostile to the interests of the Mussalmans and have recently knocked their heads against the wall of Muslim solidarity have spared no efforts to create a breach. At first a split between the All-India Muslim League and its London branch was loudly proclaimed and many Cassandra's prophesied a second Surat at Agra last December. But even when the prophets were proved false, hope was not altogether lost and it was believed that the two meetings of the Trustees within a month would provide sufficient sensation. We are glad that even this hope was belied and it is a pleasure to note that Her Highness the Begum Salaba has fully grasped the significance of the result of those meetings. While inviting attention to the mischief that every division in the ranks of the Trustees is likely to cause, Her Highness said that she thanked God that the sagacity of the Trustees had suppressed the mischief a great deal. We have so often appealed for a better understanding and with so little avail that we must frankly admit the only cure for the evil is that the reforms which we have long advocated in the Constitution of the Trust should now be speedily adopted and the Board of Trustees should be wholly composed of men periodically elected by independent constituencies. They alone can rightly claim to represent the community, for they alone would reflect the views of the community that elects them. So long as this is not done, Aligarh will be shot from one crisis into another as the experience of the last decade has amply shown.

We have referred to two efforts made by the enemies of the Mussalmans to create a split in the community. We have now to refer to a third and still more sinister attempt, namely the effort to create a split between the Shias and the Sunnis just at the time when Mussalmans had removed from their minds every sectarian bias in secular matters. Shias had sympathised with the troubles of the Turkey as sincerely as Sunnis, and Sunnis had felt the same grief at the troubles of Persia that the Shias had experienced. It was at such a time that old grievances were brought out and clothed with a new significance, and a most unfortunate series of incidents that occurred at Aligarh came to be looked upon as a God-sent by these enemies of the community. Much as we are inclined to praise the present solidarity of Mussalmans we must acknowledge that the foundation is none too strong as yet, and the greatest care must be taken in building up a superstructure that it can bear. But in spite of our intimate acquaintance with the time-honoured unsectarian traditions of Aligarh we must say we did not anticipate that Aligarh undergraduates of to-day would be able to bear the tremendous strain of recent incidents so well as they have done. Her Highness devoted a considerable part of her speech to an earnest appeal to the students on this subject, and we know how it will rejoice her heart to know that the appeal was not made in vain. The recent meeting of Aligarh undergraduates and the resolutions that they have passed on the subject of sectarian differences has a great and an unmistakable significance, and although we are loath to pamper men who have yet to win their spurs in the world, we shall be guilty of injustice if we did not say that by displaying such brotherly affection among themselves in the face of such difficulties the Aligarh students have set a noble example of unity and toleration to the older members of the community. They have magnificently upheld the traditions of their elder brothers and the ideals of Khalifa Mohamed Hasan Khan Sahab and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Her Highness quoted two from among the many encomia passed on the Old Boys of Aligarh and in doing so said: "This is a kind of 'praise which should be handed down from generation to generation as a heritage and trust, and the present generation of students has always regarded it as such. But this heritage and this trust can remain safe so long only as your own character remains as high as that of your predecessors." Had we to select two testimonials from among the many earned by the Old Boys of the College that do justice alike to the claims of the Mussalmans and of the Government under which they are progressing, we could not have improved upon Her Highness's selection. The first testimonial which Her Highness recalled to the minds of the students was that given by Sir Auckland Colvin, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. He had said: "To have been an Aligarh man is, I have

"over and over again found, a passport to the respect and confidence both of Englishman and Native. They carry with them the stamp 'of their training, the impress of the man under whom their training has been accomplished.'" He had also said: "An Aligarh College man has become synonymous with a man of liberal ideas, advanced education and independent character. He has become, above all, the type 'of the class of Indian who endeavours to do full justice to English desires, but expects us to do equal justice to his own.'" Another former Lieutenant-Governor of the Province had made the following observation with regard to Aligarh students. "They have the 'character of being upright and manly, loyal to the Government 'under whose protection they live, courteous and respectful 'without servility, and fitted by their upbringing for the 'practical work of their lives.'" This and no other is the heritage and trust which Her Highness would like to be handed down from generation to generation, and this and no other is the character Her Highness would like an Aligarh student of to-day to possess. He who would seduce the undergraduates of Aligarh from their loyalty to the Government under whose protection they live, he who would teach them to be discontented and disrespectful, he who would like them not to do full justice to English desires is no doubt a traitor and we are willing to consign him to the worst hell in Dante's Inferno. But what of him who would make them servile, who would not have them expect the English to do equal justice to his own desires and would rob them of manliness and make them too selfish to be upright? We feel certain that at least Her Highness would not open the gate of heaven for such a man if she had in her hands the keys of St. Peter.

Her Highness did well in reminding the students that for them the present is only a time for study, contemplation and research, and that all active participation in the daily recurring affairs of the practical world is for the present absolutely disallowed. If we can presume to add something to this advice, we would like to say that many of those whose duty it is to take an active part in the daily recurring affairs of the practical world envy them the leisure they now enjoy. They must not yet attempt to do prematurely that which they will only too soon be called upon to do on pain of their community's serious displeasure if they neglect or bungle. But the object of sound education must be to create the complete citizen, and obviously the study of politics in an academic fashion cannot be tabooed. As Sir Charles Crosthwaite had said, they must be "fitted by their upbringing for the practical work 'of their lives.'" Her Highness has therefore done well to place these time-honoured ideals of Aligarh once more before all concerned, and we trust those who press for their translation into reality will not be accused of innovation and heresy and a departure from the policy of Sir Syed Ahmed.

Her Highness praised the work of Mr. Towle and the College staff and expressed the hope, which we fully share, that their students will long continue to profit from their affectionate treatment, and that, because gratefulness is a sentiment inculcated by their religion, they would repay this affection by sincerity and obedience. Her Highness also said that she trusted that the European members of the staff would not only consider it a duty to impart instruction to the students but would also guide the students to the goal of success by impressing upon them the stamp of their character and personality, so that on the one side they would earn the gratitude of Mussalmans and on the other they would discharge the duty towards their nation and their Empire which is imposed on them by the very fact that they are Englishmen. Her Highness added that "this must always be kept in view that the 'relations of the staff, the students and the Trustees should be pleasant 'and sympathetic, for the hopes of Muslim success and progress are 'bound up therewith, and on this also depends the object which the 'former popular Principal of Aligarh, the late Mr. Beek, expressed 'in these words: 'the political aim of this College is to produce 'harmony and friendship between the English and the Mussalmans.'" We have no wish to to rake up the past, but if it is in the least true that the relations between the Mussalman and the English are strained then it will serve no useful purpose to blame only the Mussalmans for such an undesirable situation. The name of Theodore Beek must rank among those of the greatest Empire-builders that England ever sent out to India, and those that bear the impress of Theodore Beek under whom their training was accomplished cannot reasonably be suspected of attempts to create ill-will in the minds of the rising generation towards his countrymen. This is not the place nor the time to apportion praise or blame; but we hope we shall not be guilty of injustice in reminding the English staff of the College that it is within their power to win over the younger generation of Mussalmans, all efforts of any others in the contrary direction notwithstanding. As we said once before, he who would like to win the heart of Muslim India must win the heart of Aligarh, and Mr. Towle and the band of able and vigorous young Englishmen who are working with him at Aligarh can have the affection of Aligarh for the asking.

The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

II.

LAST week we had dealt with the various events that had sorely tried the temper of Indian Mussalmans and had challenged any one to point to a single incident throughout their protracted sufferings suggesting, however remotely, that they had departed even by a hair's breadth from the traditions of staunch and unwavering loyalty, or to place his finger on any record of wanton disregard of law and breach of public peace by any section of the Mussalmans of India even during the period of their greatest misery. We had declared that this historic community, noted for its sanity of judgment and self-restraint during periods of unusual gravity, had not lost these characteristic qualities at any time during its recent troubles, and that in short there was nothing in its recent record of which it need be ashamed.

Despite these undeniable facts, however, a series of vile attempts had recently been made in certain Anglo-Indian quarters to misrepresent the attitude of the Mussalmans towards Government and to discredit them in the eyes of Government and of the British public. We need not refer here in detail to these wicked libels as we have had on more than one occasion since last summer to refute them, and our readers can easily recall the articles that appeared in the *Times* and in the *National Review* and our rejoinders to them. But it had now become clear that those who had taken upon themselves the task of maligning the Indian Mussalmans were both persistent and resourceful, and the unscrupulous manner in which some organs of the British Press for obvious reasons lent themselves to this evil propaganda made it necessary that the repudiation of such calumnies should not be left to a single newspaper, no matter how representative, but should be undertaken by a Deputation of a very comprehensive character which should reflect every shade of Muslim opinion in India.

This project was discussed by the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad with some prominent Mussalmans who were then at Delhi, and was referred to some others who were invited to Delhi for the purpose by the Hon. the Raja Sahib. The project met with general approval among those who could be consulted at that early stage, and encouraged by this response the Raja Sahib consulted some more prominent members of the community, and when their assent was obtained, a long and comprehensive list of more than 200 Mussalmans, representing all provinces and every shade of Muslim opinion, was prepared in consultation with many prominent members of the community and letters were despatched to them inviting their co-operation. The object of the Deputation was clearly explained in the letter, and soon after several rough drafts of the proposed address were despatched to the gentlemen who had been invited to join the Deputation. Unfortunately the interval for organising the Deputation was extremely short, but it is a noteworthy fact that men of all recognised shades of opinion agreed to the project and showed their willingness to co-operate with each other in this matter and the general framework of the address was universally approved. On the 22nd and 23rd instant, the Address was fully discussed and finally approved. The list of the signatories to the address is remarkably comprehensive, even though many prominent Mussalmans who heartily approved of the Deputation and had given their assent to the general framework and tone of the address were unavoidably absent. Nevertheless the eighty-four Mussalmans who signed the address and who were received by H. E. the Viceroy on the 25th instant were fully representative of the community and well qualified to speak in its name.

The address, which we reproduced last week very closely followed the views we expressed in our last articles on the subject of the Muslim Deputation, and it seems needless to dwell on it any further. Turning to the reply of H. E. the Viceroy, we note that it deals in the first place with what the address of the Mussalmans called "the new era of an awakened consciousness." In the next place, it deals with the reaction in India of the "events of unparalleled magnitude and absorbing interest to the Mussalmans," which, in the words of the address, "followed one another in a rapid and bewildering succession." In the third place, it deals with the charges that had been levelled with such rancour and persistence against the Mussalmans for more than half a year in some sections of the British and the Anglo-Indian Press. In the next place, it deals with the question of the Holy Places in Arabia, and, finally, with the improved outlook for the future.

The address of the Muslim Deputation had referred with significant prominence to the All-India Muslim League, which, according to the Deputation "has ever since its establishment continued to be the true representative organization of Indian Mussalmans." We are glad that so comprehensive a Deputation expressed itself in such

clear terms and with such emphasis about the All-India Muslim League, for although the matter is too obvious, attempts have not been wanting to create misunderstandings as regards the scope and character of the Muslim League since its acceptance of the ideal of self-government suited to India.

In this connection it may be stated that no progressive institution or country can stand exactly where it did some years ago, and thanks to the progressive character of British rule in India, the changes which are taking place from day to day in this country make it difficult for India to remain stationary in its policies and ideals. Even in 1906, Lord Minto told the Simla Deputation that it had addressed him "at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change." "We all feel it," said Lord Minto, "It would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence. Hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them. We should be wrong to wish to do so. But to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions, I defy anyone honestly to assert that; not to any uprising of a disaffected people; it is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed, and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct." It would have been a poor recognition of the progressive character of the present regime to suggest that the progress which was going on in 1906 had since been arrested, and that the new hopes and ambitions which were then making themselves felt had now ceased to vitalise the people of this country. Even in the short space of time since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of office, education, financed much more generously than before, has been able to move with great strides, and every day an increasingly large harvest is being gathered from the vast fields wherein British rule had sown the seed. The atmosphere is still full of change and even the Mussalmans, who seemed to have been tied to the spot by ancient traditions and more recent intellectual poverty, are now beginning to become more and more amenable to the changes of the political weather. In the words of Lord Minto, it would be foolish to deny the existence of an atmosphere full of change, and we should be wrong to wish to do so. The new voyage of political discovery on which the Mussalmans set out in 1906 has necessitated a revision of their political charts. The recent activities of the Muslim League simply mean a much-needed defining of the direction where it was comparative vagueness and uncertainty before. As the attainment of the ideal of self-government depends not upon any drastic changes in the system of administration almost amounting to a revolution, but on the slow growth and evolution of a nationality based upon the co-ordination of and harmony and goodwill prevailing among the various communities of India, the All-India Muslim League has rightly held out the hand of friendship towards the great sister community of Hindus. But sinister motives were ascribed even to this, although the Mussalmans had only just commenced to practise what the officials had preached so often before. This the Mussalmans naturally resented very deeply. In his reply to the address the Viceroy was able to say: "You have referred in the address, which I am very happy to receive from you, to the re-invigorated vitality of your community during the past few years, and it is a fact to which I am able to bear testimony and at the same time to welcome." His Excellency added that "zeal for the Moslem faith and for the uplifting of the community and the loyalty of the Muslims to the Government of this country, where they live and find freedom of worship, have gone hand in hand, and have created a high ideal from which the community has never wavered." This is a testimony which should easily sweep away all the cobwebs of suspicions and sinister surmises woven with a crafty malice by the calumniators of Indian Mussalmans.

As regards the reaction in India of a bewildering succession of events to which the address referred, His Excellency the Viceroy was equally emphatic when he said that, although Muslim sentiment had been greatly stirred, and for a time a restless spirit prevailed, there was no real antagonism between the Government and the Muslim community. The charges that the leaders of the Muslim community inflamed religious passions, promoted national antagonism and lost no opportunity of abusing British rule and vilifying the Christian religion, that a new party had already begun to dream of expelling the British from India, that Aligarh graduates were in the van openly preaching hostility to British rule, and that attempts were being made to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops were condemned by His Excellency the Viceroy as clearly as they deserved to be. According to His Excellency, writers in the Press had "misrepresented the attitude of your community and attributed to them actions and thoughts which those who know you well can only regard as a deep misunderstanding." After all, the Mussalmans must take into consideration the limitations of the phraseology suited to the pronouncements of His Majesty's representative in his Indian Empire, and

must treat the phrase "a deep misunderstanding" as a synonym for Mr. Churchill's "terminological inexactitude" and Mr. Kipling's "unmitigated--misstatement." Their consolation must, however, be that lies are lies and stink in the nostril just as much in whatever phraseology we may clothe them. It is sheer charity, however, to suggest, as His Excellency has done, that these writers were misled by the troubled surface of the water and gave currency to such foul libels merely on account of "superficial comprehension of the 'Mohamedan train of thought.'" No doubt, His Excellency was not called upon to sit in judgment upon these men, and it was enough for His Excellency's purpose to indicate clearly that their charges were false. But if His Excellency had been sitting as a judge upon them, we have no doubt he would have also found them guilty of malicious conspiracy. The deputation had said that "after having stood the repeated 'test of actual experience in times of great public excitement,' we never expected such cruel attacks at a time when we were 'under the shadow of a great calamity and needed all the sympathy 'and goodwill to which we were entitled.'" The Viceroy, to whose unfailing sympathy offered in the most practical manner throughout their protracted sufferings, the Deputation's address bore such willing testimony, assured the Deputation in the following words:—"I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at aspersions that have been cast upon you and your people as a whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government 'had never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community.'" Again, when cordially welcoming the Muslim assurances of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community, the Viceroy said he would not fail to transmit them to the King-Emperor, "although for me such assurances were 'not needed.'"

This is as clear and emphatic a testimony against those who charged the Mussalmans and, particularly the Aligarh graduates, with sedition as the Mussalmans could have ever desired, and it would be conceded that a Viceroy who has come forward to clear the reputation of the Mussalmans in this manner is entitled to address words of counsel to the more ardent spirits in the community. But the Mussalmans must be thankful to His Excellency that he showed no inclination in the course of his reply to preach a long-drawn sermon such as more than one provincial satrap has indulged in recently. All that the Viceroy offered by way of criticism or advice was a passing reference to the use "here and there" of "bitter or heated words which 'it would have been better to have left unsaid.'" But no one of a different faith and nationality was in a better position to judge the extent of the Muslim temptation than His Excellency, whose words and actions proved such a great corrective of the silence Edward Grey and the speeches of several of Sir Edwards' colleagues. His Excellency did not, therefore, forget even in his reply to suggest that, however unwise the use of heated or bitter words here and there, it was after all only natural. For His Excellency prefaced this slight criticism with the observation that this was due to the fact that the feelings of Indian Mussalmans were sore.

As regards the Viceroy's reference to the Holy Places of the Mussalmans, His Excellency's pronouncement, following as it does the Guildhall pronouncement of Mr. Asquith and His Excellency's own speech in the Legislative Council at Simla in September last, would, we feel sure, be welcomed throughout the Muslim world. His Excellency wishes the Mussalmans to understand that the British Government has already realized "the 'absolute necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards 'the Holy Places in Arabia,'" and in view of the fact that it is a great religious interest of the Mussalmans and the acceptance of the British responsibility for the maintenance of such a *status quo* would strengthen the loyalty of Indian Mussalmans, His Excellency was fully justified in pointing out that this is an "important and powerful link 'between your community and the Government of our King-Emperor.'" This shows what value the Government attach to religious freedom and Mohamedan control of the Holy Places, and if the intensity of the Mussalmans' feeling on the subject of a Muslim control of the Holy Places can induce the British Government to accept the responsibility they have taken upon themselves, that intensity of feelings provides a much clearer justification for the action that the Mussalmans have themselves been taking recently in order to safeguard the sanctity of their Holy Places from violation. If it is the Government's political duty to maintain the Muslim control of Holy Places, it is only because it is a Muslim's religious duty to maintain such control. Therefore it is a first charge on the Mussalman himself and then on his non-Muslim Government. We hope His Excellency's pronouncement will set at rest all those who pretend to see danger in such a frankly peaceful religious society as the *Ahuddam-i-Ka'ba*.

In this connection it may not perhaps be amiss to say that although it is only in view of the religious interest of the Mohome-

dans of India and the value that Government attach to religious freedom and the Mohamedan control of the Holy Places that such a responsibility rests upon Great Britain, it will not be right to conclude that the views of seventy million subjects of His Majesty can be of no moment in the shaping of an Imperial foreign policy. Great Britain has already accepted the eleven million European Colonials to partnership in the business of Empire, and it would be strange if India alone, which, as Lord Morley once told the House of Lords, "is your Lordship's only Empire", should be excluded from the benefits of such a partnership. She has always shared most willingly every Imperial liability with Great Britain, but we should like to know what Canada, or, in fact, any other Colony has yet done in this matter. Indian Mussalmans do not ignore Great Britain's Imperial commitments and do not ask for the impossible. We repeat once more that they only desire to maintain a permanent friendship between Great Britain and Muslim States, and they can be relied upon to insist on a friendly attitude towards Great Britain on the part of the Muslim States just as they can be relied upon to complain if they are led to think that Great Britain is lacking in its friendly sympathy towards them.

His Excellency referred in conclusion to the restoration of peace in Europe and Asia, and we trust Great Britain would be able to induce the Powers to be fairer to Turkey in finally settling the question of the Aegean Islands, and that every assistance, such as the loan of British officers for the administration of the Armenian Vilayets of Asia Minor, would be rendered to Turkey. On the face of it, it is unfair to strengthen the position of a Christian Prince in Muslim Albania by offering to Greece as a compensation some islands of Turkey vital to the existence of her Asiatic Empire. Nor is it fair to complain of mis-management in Armenia when Turkey so willingly offers to appoint British officers in those regions. The way to preserve the independence and integrity of her Asiatic Empire is not by recognising spheres of influence of European Powers such as Russia and France in that Empire. Surely British diplomats could have not forgotten the fate of Persia's integrity and independence which the Anglo-Russian Convention with its spheres of influence was created to preserve. We trust these matters will result in speedy and just settlement, and we look forward with His Excellency with hope and confidence to a period of peaceful development of the Muslim community by means of self-improvement and education. The Muslim community is loyal, moderate and sober and can desire no better policy than one of solidarity and co-operation with Government and with other communities for the welfare and progress of this Empire, which, His Excellency rightly said, we all of us have so much at heart. We too devoutly hope that the pure and unalloyed faith of the Mussalmans in the Unity of God and of loyalty to their Sovereign may burn like a flame and ever grow brighter to lighten their path for many ages to come.



The Unitarians of Islam.

MR. KHAWA KAMAL UD-DIN (of Woking) has addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which, "on behalf of the Islamic faith in England," he enters "an emphatic protest against the hostility to Islam displayed at a conference of missionaries belonging to a number of Protestant denominations at Kikuyu, in East Africa." "There can be no doubt," he writes, "that important agencies of Protestant missionary enterprise have adopted against Islam the device of an artificial and pretended unity for the purpose of increasing the chance of Protestant propaganda against Islam. We are entitled therefore to ask: 'What 'is the 'menace' of which the Protestant missionaries are afraid?' What indeed? We are inclined to think that the fears of the excellent Mr. Ud-din are quite unnecessary. One prominent figure of the Kikuyu Conference appears to hold views which, to the mere lay mind, are practically indistinguishable from those of Mr. Ud-din's co-religionists. We have just learned that a communicant in the diocese of Mombasa was informed by the Bishop of that diocese that unless she desisted from the practice of making the Sign of the Cross before receiving Holy Communion she would be refused the Sacrament. We can well understand that the Cross, which was to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, would be also an occasion of offence to our brethren of the Mohamedan religion, and we had hoped that it was in their interest that the Bishop was acting. It appears, however, that the excellent policy of inclusion inaugurated by the conveners of the Kikuyu Conference is limited in its sphere of operations. We are far from suggesting that the antiquated and poisonous superstitions of Popery should receive the least encouragement or support from any truly Christian body; but we must take leave to point out that no scheme for the federation of Protestant Churches can be considered as complete which fails to take into account the Unitarians of Islam.—*The New Witness*.

Interview with Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey.

(FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

ALI HIKMET NAHID BEY, one of the Vice-Presidents of the London Islamic Society, who is the senior partner in the well-known Ottoman firm of Hussain and Co., in the city, has just returned from an extensive tour in the Balkans and Turkey. He has been travelling for the last three months, during which period he has also visited Asia Minor. Nahid Bey has recently completed his long apprenticeship with the Imperial Ottoman Bank of Throgmorton Street. He is on terms of intimate friendship with most of the leading statesmen of Turkey to-day and several of his relatives are at present holding important positions in the political, commercial and educational world at Constantinople. I called upon him at his office in the city without any previous engagement, within two hours of his return from the Continent and in spite of his fatigue after the long overland journey and notwithstanding the pressing work that lay before him as a result of his recent absence from town, he received me with very great courtesy, which I attribute entirely to my being a representative of the *Comrade*, of which the Bey is a regular reader and which has lately become very popular with the Young Turks. After apologising to him for taking his valuable time and assuring him of my determination to trouble him as briefly as possible, I put him the following questions, to which Nahid Bey answered in fluent English. With the well-known hospitality characteristic of his race, he offered me several "real" Turkish cigarettes, in the course of the brief interview, which certainly went a long way in making me immediately feel perfectly at home with my distinguished "host," though my guilty conscience kept on worrying me for having taken so much of his precious time during the busiest hour in the city:—

Was your recent visit to Turkey a mere holiday?—Well not exactly. I had certainly been away from home for some time but this trip was really undertaken by me on business mixed with pleasure.

Did you visit Adrianople at all?—Yes: in Thrace I saw nothing but ruined villages and demolished mosques, particularly on the Railway line between Adrianople and Constantinople. In Adrianople I met Haji Adil Bey, an ex-Minister of the Interior, and now Governor-General of Adrianople. He is an extremely capable man and has several splendid schemes in hand. We have very great hopes in him, as he is a real patriot and is gifted with great intellect and a perfect constructive mind.

Was normal life restored in Adrianople?—Practically the ordinary life was restored, but owing to the great damages done to the buildings by the Bulgarians during the siege, people have not quite settled down. There is, of course, very great military activity in the place and the town is being thoroughly re fortified.

What do you think of the present garrison in Adrianople?—The condition of the troops is splendid and every soldier is fully determined to defend the honour of Islam, should the occasion arise. The military authorities have immensely gained by their sad experiences of the past and are now preparing themselves for any emergency. No effort is being spared to render the Army well-organised and efficient. I spent three days in Adrianople.

Can you tell me anything about the situation in Constantinople?—I have had long interviews with the leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress including the General Secretary, but you will, I hope, forgive me if I would rather not disclose what has passed between us. It concerns some important points of administration, which it may not be to the Turkish interest to insert in a newspaper. (I assured the Bey that I fully appreciated the delicacy of his position). I also had the privilege of securing an interview with the grand Vizier, His Highness Prince Said Helmi Pasha. He is sparing no pains in the work that lies before him, the reorganisation of the Turkish Administration. I likewise met Mehmud Essad Effendi, an ex-professor of Theology in the Imperial University and now a prominent Member of the present Cabinet. He is keenly interested in Islamic movements and has for several years spent his holidays in various Moslem lands, apart from his wide travels in Europe. He is thinking of visiting India in the near future.

Do you think the ties of brotherhood between the Turks and Indian Moslems have become closer?—Very much indeed, the practical sympathy which the Moslems of India had so vividly shown to their co-religionists in Turkey in their hour of trial has brought our Indian brothers ever so much closer to us now. The brilliant All-India Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari, which rendered such noble and sacred service to the cause of Islam during the recent war, has fostered our relations to an unparalleled degree and the bond of unity and brotherhood now existing between our Indian co-religionists and ourselves will for ever promote that close association and increase that mutual confidence and goodwill which are vitally necessary for brotherly co-operation and fellowship.

Do you think the public at large in Turkey are alive to the doings and destiny of their fellow-Moslems in India?—Certainly; you will be surprised to hear that the leading organs of the Press in Turkey are unanimously giving every possible prominence to matters that concern our Indian brothers. For instance, almost all the speeches that have been delivered by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali in London, during their recent visit to England, have been reported practically in *toto* in our Press, who have even written editorially on the mission that brought these two gentlemen to England. Mr. Mohamed Ali's speech at the Islamic Society's Banquet at the Cecil last November, in which he dealt with such force with Turkish affairs, has made a very deep impression in Constantinople, where they were much disappointed at the two delegates' inability to visit Turkey, when they were recently in Europe.

Is there any favourable sign of commercial activity amongst the Turks?—Yes, I am very pleased to tell you that, much to my delight, I have found on my last visit that there is at last a hopeful sign in this important field, which as you know has been sadly neglected by us. I was particularly struck with the new phase of commercial life at Broussa in Asia Minor. We have at last realised the dignity of labour and industry and I am to-day very hopeful of my expectations in this respect being gradually fulfilled. There is a great tendency and desire now to trade more with the East, particularly with India, which we all welcome.

Have you anything to say about the Naval and Military Missions at Constantinople?—Nothing except that they are both attending to their duties seriously and earnestly. We are confident in our British and German instructions and they will in due course of time bring the two vital arms of the Empire to perfection. We cannot afford to neglect the defences of our Empire any more, for our very existence. Enver Pasha is thoroughly overhauling the Army and is bent on placing it on an efficient and firm footing. The Navy is being likewise seen to by the British Admiral, who is instructing the Turkish naval officers in the art of Sea-Warfare. The Turkish Admiralty and War Office are giving the British and German Missions respectively every help possible. On the whole we are very hopeful of the future.

What do you think of the Armenian question?—Since I understand the Armenians have decided to take part in the Parliamentary Elections according to the regulations laid down by the authorities. I do not think it advisable to revive the question here. Personally I am of opinion that the Armenians as a body are most loyal to the Sultan and very law-abiding. They fought for Turkey in the recent campaign with exceptional bravery and heroism and if left to themselves are only too anxious to remain under the Turkish flag. The misdeeds of a few, instigated by external influences, must not prejudice one against the whole race.

Do you think Turkey will be successful in her negotiations for a loan in Europe?—From what I could gather at Constantinople, there is every hope for a successful negotiation with France. We are not, of course, prepared to borrow on impossible conditions, which would be disastrous to the country in future, but we are confident Djavid Bey's diplomacy in financial transactions will succeed in securing us the necessary loan at reasonable terms. You must remember Europe is not to-day dealing with Turkish statesmen of the old school. Besides now-a-days public opinion in Turkey is not a negligible factor either.

Before I left Nahid Bey showed me some beautiful pictures which he had brought with him as gifts to the Islamic Society. They are coloured enlargements of H. I. M. the Sultan, H. I. H. the Crown Prince, the Holy Shrine at Medina and the Sacred Stone of Mecca, etc. No doubt these gifts of the Bey will be immensely appreciated by the Islamic Society and will serve as excellent decorations for their proposed offices. Nahid Bey also informed me that the Society's telegram to the Grand Vizier last December entreating His Highness not to resign his high office had made a very favourable impression on the Ministry. It will be remembered that in those days sinister rumours were current in the European Press of the Grand Vizier's intended resignation over the Armenian question. Fortunately they proved baseless.

Lord Morley on Federalism.

LORD MORLEY took the chair at University College, Gower Street, on 28th February, at the first of a course of five Rhodes lectures by Professor J. H. Morgan on "Federal Government." Among those present were the Spanish Ambassador, Lord Dunsedin, Lord Reay, the Belgian Minister, the Bulgarian Minister, the Mexican Minister, Sir F. Pollock, Dr. Herringham, and Dr. Gregory Foster.

Lord Morley said that every political crisis turned up its own conjuring word that did duty for an idea, or for a practicable scheme. At the moment, the conjuring word was Federalism. The use of that term was causing a good deal of current political controversy to be something very like a jungle of confusion. Though well-ordered ideas ruled the world, there was nothing like one of

those good ready-made terms, with all the implications, inferences, illusory analogies, and slippery parallels that men of ingenious wit were able to discover in it. Some found a defence for a given constitutional proposal, which was now before them all, that it leant to Federalism; others said that if the proposal leant to Federalism so much the worse. In what Mr. Sydney Low had styled the inflamed controversy of the hour, let them take care that Federalism was not made a handy and highly respectable screen for people who had the happy gift of what was charitably called thinking intuitively. They looked to Professor Morgan, to clear the air, and to show people who heard or talked of federalizing the United Kingdom—cantoning it, if he might use an old word—where they seriously were and whither they were going. He agreed with very competent publicists who said that definition would not carry us very far; but he was sure that Professor Morgan would try his hard at explaining what was meant by the spirit of federation and show, if he could, how it was to be adjusted to a system of which the supremacy of Parliament was the cornerstone. Professor Morgan would carry them round the awkward corner between the oracles who pronounced Federalism to be the surrender of power by independent or semi-independent States, and the other oracles who took the name as a synonym for devolution which it was not by any means—that was, the surrender by a central Government of power to subordinate Governments.

BONDS OF DISSONANCE.

There were excellent reasons why Federalism should be the catch word in the discussion of the day. There were two questions of active and urgent interest upon which the subject had a direct bearing. One was a new construction to be attached to Pitt's famous Act of Irish Union, so mortally wounded at the very hour of its birth by the disastrous prejudices of George III.—prejudices, it must not be forgotten, for even Kings must have justice done to them, which were heartily shared by the great majority of King George's subjects. The other, less cogent, more far-reaching, and happily not at all embittered, was the question whether machinery could be devised for linking together the common interests of Great Britain and British Dominions over the seas in a federal union; or whether on the contrary, inconveniences and embarrassments, unsuspected in an hour of ideal enthusiasm, would not be sure to turn formal ties of federal union into what a colonial writer 30 years ago, in words of paradoxical sound, rather boldly called bonds of dissonance. He could think of no service to be rendered by the universities to politics more fertile or more decisive than systematic treatment of political science. The time demanded it, and would demand it still more. More and more directly would opinion be a master-element in the government of the world, and it must be a fatal gap in an educational curriculum if politics should be the only field in the expanse of thought and knowledge in which intellectual conscience was neglected or left out. (Cheers.)

Professor Morgan, in the course of his lecture, offered as a working definition of Federalism that it was not a revocable treaty of alliance from which the allies might secede; but a political union involving a permanent surrender of certain powers, the erection of a new state to which the citizens of the constituent states owed allegiance as well as to their own state, and the embodiment of these conditions in a federal Constitution or fundamental law binding upon both the federal authorities created by it and the state authorities which created it. —*The Times*.

Mr. Kipling on Travel.

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING gave a lecture before the Royal Geographical Society in the Queen's Hall last night on "Some Aspects of Travel." Lord Curzon presided. Mr. Kipling said he had noticed that what travellers told the public in print was one thing, and what they told their friends by word of mouth was another; he therefore had tried to deal with some of the more intimate and personal, though it might be trivial, aspects of travel.

Lord Curzon, in introducing the lecturer, said that great travellers had sometimes—perhaps rather more frequently than was generally supposed—been great men of letters, and the writings of some of the most famous travellers in the world, from Herodotus down to Kinglake and Doughty in our own times, had also been masterpieces of literature. That evening they were to have presented the inverse phenomenon, and a great man of letters, one of the foremost whom our race had produced (cheers), was to show that he too, had tasted the joys, understood the romance, and penetrated the secrets of travel. (Cheers.)

Mr. Kipling's Lecture.

Mr. Kipling said that the time was near when men would receive their normal impressions of a new country suddenly and in plan, not slowly and in perspective; when the most extreme distances would be brought within the compass of one week's travel; when

the word "inaccessible" as applied to any given spot on the surface of the globe would cease to have any meaning. Experiences such as his own were on the eve of being superseded. Going on to discuss what might be called "the psychology of moving bodies under strain," the lecturer said that it seemed to him that a number of men who worked under strain and responsibility as leaders of expeditions, surveys, prospecting, exploration, or scientific work came to evolve a more or less definite image of their work within the limits of which, or with reference to which, they accomplished that work. These images he called pressure lines. This term he illustrated by a number of examples, among them being the case of a friend engaged on a survey in a little-known part of Asia, whose mind moved in an uneasy triangle—he traced it in the air as he spoke—between supplies, possible sickness, and mileage. It was an isosceles triangle with a narrow base, in the centre of which he felt himself to be walking, between supplies on the one hand and sickness on the other, always looking forward to the always retreating point "M." When his work was ended and the survey connected up the point "M" opened and let him through. Till then he had felt himself constricted—harnessed up—was his phrase—between these imaginary lines. The phenomenon did not show itself till he had been worked rather hard. Speaking of his own experience of a hurried march, Mr. Kipling said that his impression was that of the unrolling ribbon. His single object was to get himself and his coolies out of a certain district as soon as possible. His mind projected itself along an imaginary straight line, white against dull green. He had heard that the dog-train mail-runners of Alaska and Northern Canada sometimes saw their winter trails as short straight lines strung with beads—that was to say, as a diagram of the taut sleigh-traces with dogs attached.

After quoting other instances of pressure-lines, the lecturer said he noticed in every case that the lines did not show themselves till the man was physically tired out—and a little more. When the pressure of the work was removed and the man was fed again, the lines gradually faded and could only be recalled by an effort of will. He remembered, too, when he was a young man, listening to Stanley, who was talking, half to himself, of some work he had done in his early days. He had had to cover a certain distance in a certain time, and he ended his monologue with an abrupt fore-reaching movement of his first finger, as though he were pegging or hooking up something, and he said, "Of course, it was the mileage that worried me!" He often wondered whether that gesture of Stanley's was characteristic.

MENTAL TRAVEL PICTURES.

Mr. Kipling next dwelt upon the question of visualization. He suggested that first-class leaders of expeditions either did not visualize too much or kept their powers of visualization under control. An old prospector once warned him: "As long as you've only got yourself to think about you can think as much as you 'dam well please. When you've other folks' hides to answer for 'you must quit thinking for your own amusement.'" So, however "great the strain, responsibility did not encourage detailed imaginative excursions on the road—or on any road—while the work was in hand. Later, when a man was boiling down his log and notes into book form, he fell back on his store of mental pictures, but in the actual stress of travel the first-class man, as distinguished from the very first-class second-class man—and this was an important distinction—did not or decided not to visualize. Emphasizing the importance of being able to retain a mental impression of the geography of a district, the lecturer said that motoring had tremendously increased our powers in that respect, for a man who could read a county could learn to read a country and so on. But the time was not far off when the traveller would know and care just as little whether he was over sea or land as we to-day knew and cared whether our steamer was over 40 fathoms or the Tuscarora Deep. Then we should hear the lost ports of New York and Bombay howling like Tarshish and Tyre. Incidentally, too, we should change all our mental pictures of travel.

But this was all in the air. "Let us leave it there," said Mr. Kipling, "and consider for a while the illimitable, the fascinating subject of smells in their relation to the traveller. We shall soon have to exchange them for blasts of petrol and atomized castor-oil. Have you noticed wherever a few travellers gather together, one or the other is sure to say, 'Do you remember that smell at such and such a place?' Then he may go on to speak of camel—pure camel—one whiff of which is all Arabia; or of the smell of rotten eggs at Hitt, on the Euphrates, where Noah got the pitch for the Ark; or of the flavour of drying fish in Basra. Then the company begin to purr like cats at Valerian and, as the books say, conversation becomes general." There were only two elementary smells of universal appeal—the smell of burning fuel and the smell of melting grease—the smell of what man cooked his food over, and what he cooked his food in. Mr. Kipling dwelt at some length upon the number and variety of scenes and sensations which might be called back to the mind by a certain smell. The smoke of rank wood fuel he suggested as being the most potent

QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP

Mr. Kipling next referred to the choice of companions. A man had been asked why he invariably followed a well-known man into the most uncomfortable situations: he had replied:—"All the years I have known So-and-So, I've never known him to say 'whether he was cold or hot, wet or dry, sick or well, but I've never known him forget a man who was.' Self-sacrifice, loyalty, and a robust view of moral obligations went far to make a leader, the capacity to live alone and inside himself being taken for granted. But then came the accidents for which no allowance could be made. A good man, who had held a disorganized crowd together at the expense of his own vitality, might be tried, slowly or suddenly, beyond his limit, till he broke down. There was a limit for every man, an edge beyond which he must not go. But at home only the doctor, the nurses, and the clergymen saw what happened next—not the caravan, not the grinning coolies, and the whole naked landscape—and afterwards all the world.

However, these things, and worse, were part of the rule of the road. They had never hindered men from leading or following. Even in those days a man had but to announce he was going to gamble against death for a few months on totally inadequate cover, and thousands of hitherto honest Englishmen would fawn and intrigue and if necessary, lie, in order to be allotted one life share in the venture. Nearly all that could be accomplished by the old means of exploration had been won. The old mechanism was scrapped; the moods and emotions that went with it followed. Only the spirit of man carried on, unaltered and unappeasable. There would arise—they were shaping themselves even now—risks to be met as cruel as any that Hudson or Scott faced; dreams as world-wide as Columbus or Cecil Rhodes dreamed, to be made good or to die for; and decisions to be taken as splendidly terrible as that which Drake clinched by Magellan, or Oates a little further south. There was no break in the line, no loads were missing: the men of the present had begun the discovery of the new world with the same devoutly careless passion as their predecessors completed the discovery of the old.

The "Times" on Mr. Kipling's Lecture.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's delightful address to the Royal Geographical Society last night upon "Aspects of Travel" was meant rather for the explorer and the pioneer than for the commonplace traveller; but he touched upon topics of the deepest interest to all who have ever sailed and marched and even journeyed by train across the world, and seen the Southern Cross rise above the horizon, and faced the salt winds at sunrise from a swaying deck. He spoke, for instance, of pressure-lines, those sometimes indefinable mental images which haunt the traveller who is under the strain of continuous and exhausting movement. To the leader of an expedition, or the head of a scientific survey, the lines may appear as a ribbon of road unrolling behind them, or a straight bar across the vision which constantly draws nearer. We would add to his examples the feeling which almost invariably overtakes the more conventional wanderer who evades toil, and circles the world in comfortable cabins and luxurious expresses. It is a sense of utter weariness, the gradual growth of indifference to externals, a consciousness of blurred impressions, an unwillingness to see more. There are no definite pressure-lines, perhaps, but there is the kind of mental exhaustion which would develop in a man who tried to look successively at all the pictures in the Louvre on a single day. Why untravelled doctors should so constantly recommend tired elderly gentlemen to go round the world is an abiding puzzle to those who have done the thing. Except in ardent and receptive youth, the world should be taken piecemeal, and not at one swift swoop. Mr. Kipling thinks the time is near at hand when men will literally soar and swoop around the world in one long flight. If that is so, we venture to predict that on their return they will only have very vague new conceptions of the terrestrial globe. Except for the thrilling memory of their rush through the upper air, their notions of the world will very much resemble the mind-pictures of imaginary travel, the pleasures of which Mr. Kipling rightly extolled. Like Stevenson, most men "con voyage in an atlas with the greatest enjoyment." Mr. Kipling has made the interesting experiment of asking men who had not been there what picture or diagram the words "He went down to the Cape" summoned to their minds. We are surprised that the answers did not include a vision of a flat-topped mountain crowned with a wisp of white cloud. Many who have been to the Antipodes will not endorse his mental shorthand of the run to Australia. For them it is a zig-zag of five, not three, and the lines run:—London—Gibraltar; Gibraltar—Port Said; Port Said—Aden; Aden—Colombo; Colombo—Fremantle. The call at Colombo is a vivid and welcome stage. There is one definite image which lives in the minds of some of those who have made the long stormy mid-winter passage by the northerly route across the Pacific. It is like sailing uneasily along the rim of the earth.

The subject of smells in their relation to the traveller is an old and favourite topic with Mr. Kipling. Has he not said somewhere that the smell of the Himalayas always calls a man back? And does not his time-expired soldier sing of the "spicy garlic smells" of Burma? He made the prosaic statement last night that there are "only two elementary smells of universal appeal—the smell of burning fuel and the smell of melting grease." Man cooks his food over the one and in the other. But surely there are other smells, less material in their appeal which almost come within the range of his definition. One is the first chill smell of mountains, especially when the heights are reached towards sunset or after dark. Another is the odour of a forest, of which it has been said that "of all smells 'in the world, the smell of many trees is the sweetest and the most 'fortifying.' Both awake in mankind dim unconscious memories of primeval life, when the race had not sheltered itself beneath roofs and behind shutters. But the smells of travel are indeed innumerable. The voyager gets his first real whiff of the East when he lands at Aden, and drives along a dusty road to the bazaar within the Crater. It lingers in his nostrils for evermore. On the coast of Burma, and down the Straits, the air is redolent of rotten fish and over-ripe fruit. Tropical jungles leave keen olfactory memories of decaying vegetation. The smell of Chinese villages is like nothing else in the world, but the odd thing is that to the true traveller it soon ceases to be disagreeable. There is one smell which is unique. To encounter it, one must be steaming through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb on a hot still night in July or August, one of those nights when it is impossible to stay below, and the deck is strewn with sleeping forms. Towards dawn, as one is tossing restlessly from side to side, one is aware of a strange dank odour arising from the scummy waters. It suggests a stagnant duckpond, but in reality the ship is passing through the lees of a mighty ocean, swept into one small corner. All along the coast of Southern Arabia, where few ships go, the same smell is met in lesser degree. Wreckage is carried thither, and the trunks of trees, and immense masses of weeds; and often may be seen strange fish leaping from the oily surface, or a spouting whale or two, or a turtle floating asleep, for the deserted back-wash of the southern seas swarms with marine life.

Mr. Kipling seems to think that with the coming mastery of the air we shall reach the golden age of travel, when we shall journey with "neither sweat nor suffering," and shall be freed from the "cnecks" that have hitherto "conditioned all our travels." We are not sure that he is right. Will travel, for instance, be less of a trial or a discipline to the temper when we can all soar upwards and forsake muddy roads, and the grit and dust of railways, and the discomforts of the sea? Mountaineers know very well the splenetic irritability which often assails them when the tree-line is passed; and we seem to have heard that airmen do not always find that a flight in the empyrean produces in them a holy calm. Mr. Kipling recognizes that the earth is shrinking actually and in imagination, that we are cutting down the world conception of time and space, and that "the new machines 'are outstripping mankind'; but his robust optimism leads him to hope that when humanity can get its breath all will be well again. We trust he may be right; but new conditions are evolving new dangers, notably for a world-wide and scattered Empire. And when all his dreams are realized, it will still be true that they see the earth best and nearest who walk upon it on their own feet. Moreover, whether we walk or ride or sail or fly, the most abiding joy of travel will always lie in retrospect. Better and more precious even than books, because more truly a possession that remains to the end, are the ineffaceable memories of travel, a rich store to live with and to think upon in the eventide of life—The Times.

The Age Limit.

(By E. S. P. HAYNES.)

Mr more revolutionary friends have often aspired to exclude all citizens over forty years of age from any active part in public affairs, even as regards voting. The Millennium, they think, would be immediately realised by the suppression of the old and the despotism of the young. I use the words "old" and "young" because of their obvious convenience; but I am much too near forty myself not to be aware that everyone not only is as young as his arteries, but also, so long as health lasts, feels scarcely any change of personality right up to the end of life; in fact, I know a gentleman of ninety-three and a lady of eighty-eight whose spirits are habitually more buoyant than my own.

Probably all ardent reformers have moments of impatience with the older generation, though I am sure that such feelings exist rather in regard to persons between forty and sixty than in regard to those from sixty upwards. The mellow enlightenment of men like the

late Mr. Crackanthorpe is very rare among the forty to sixty people, who are mostly occupied in trying to impose on their juniors the ideas which occupied their own minds while they were suffering from the same effacement. That is perhaps why each rising forty to sixty generation is always so much more severe on its immediate predecessors than on its remoter ancestors; the memory of suppression lingers.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain what change (if any) occurs at the age of forty; physically, I suppose, one can only note the change in the lens of the human eye; nor does even this change occur precisely at forty, but only round about forty. There does, however, seem to be a psychological change. Insensibly, men and women begin to look back rather than forward; and the more actively they are absorbed in what interests them the less open-minded they become in regard to life as a whole.

It must not be forgotten that different people are always thinking, so to speak, at different milestones, and man who has been thinking thirty years ahead of his contemporaries begins when over forty to excite the notice of the younger generation just when his hitherto more successful rivals have begun to discern premonitory symptoms of neglect. Yet this does not mean that he has escaped the psychological change. Just as the lens of his eye is becoming flatter, so he is ceasing to think so far ahead of his age. Up to forty he has perhaps thought more rapidly by reason of hereditary intelligence or better environment than his fellows, but these advantages count for less (except in respect of recognition) after forty than they did before.

Collateral circumstances nail men and women down to fixed opinions quite apart from any growing sluggishness of mind due to physical causes. For example, some of my friends consider that any efficient community should be ruled by officials chosen for eminence in the department to which they are promoted, that these officials should be responsible to a cross between a shareholders' meeting and a debating society, and that any form of government is preferable to what is called democracy. They think, and I agree with them, that so-called democracy is invariably the fraudulent parent of a concealed caucus, whereas a monarchy or an oligarchy is at least criticised, and therefore controlled, by those who are governed. To them a modern political programme resembles a *rechauffe* of reforms which were all very attractive thirty years ago, but which have often become unnecessary because the problems have been solved differently. For instance, a conveyancer will say that Land Registration was an excellent idea in 1880, but that most of the defect it sets out to cure were in fact cured by Lord Cairns's legislation in the early eighties. New reforms appeal to a younger generation: Socialism becomes smarter than Liberalism; Syndicalism, than Socialism; and so we get round again to private property under different terminology.

Now, five or ten years hence, a few of my friends will get a hearing, and will become known as preachers of particular ideas. Directly that happens they will be labelled. A. B. will be known in the newspaper world as the champion of some political nostrum, and he will be almost coerced into thinking of nothing else—into what Sir Henry Maine called the "doubtful virtue of consistency." C. D. will be known as a professional secularist; E. F. as the acknowledged exponent of a scheme for leasehold marriages with financial safeguards, and so forth. Let any of these gentlemen swerve a hair's breadth from what the world is in the habit of expecting from him, and he will be called a "wobbler." He will produce the same consternation as Ruskin, or, in our own day, Mr. Bellamy, has produced by writing about economics instead of about Turner or the French Revolution. All this process of environment tends to make the mind as rigid as age makes the arteries brittle.

Moreover, as the grove becomes narrower, the practical energy becomes more concentrated—often up to extreme old age. If cancer is what a doctor once called it, "Nature's protest against decay," so the phrase of "an old man in a hurry" recalls the feverish excitement that comes from a subconscious effort to feel young again. This effort explains the phenomenon of what is called "the dangerous age" in women, although there is also a dangerous age for men between forty and fifty—a craving for adventures, either amorous or financial, which has often proved disastrous.

The subconscious effort is usually associated with a feeling of boredom. A woman of (say) forty, has married well and succeeded in bringing up a family of three or four children: she sees nothing before her but a grey vista of launching the children into the world and possibly seeing grandchildren. She resents being left on the shelf and wants to start life again as a young girl. Here is a typical woman. Let us give her a typical husband.

He is a successful man aged (say) forty-five, of the type who has usually achieved either in business or in the humbler professions about as much success as he is ever likely to have. His work and his family are interests, but not absorbing interests. The monotonous security of our civilisation startingly sudden when we remember that our grandfathers could scarcely cross Putney Heath at night, almost wearies him. His life is always repeating itself. The amorous or financial adventure rejuvenates him.

Life, therefore, is not such a bed of roses as the suppressed "young" people imagine it is for those who have apparently achieved all that they want. Yet the "old" people could otherwise rejuvenate themselves if they took the trouble to keep more in touch with the "young" people, and the "young" people would feel less rebellious if they were given greater scope both for action and expression. The fact remains that in action they are often much under the thumb of their elders, while as regards expression nearly all newspapers and periodicals are written for the "old" because commercially speaking, it is safer to cater for the generation in power. One need only take up *The Nineteenth Century and After*, *The Times*, and, in fact, the whole of the daily Press, *The Spectator* and nearly all the weekly periodicals, to find that the only point of view expounded *ad nauseam* is that of the "old."

I have sometimes read what seemed to me almost a platitude in *The English Review* and have subsequently been astonished to observe in other periodicals an explosion of quasi-parental wrath from the "old" brigade. Oftener, of course, such juvenilities are carefully ignored, as when Mr. G. K. Chesterton recently addressed a crowded meeting during the Reading election on certain political controversies, and no mention whatever was made of it, even in the local Press.

It is less controversial, perhaps, to go back twenty or thirty years. I often get circulars from such bodies as the anti-Socialist League appealing for large sums to demolish Socialism. I should like to know what all these worthy people were doing in the 'nineties. They never took the trouble to find out about the Fabian Society or to meet the arguments that were being disseminated by some of the ablest men of the day among the youth of that period, yet one of the main attractions of those arguments to youth was that their elders ignored the whole movement and thereby made their juniors feel an enchanting sense of originality about it. *Hinc illa lacerima* of the Anti-Socialist League.

Generally speaking, the "old" gain nothing by yielding to the insidious influences of the forty to sixty attitude of mind and by bolting the door of reflection on nascent opinion. On the other hand, they gain a great deal by assimilating new ideas in order to teach them how to shoot, and they must not be too much astonished if the shooting is occasionally exuberant.—*The New Witness*.

The English Moustache.

THE writer of a review in this week's *Literary Supplement* observed that the photographs of old Oxford and Cambridge groups supplied an interesting history of the changes of fashion in hair-dressing. The same purpose is served almost equally well by an old family album wherein many an uncle whom we now regard as sublime appears by the addition of a mere suspicion of whisker to have been in his youth supremely ridiculous. It is evident that a slavish regard for fashion stunts the imagination, for as we gaze on those old groups of athletes we do not merely think that they look very odd and dismiss their whiskers that once curled so ambrosially as "a growth of weeds of an alarming and sanguinary nature." We find it almost impossible to imagine that they could have run as fast or jumped as high as their hairless successors; it is only by a conscious effort of faith that we can believe that they ever progressed save at a dignified and middle-aged walk. What young man of to-day, finding himself matched against an "old man with a beard," would not consider the game as good as won, and that though he has happily still before his eyes the luxuriant example of the greatest of all cricketers? It would seem, moreover, that we not only lack imagination but courage into the bargain. There was perhaps a deeper meaning in the words of the General Commanding the Prussian Guards Corps when he spoke of the "so-called English or tooth-brush moustache," which he declared not to be "consonant with the German national character." May not a hidden sarcasm lurk in the term "so-called," since the modern Briton fears his fate of possible ridicule so much that we bid fair to become a race of priests and play-actors? We clip ourselves with scissors, even before the blushing acquisition of a safety razor, and go down to our graves with our wealth of natural resources still undeveloped.

To grow even as much as a moustache is unquestionably an adventure demanding a spice of courage. In the London of to-day there may occasionally be seen some gallant spirit, his neck enveloped in a stock and a modest inch or so of whisker creeping down his cheeks. Even if we smile covertly as he passes, we ought to acknowledge his bravery and enterprise, for here at least is the "young man with brains" enough to make a fool of himself. When the Baron de Marbot first joined a Hussar regiment, the jolly roystering old sergeant with his shako over his ear, to whose care he was entrusted, took a pot of blacking, and with his thumb made two enormous hooks covering the upper lip and reaching almost to the eyes of the young recruit. That was an adventure, but its end was certain and glorious; the boy became a man and a Hussar. With most of us the end is all uncertain; we put

forth on an unknown sea, where the charts of no earlier mariners can help us, and cannot tell to what outlandish port our individual barque will take us. A moustache may be trimmed and clipped; it may by brute force of scissors be kept within the bounds of the "so-called English or tooth-brush variety," but, even assuming that it does not blaze out into new and indiscreet hues, it will make a new man of its owner. If it be allowed to follow unchecked its natural bent, there is no knowing how preposterously things may fall out; seen by the light of it, there may stand out traits so odious that the smooth-cheeked Jekyll suddenly becomes the hairy Hyde, and even if it do no worse, a moustache can disclose depths of vulgarity or fatuity hitherto unsuspected. There is a type of moustache that will turn a man into a walrus; there is another which will, if we may disregard historic accuracy for the sake of antithesis, make him look like a carpenter. A beard calls for still greater fixity of purpose, even though it is no longer considered the mark of a Jew pedlar, since it is necessary that the grower should pass a time occult from observation, during which he must suffer attacks of deadly faintness and nausea whenever he looks in the glass.

The enterprise must not be thought of in a sensibly less heroic light because such commonplace remedies as soap, hot water, and a razor are always at hand. It is true that by their aid a fresh beginning in life may at any time be made, but to make it involves a humiliating admission. It is hard for a man to start out full of vague hopes on a high and fantastic enterprise and to return after a while with clipped wings; to confess that he is only an ordinary humdrum person after all and to be smiled at by those who have never dared the extraordinary. It is very easy for us who are less brave to call our lack of courage a lack of self-consciousness, and to confuse a servile regard for appearances with a splendid disregard of them; but we should at least respect those who have the full-blooded and adventurous spirit of their uncles, as revealed in those dim photographs.—*The Times*.

The Indian Immigration Crisis in South Africa.

(By Sant Nihal Singh)

ITS EFFECT ON INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS.

I.

THE Indian immigration crisis in South Africa has fanned into flame a problem which for long has been smouldering. The conflagration thus started, if left unchecked, threatens to cut its way to the very vitals of Indo-British relations, and may prove to be much more dangerous than any other contention that has arisen since the dread Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

The hot wave of "unrest" that spread over Hindustan in the middle of the last decade, and generated the anarchist movement, indeed was menacing. But political discontent affected only the educated Indians, who constituted a "microscopic minority." The cult of the bomb appealed to a yet more circumscribed section of literate Indians. Grievances of a purely political nature did not and could not interest the masses, who were not enlightened enough to understand them. With a little exertion the agitator could be harried out of the barracks, and so the native army could be kept from becoming inflamed.

In the matter of emigration, however, almost the reverse is the case. The bulk of Indians who leave their country in quest of rich pastures abroad belong not to the educated classes, but to the illiterate millions. Moreover, prominent amongst the brown settlers in the Colonies are the tall, stalwart forms of soldiers, chiefly Sikhs, who wear on their bosoms decorations earned at the cost of imperilling their lives for the British Empire, in many cases in battles fought outside India. The emigrants come not from one race, creed, or caste, but are recruited from all ethnic and religious groups. Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, and Indian Christians, one and all, furnish their quota. The voluntary exiles do not emigrate from one particular corner of the country, but hail from all points of the compass. Sikhs, Sindhis, and Pathans from the north-west; Gujeratis and Deccanis from the south-west; Madrasis from the south-east; Bengalis and Beharis from the north-east; and natives of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Central India travel to the over-seas dominions and colonies. This means that the grievances which are so grave that they lead peace-loving, patient Indians to go on strike, to submit to being fired at by the police and flogged by their gaolers, rouse the ire, not of the minority of their countrymen who are engaged in a struggle to wrest political preferment and administrative office from the Government of India, but of practically the entire population of the Peninsula, including, to it especially noted, the native army.

The tie of relationship, it must be remembered, is much more binding in the Oriental Dependency than it is in the West. A native of Hindustan invariably refers to his cousin, or to an intimate acquaintance, as his "brother" or "sister." Children always speak of the friends of the family as their "uncles" and "aunts." In such circumstances, therefore, it is inevitable that anything which concerns the welfare of the dear ones in a far-off land must strike very deeply into the hearts of the relatives and friends left behind in India, who are so closely bound to the exiles that they never for a single day cease to think of them.

In addition to sentiment, the masses of India, on account of economic interest, are seriously affected by anything that harms their relatives who have emigrated to the outlying portions of the Empire to labour there. The absent ones, with negligibly few exceptions, remit all the money they can scrape together to their wives, children, aged parents, indigent relatives, and other dependents (whose kinship often is nominal to such a degree that no Occidental would acknowledge any obligation towards them). Anything that occurs to cut off this monetary current will violently disturb the financial economy of the residents of the remotest rural districts of the Peninsula.

This, then, is the crux of the situation. The problem of the Indian immigrant in the Colonies, if left to lacerate the feelings of the 244,267,542 brown subjects of King George, will menace Indo-British relations far more than any political agitation that may be whipped up by a few malcontents. For these reasons everyone interested in promoting the good will of Indians towards the Empire must make an effort to learn what is trying the temper of the natives of Hindustan settled in the Dominions and Colonies, of their connections in India, and of their country-people all over the world, and must seek to remove their grievances.

II.

The issues involved in the South African crisis are manifold; but, putting the case in a nutshell, the present trouble appears to be due to the fact that by little and little the door has been shut in the face of the emigrants from India; and bit by bit those already established in the Provinces of the Union have been insulted, harassed, oppressed, and deprived of their rights, to such an extent that their manhood (aye, and womanhood) refuses to be bullied and cudgelled any more. During the past few years the Colonial authorities have devised numerous measures to badger the natives of Hindustan not working there as coolies under an indenture, but engaged in independent business as merchants, hawkers, and professionals. Amongst these instruments of inquisition employed to wound the susceptibilities of Indian settlers and jeopardise their material interests, the following may be mentioned:—

- (1) The registration of the brown settlers in the spirit and manner in which the records of criminals are kept.
- (2) Compelling them to reside in reservations out of the pale of civilisation and in unhealthy and insanitary quarters, inadequately supplied with educational facilities for their children, etc.
- (3) Obliging Indians, no matter how high their rank and deep their culture, to ride in railway and tram cars meant only for "niggers" (as the Colonials contemptuously term the blacks and all natives of Hindustan, despite the enlightenment of the latter, stretching back generations before the Caucasian became civilised).
- (4) Making it difficult for them to acquire, and even to lease, property.
- (5) Harping them in their efforts to secure licences to engage in trade and vending.
- (6) Ruining the business they have established by refusing to re-admit them when they return to South Africa after a temporary absence on a trip to India, and refusing to allow them to bring in fresh employees.
- (7) Imposing a poll tax of £3 per annum on each Indian who remains in South Africa after the expiration of his indenture; and on his wife and each of his sons above sixteen and each daughter above thirteen (note the low age in the case of girls).
- (8) Harassing the settlers by preventing their wives and children (even though they may have been born in the Union) from joining them.
- (9) Openly questioning the legality of marriage contracted according to Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and other non-Christian rites, and the legitimacy of children born in such wedlock.
- (10) Interfering in religious observances by barring out priests and preceptors; and
- (11) Unduly restricting the right of appeal to the Judiciary against the high-handedness of the immigration authorities.

Other minor grievances exist, but the chief objectionable and unjustifiable features have been noted.

Two points—the poll tax and the regulations concerning women and children—call for special notice.

The impost is levied, not for the sake of revenue, as the Union Government has admitted more than once, but for the express purpose of compelling Indians who entered South Africa under indenture either to go back to serfdom or to leave the country. Originally it was proposed to exact £25 per annum from each adult, and non-payment of the exaction was to be deemed a crime. But these demands were so drastic that the Government of India was obliged to protest against them. The Colonial authorities, however, were so bent upon driving ex-indentured Indians either back into slavery or out of the land that they refused to give up the idea, but reduced the tax to £8, and provided that if case it was not paid it should be collected by a summary civil process instead of by criminal procedure. However, the economic status of ex-indentured Indians generally is so low that even this rate proved to be quite beyond their means. In not a few cases its imposition has been instrumental in driving girls into prostitution. The measures enforced by the authorities to collect their "pound of flesh" have been so stringent that the concession made as the result of the protest of the British-Indian Government has been nullified in the spirit, if not in the letter.

Needless to say, the Indians detested this tax and opposed it with all their might. Finding that appeals and resolutions were of no avail, they set out, under the leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, esteemed by his countrymen as one of the ablest and most patriotic sons of India, to carry on a campaign of *passive resistance*. The struggle led to a compromise whereby the Government was to pass an Act which would restrict the number of Indian immigrants, but would make life bearable for all those who were in the Union at the time, and who might be permitted to enter.

This promise, however, has not been kept. The poll tax still is in force. The laws and regulations have been made worse instead of better.

Indians of the standing of Mr. Gandhi and of the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (whose absence from a recent session of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council led Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, who, as the senior member, was presiding over its deliberations, to describe the meeting as being like *Hamlet* played with the title-*role* left out) assert that solemn undertakings were given them by the South African Ministers that the objectionable tax would be wiped off the statute book. The Ministry, on the contrary, declare that no definite pledge was made.

It is asserted by those who contend that the Union Government has broken its word that the Botha Cabinet is being taunted by its opponents (the followers of General Hertzog) for "tonguing to the Mother Country," and that the Ministry, in turn, is taking its revenge on helpless Indians. Those who subscribe to this theory further allege that the Boers hate the Indians because their wretched condition in the Transvaal was stated by responsible British statesmen to constitute a reason for going to war with them; because the natives of Hindustan then in South Africa served in the Army Beater Corps during the campaign; and because Indians like Dr. Renaday, of Bombay, especially went to South Africa to give medical and surgical relief to sick and wounded British soldiers.

Referring to the other serious cause of friction between Indians and the South African authorities (namely, the hardships entailed on the women and children), the Union Government decided some time ago that marriages of domiciled Indians, when celebrated according to the rites of religions which permit polygamy, were illegal within the terms of South African law, and therefore the wives of Indians who had been married according to Hindu, Mohamedan, Sikh, and other ceremonies of like nature, were not lawfully wedded, but were mere concubines, whose children necessarily were illegitimate. This measure ever since has been used to bar out the wives and progeny of settlers (in some cases those who had merely gone to their Motherland for a short visit and wished to return to their husbands and homes in the Union Provinces), and has been employed to deprive the wives of Indians of their exemption from testifying against their husbands. These decisions are aimed alike against monogamous and polygamous unions, but are even more severe in the latter instance.

As was to be expected, the policy of the South African Government has wounded the susceptibilities of the women, and impelled them boldly to step forth from their secluded life into the thick of the struggle. Some of them have not hesitated to break the laws which they considered to be unjust by refusing to register themselves, and crossing the border into the Cape Colony—which, by the way, is a criminal offence—and gladly have gone to gaol for conscience' sake. Though imprisonment with *hard labour* has been meted out to them, these shy and gentle creatures refuse to give up the struggle, in which the question of their honour and their conjugal and maternal rights are involved.

This has had a reflex effect upon the women in India. The intelligent amongst them have been stirred to the depths of their being, and are joining the men to exert pressure on the Government of India. Some of them are displaying great activity in collecting funds for the cause. Mrs. Jammalbai Sakka, of Bombay, especially deserves to be mentioned in this connection. Absolutely without knowledge of English, but highly educated through the medium of her mother-tongue (*Gujerati*), she possesses extraordinary mental and physical vigour and a persuasive and ready tongue, and is working hard to coax her country-people to contribute to the South African Indian war chest.

The fact that Indian women have been thus aroused shows (perhaps more than anything else that has occurred) how intensely the immigration question affects Hindustan.

III.

Though South Africa happens to be the storm centre, it is not the only unit of the Empire in which the Indian immigrants are having trouble. Indeed, in whatever Dominion or Colony they have settled, they feel aggrieved at the treatment accorded them. The attitude of those which have rigorously excluded them (Australia, for instance) has embittered India even more than the policy of those from which they are not absolutely barred out. In other words, the problem of Indian immigration within the Empire is an Imperial question of the widest dimensions.

The matter does not end here. It forms an important part of the complex international question which the meeting of the East and the West, and of the white and coloured races, has brought into existence. Emigrants from Asia are knocking at the doors of all the countries of the American continents, just as they are seeking to enter the European colonies in Australasia and Africa. All the peoples of the world—white, yellow, brown, and black—vitaly are interested in this perplexing and insistent issue.

However, it is more imperative for the British than for any other Power to solve this problem, because no other nation is saddled as they are with the responsibility of administering the affairs of many millions of "coloured" people. The interests involved between Britain and India are so delicate that they are bound to be strained if matters are not adjusted in this respect.

IV.

The outstanding feature of the trouble is that objection is made only to the presence of *free* Indians and of indentured labourers who wish to remain after their term expires. Those who are slaying in the mines and on the plantations as coolies at a definite (and preposterously low) wage, under conditions which have been painted in the blackest colours before investigating committees, or who go there for such a purpose, are not objected to. Indeed, a much stronger statement than this is warranted by the facts, namely, that in more than one part of the British Empire the indentured Indian labourer is warmly welcomed because he does work which a white man would not stoop to perform, and which the black and red autochthons, through lack of experience, are incapable of undertaking.

A number of causes unite to make the Indians who enter the country under indenture wish to stay on after their contract expires. Exile lifts them out of the rut of life and labour in India. They naturally desire to continue working in the country in which they have lived for many years, and to whose conditions they have grown accustomed. Moreover, the Colonies, on account of the thinness of their population, offer better opportunities for earning a livelihood than does crowded Hindustan.

The conservatism innate in an Indian so strongly binds him to his native land, that if starvation did not stare him in the face the lures of the labour agents (which are responsible for the presence of the majority of the Indians in the Colonies) would not induce him to leave it. The man who has been abroad, however, and realised the possibility of earning a better living with comparative ease, would not be human if he placidly went back to a life of penury in his old village. Thus he selects to stay where he is.

But he has no desire to continue to be a serf in the land of his adoption. For one thing, the love of freedom, despite all the cant that prevails in the West to the contrary, is innate in the breast of every Indian. For another thing, the ex-indentured labourer knows what a hell on earth contract labour is, and once he has escaped from that inferno, the highest pressure is needed to goad him back into it. The £8 tax imposed on each adult member of his family tends to force him to re-indenture—and hence he has resisted it, first by passive and later by active measures.

V.

The ex-indentured Indians are not encouraged to stay on, and the free Indians are driven out, it is alleged, for the reason that these

men, with their low standards of life and their thrifty ways, are able to beat their white competitors. Another cause of aversion to them, it is asserted, is the race prejudice entertained by the people who are dominant in the continents that erstwhile belonged to the coloured aborigines. In addition, it is said that Indians are unclean and insanitary in their habits; that they marry when they are young, before they leave their homes, and for that reason do not wed in the country in which they elect to live; that such intermarriages, in any event, would be undesirable on account of the racial differences and the dissimilar standards of civilisation; that, in short, they cannot be assimilated in the country of their adoption.

The allegations grouped towards the end of the last paragraph may be noticed before the more important one at the beginning is adverted to. The objection on the plea of uncleanness will not hold, for Indians are religiously punctilious in regard to ablutions. The dislike on the score of unassimilability cannot well be urged in the case of countries like South Africa, where, according to the census of 1911, there are only 1,276,242 Europeans and 4,019,006 black natives. The question of intermarriage, complicated as it is by racial and colour prejudices, is of too complex and controversial a nature to be discussed with any advantage in this connection; much, doubtless, can be said on either side.

Referring to the more serious contention that economic disturbance is caused by Indians in the various colonies, it at once may be conceded that the Indian standards of living are far below those of Europeans; and that this certainly does enable the former to underbid the latter.

But it may be pointed out that the Indians in such countries as South Africa rarely undersell the white British, for the simple and sufficient reason that the latter do not engage in the kinds of petty trades that the brown British follow. The Indian competition mainly is directed against Europeans who, in some cases, both politically and commercially are the rivals (and, some would say, the potential enemies) of the British, and who, be it noted, succeed in trade because their standards of life are lower than those of Britons. It is therefore manifestly unjust to drive out the dark-skinned subjects of his Majesty King George in order to protect foreigners and enemies of the Empire.

In countries like Canada, Australia, etc., where white men engage in manual labour, and where, therefore, Asiatic wage-workers come in direct competition with settlers of pure British extraction, an effective deterrent to underselling in the labour market may be provided by prohibiting anyone from working under the trade union scale of wages.

VI.

These suggestions may or may not lead to a solution of the problem; but some satisfactory settlement must be found for the vexatious situations arising from the oppression of Indians in the British Colonies. Broadly speaking, the matter can be adjusted by one of the following three measures:—

(1) Full freedom of entry for Indians on the basis of that enjoyed by the white British subjects;

(2) Total prohibition of Indian emigration to any part of the British Empire and repatriation of those already in the Colonies; or

(3) Restriction of Indian emigration with the proviso that those admitted are to be treated on terms of perfect equality with the white subjects of the British Sovereign.

The first alternative at present is out of the question on account of the prejudices entertained against Indian immigrants. It readily may be conceived that no Colony voluntarily would agree to such a measure, and the Imperial Government could not force such a course of action upon any Dominion against its will.

The second alternative would please some of the Dominions, for it would solve the difficulties emanating from the influx of Indians; but it would not be welcomed by all the units of the British Empire. More than one Colony would refuse to take a step that would result in the loss of the cheap indentured labour from India which enables its capitalists to exploit the mines and plantations at immense profit to themselves. The Indians feel so sure of this point that more than once they have urged their Government to chastise the Colonies by withdrawing all the Indian coolies.

If India were to agree to permit its immigrants to be expelled from the Colonies, it certainly would demand (and with every moral and legal right) that all those thus expatriated should be fully indemnified for the loss of the business they have built up and the goodwill thereof which they would be compelled to relinquish. Would the Colonies be willing to incur such expenditure? Besides, what feelings would the expatriated Indians nurse in their bosoms, and what would be their effect on Indo-British relations? It is not

for this writer to answer the first question; but the second query may be replied to in the words of a telegram recently sent to the Premier of Canada by a party of Indians who were not wanted in British Columbia:—"We intend to return to India, but we go back with flames in our heart."

However, it is not likely that India's temper and material interests would permit it to agree to such a proposition. Intelligent Indians would think for a long time before they sacrificed the rights which, as British subjects, they possess in the Dominions overseas.

There already is a strong agitation on account of the fact that those who owe no allegiance to the British Sovereign are much better treated than the Indian subjects of his Britannic Majesty. Indians have freely shed their blood for the Empire in and out of Hindustan; Western education has bound at least the classes to the Britons with chords of intellectual affinity; and common political and trade interests unite Hindustan with its Occidental Suzerain; and thus they feel deeply hurt when they see enemies of the British Empire given preferential treatment over them. To such an extent has this discrimination against brown British subjects been carried out that some time ago a young lawyer from Goa, who had been denied entry on the ground that he was an Indian, was freely admitted into a part of British South Africa upon his declaration that he was a Portuguese.

The exclusion of Indians from the Colonies would force the Government of India to give ear to the persistent native demands to pay the Dominions back in their own coin. Hindustan would insist that no Colonials should be allowed to enter its services through any loophole whatsoever; and it might even wish to declare a complete boycott of Colonial merchants and trade.

If, for the sake of argument, it be conceded that such wild threats may be even partially put into actual operation, what effect would it have upon the solidarity of the Empire, of which the millions of India form the bulk?

As Lord Hardinge pointed out in a recent speech, in which, however, he expressed hearty sympathy with the Indians in the present crisis, his Government would find itself involved in limitless and unsolvable perplexities were it to translate such retaliative sentiments into tangible measures.

But in the event of Indians being absolutely excluded, and the Government of India refusing to retaliate to the satisfaction of its charges, the result naturally would be the initiation of a campaign of sedition which would have for its slogan the impotency of India when its national honour and material interests are trampled upon. These propagandists would not be likely to stop at anything, fair or foul, overt or covert, until they had placed their country in a position where it effectively could adopt a retaliative policy. The menace to *Pax Britannica* involved in such a situation is too obvious to need to be pointed out.

Therefore the third appears to be the only alternative that is thinkable in the present circumstance. It certainly would not solve the problem for ever; for it is inconceivable that Indians altogether can resist the economic and other pressure which is impelling them to emigrate. But until the time arrives when education has advanced in Hindustan and its citizens have developed that power which enables a nation to extort just treatment, the measure would do admirably well. Be this as it may, the Indians at present are in a mood to agree to the restriction of immigration on the condition that after entry they would not be discriminated against. This proviso is highly important, because the Indian pride will make any solution short of that unacceptable.

VII.

The collision between the self governing Dominions and India places the Imperial authorities in a very difficult position. On the one hand, Whitehall has to face the fact that South Africa, Canada, and Australia are autonomous in the administration of local affairs. On the other hand it cannot ignore the petitions and memorials from literate Indians that it shall use the ample power it possesses to shield their country people from Colonial oppression, nor the pitiful pleadings of the illiterate masses that their Ruler shall protect their relatives and friends in other portions of his territories.

The uneducated Indians look upon the Sovereign as their all-powerful protector. They believe in the divine right of kings. They know nothing of constitutions or of self-government. So far as they are concerned, the only personality that exists in the political world is that of their Emperor. For generations they have been given to understand that the long, strong arm of their white monarch can and will protect them and theirs from harm. If now they become disillusioned, if they find that the Imperial authorities are not able to shield their kindred and loved ones from Colonial harassment, a situation of the most alarming nature is bound to be created.

It is this essential fact that all Imperialists must face in solving the problem of the Indian immigrant in the British Colonies.—*The Fortnightly Review*.

Turkey and the Islands.

THE decision of the Great Powers in regard to the *Ægean Islands* has been made known formally to the Porte and the Greek Government. Turkey has been requested to acquiesce in the loss of all the islands now in Greek occupation except Tenedos and Imbros. This solution of one of the phases of the Near Eastern question is admittedly an arbitrary one. Turkey in her quarrel with the Balkan States elected to appeal to the sword, and the verdict was against her. But the issue was not fought to a finish. In their own interests, no less than in the interests of the Ottoman Empire, the Powers saw fit to intervene. The Bulgarians were forbidden to proceed beyond Catalj; the Turks were counselled to make their submission without further delay, and the Powers undertook to adjudicate upon the question of the *Ægean Islands*. In these circumstances the fate of the islands must be regarded as a matter quite distinct from the terms of settlement imposed by the verdict of the war. It is true that the Greeks are in occupation as a result of their Naval superiority; but as an offset to this aspect of the situation we have to remember that the end of hostilities in the Balkans saw the Turks once more in possession of Adrianople, while, as a result of the quarrel between the former Allies, instead of four States in alliance against Turkey we have an understanding, or the basis of an understanding, between Turkey and Bulgaria which could not fail to disturb the equanimity of the three other States if they had not been able to fall back upon the support of Roumania, acting as the "policeman of Europe." For the purpose, therefore, of a settlement of the problem presented by the *Ægean Islands* the slate could only be regarded as clean. The one guiding principle actuating the Powers in arriving at a decision ought to have been the desire to bring about as durable a peace as possible in the Near East, and the chief determining factor the relative capacity for unrest of the islands in Greek and Turkish hands respectively. On the Greek side the argument—and it is a strong one—is that the nationality of the islanders is Greek, and that, having been freed from Turkish rule, they will never be content to be placed under it again. The Turks urge that if they are to be confirmed in the possession of Asia Minor—and no one contemplates for a moment their exclusion from any Asiatic territory—then they ought to be given the islands that are geographically part and parcel of the mainland. A decision on one or other of these lines would have commended itself as an honest endeavour to cope with a difficult situation, while the moral support of the Powers given to the Greek or the Turkish point of view, as the case might be, would have helped the cause of peace by acting as a deterrent to the unsuccessful claimant.

Once more, however, in the history of the Near Eastern question the Powers have sought to evade the issue. The present decision in regard to the *Ægean Islands* is in the nature of a compromise between the Greek and the Turkish point of view, which satisfies neither party and lacks the advantage of being justified by a clearly defined principle. In part the Powers have admitted the justice of the Turkish contention that the islands immediately adjacent to the mainland belong to Asia Minor. Geographical position has been allowed to override claims of nationality in the case of Tenedos and Imbros, which are considered necessary for the defence of the Dardanelles. But the Straits are probably the most strongly fortified portion of the Turkish Empire, and are susceptible in themselves of ample defence, apart from Imbros and Tenedos, as was proved during the first Balkan war. If Greece is to be debarred from using the other islands as naval bases, the same embargo could have been placed on Tenedos and Imbros. The fact that the Powers appreciated the difficulties in the situation in regard to these two islands justifies Turkey in doubting the efficacy of the restrictions imposed on Greece in the case of the other islands. While the Dardanelles, the Turks point out, can take care of themselves, this is not the case with the Asia Minor coast line. Mytilene and Chios command the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna, and Turkey can hardly fail to be concerned for the protection of this important commercial centre. For this reason the Porte is pressing for the possession of these two islands, and it will smart under a sense of injustice until it obtains them. If the prospects of peace, then, are to be measured by the relative capacity of Greece and Turkey for creating unrest over the possession of Mytilene and Chios, we have on the one hand Turkey standing as it were at bay over this question; on the other hand there are the Greek islanders for whom the Greek Government is naturally and rightly solicitous. Visions of a series of Cretes have been conjured up; but the islands in question are no more comparable with Crete than the Isle of Wight is with Ireland. No doubt the Greek inhabitants wish for incorporation in the Greek kingdom as fervently as their kinsmen in Cyprus desire the same fate for that island, but without support from Greece the capacity of the islanders for unrest is restricted within very small limits by their numbers.

We cannot help feeling that the decision of the Powers in regard to the *Ægean Islands* is unwise, inasmuch as it does not offer the best prospect of lasting peace. With the Greek point of view we have the fullest sympathy, and Greece is justified in trying to keep all she can. She has pleaded her cause more ably than Turkey, and the Powers have overrated the trouble that the islanders were likely to cause if guaranteed satisfactory government. On the other

hand, trouble is bound to ensue from the smuggling between the islands and the mainland that Greece, with the utmost goodwill, can never hope to eliminate. Our chief regret is that Great Britain should seem in this matter to have gone out of her way to take sides against Turkey. The maintenance of European peace may have appeared the paramount issue; but there was no valid reason why the fate of the *Ægean Islands* should have been linked with any menace to this peace. Whatever the shortcomings of any particular Ministry in Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire has a claim on our friendship and on our belief in its future under good government. Here was an opportunity to give effect to that belief. The question of the *Ægean Islands* turns on Turkish maladministration in the past. We believe the Ottoman Empire to be capable of better things, and that it is to realise its destiny in Asia Minor. The islands adjacent to the mainland might well have played the part of an administrative barometer. If good Government were to be established in these within a reasonable period Greek fears would subside and the Porte would be entitled to moral support in the event of unreasonable agitation on the part of the Greek islanders. If, on the other hand, the latter were goaded into unrest, the experiment would have been pronounced a failure and the islands would revert to Greece. Turkey in those circumstances would have less cause than she now has to resent the decision of the Powers, and the chances of a lasting peace would have been brighter. We hope, however, that some arrangement may yet be made between Greece and Turkey to remove any sense of bitterness over the *Ægean Islands*.—*The Near East*.

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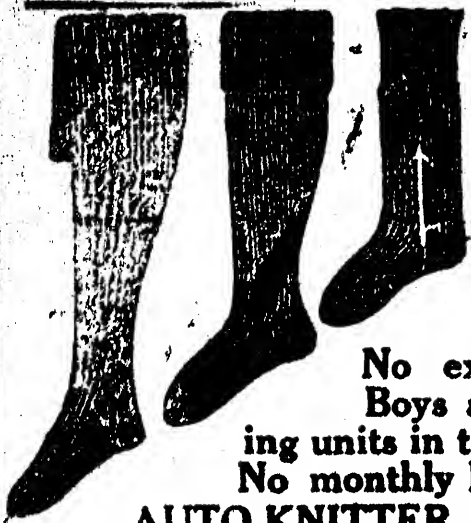
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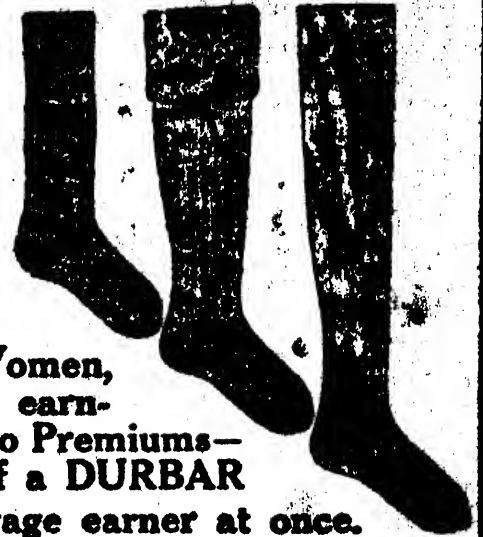
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jis, organised and armed by the Government, and that the position is becoming daily more dangerous. Albania requests the Powers to exercise their influence with Greece to end the regrettable situation. The note adds that Albania would be reluctant to take measures which might have a deplorable effect in the Balkans.

William I. of Albania.

The *Times*' special correspondent from Durazzo telegraphed the following message :—

Prince William will publish to-morrow the following proclamation to the people:—

Albanians!

To-day the destiny of Albania fulfills itself. Albania, free and independent, enters a new phase of history. The fate of the country in the future is entrusted to the Sovereign, to the loyalty of the Government, to the virtues of patriots. The road we must traverse is long and full of obstacles, but no obstacle can exist for a people which has inherited so glorious a page of ancient history, which, like you, has a firm desire to labour for the future. Our duty and that of our heirs will always be to work for and to seek the happiness of the nation with all our efforts. With these sentiments we have accepted from your hands the Crown of Albania.

Albanians!

At the moment when we mount the Throne we expect that you, united round your Sovereign, will work with him to realise the national aspirations.

WILLIAM I.

Persia.

Tehran, Mar. 25
Fighting has been resumed near Kazerun. Gendarmes assisted by Kashgui tribesmen, are attacking the rebels, who are under the command of Nasridivan.

Indian Finance.

London, Mar. 26.
In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Roberts, in reply to Mr. Rupert Gwyne, said that of a sum of £31,200,000 now expected to be realised by the sale of Council Drafts in 1913 and 1914, £21,650,000 is the amount budgeted for towards meeting Home charges on account of revenue, capital, and miscellaneous purposes in 1913 and 1914, while £1,415,700 represents additional Home expenditure in 1913 and 1914 on capital account, including discharge of debt.

The Afghan Press.

A frontier correspondent states that the Amir now pays particular attention to articles in Turkish papers and also to those published in Arabic. Special translators are employed to deal with these press items. The *Sirajul Akhbar*, issued at Kabul, is now forbidden to publish State news.

Indians in London.

London, Mar. 29.
Lord Haldane has accepted the presidency of the unofficial Committee, which is being formed of English people who desire to show hospitality to Indian students. Sir Frederick Robertson, Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab, is Chairman of the Committee,

The Week.

Epirus Revolt.

Athens, Mar. 25.

The Government has sent a circular to the Powers drawing attention to the spread of the insurrection in Epirus and the painful position of the Greek troops there. Although the Government is convinced, says the circular, that the Albanian Government's proposals to M. Zographos, the recently elected President of the autonomous Government of Epirus, correspond with the views of the Powers, the Greek Government considers it its duty to draw attention to the danger of delaying the Powers' reply to Greece concerning the guarantees.

Bagdad Railway Tragedy.

Constantinople, Mar. 26.

The Adana-Aleppo incident has been erroneously represented owing to a misreading of the Vali's telegram. The fact is that the Swiss engineer murdered the German engineer, the motive being unknown. The German Vice-Consul has proceeded to the scene.

Ægean Islands.

Constantinople, Mar. 29.

The Rumanian General Coanda, who was the chief military delegate at the Bucharest Peace Conference, has arrived here and has paid a visit to Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior.

The visit has aroused some comment in view of the efforts which Rumania is alleged to be making with a view to mediation between Turkey and Greece in connection with the Ægean Islands.

Albania.

London, Mar. 30.

An Albanian note to the Powers says that while Greece is withdrawing her troops, she is replacing them by bands of Komitad-

which includes among its members the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Inchcape, Lord Kinnaird, Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, Viscountess Churchill, the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir James Dunlop Smith, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Craik, Sir Henry Seymour King and others. The work, which will be done mainly by sub-committees, will be intended to give young Indians an opportunity of coming into more intimate touch with the better sides of English life, and will be entirely free from any idea of officious interference, or of improving or supervising Indian students.

Credit Bank Failure.

Bombay, Mar. 26.

In the liquidation proceedings of the Credit Bank of India, Justice MacLeod issued a misfeasance summons on the application of the official liquidator against Kazi Kabiruddin, Sir Bhalechandra Krishna, Tyebhai M. M. Maskatiwalla, Hon. Sirdar Syedali El Edross, Hiralal Chhotalal Shroff, Tricunrai D. Mehta and Gulamhussein V. Patel as directors, and Jaffer Joosub, as manager to recover from them jointly and severally the sum of Rs 23,23,231, the claim against Mr. Maskatiwalla being for Rs.6,06,600, a sum advanced to unsubstantial persons during the period he was a director. A misfeasance summons to recover Rs. 17,790 has also been issued against N. R. Mistry and A. C. Rice alias A. E. Oama, auditors of the Bank. The summons against the directors have been made returnable in June, while the summons against the auditors has been stayed, pending disposal of the criminal case against Mistry.

Multan, Mar. 27.

The misfeasance proceedings under Section 214 of Companies Act, against the Directors of the Hindustan Bank have been postponed to the 1st of April, on account of the illness of Donlat Rai, late Managing Director.

Hindus in British Columbia.

Victoria (B. C.) Mar. 28.

Hindus in British Columbia are sending a delegation to India to interview the Viceroy, and to discuss the immigration into Canada of Hindu women.

School of Oriental Studies

London, Mar. 29.

King George has consented to act as patron of the School of Oriental Studies, which is to be opened in London in 1915.



Our London Letter.

London, 13th March, 1914.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION: RECEPTION OF HOME RULE OFFER.

THE political situation resulting from the Government's Home Rule offer has now definitely crystallised. It is true one could not clearly acquaint himself with the trend of opinion last Monday when Mr. Asquith disclosed his concessions to Ulster in the House of Commons. But now it is possible to realise, with a fair amount of accuracy, the view taken of the actual situation by the different parties in Parliament. Everything for the present points against compromise. The Nationalist Party and a large body of opinion in the Liberal Party would revolt if the Government went one step further down the slope of compromise, for many of the Prime Minister's supporters feel that they have certainly gone to the extreme limits of concession already. The loyalty of the Party has been indeed put to a severe test by Mr. Asquith and his colleagues and indications are not wanting to show that the Government would be ill-advised to yield any further to the demands of Sir Edward Carson and his friends, if the Liberal leader is to save his Party from ruin and disaster. On the other hand, the Unionist Party are strongly opposed to the acceptance of the Government's offer in its present form—exclusion of Ulster for six years—and any modifications they suggest informally affect questions of principle. There is no evidence of any communication having been received by the Irish Unionists from the Government in response to Sir Edward Carson's proposal made in last Monday's debate, viz., that he would go to Belfast to advise his supporters to open negotiations with the Government, provided the time limit of six years is dispensed with. The essence of the offer which the Government have now made is that it is a temporary arrangement which shall lead up automatically to Irish unity. It will be remembered that the Premier, in his now famous speech at Ladybank last autumn, had laid it down as an essential condition to settlement that nothing should be done which

would erect a permanent or an inseparable bar in the way of Irish unity. The Unionist stipulation is that exclusion should, in a Parliamentary sense, be permanent; that is, that it should continue until a fresh Act of Parliament was passed providing for the inclusion of Ulster.

Mr. A. P. Nicholson, who is now the writer of "Political Notes" to the *Daily News and Leader*, having acted as the Parliamentary representative of the *Times* before his secession from the Unionist Party, goes on to say in the former journal that it cannot be argued by any that this is a distinction without a difference; it is a distinction of principle. But those who do not realise how vital the distinction is should take note of the argument, which is advanced by the Irish Nationalists who are in favour of an arrangement, if this be possible. Supposing the Government went one step further, so runs the argument, and acceded to Sir Edward Carson's request for the exclusion of Ulster till a fresh Act be passed. Under the separate arrangements that would then be made for Ulster a custom would grow up, and a habit of local government, with vested interests and tendencies similar to those displayed now in the Belfast Corporation. Sectarian influences would be in the ascendant, and before long it would be difficult for the Imperial Parliament to resist a claim from Ulster that she should be granted institutions of local government of a strange kind. This inevitable growth, it is contended, would be fatal to the cause of Irish unity. The Irish Nationalist party cannot take this step. They would not be supported by their party in Ireland if they did. The education question, among others, has been forgotten by those who fail to see the difficulty. The main current of thought in the Liberal Party is behind the Nationalists in this. If the Government, therefore, were to take one step further they would not have the moral sanction of their supporters and, so far as can be seen, their downfall would follow. If this is the true reading of the situation, as it seems clear, then the possibility of compromise depends upon the Unionist Party, or the Irish Unionists, taking a forward step and accepting temporary exclusion. We must await, for the present, future developments.

THE CHURCHILL TORCH.

Mr. Middlemore, in the House of Commons, asked the First Lord: "Is it not a fact that in the spring and summer of 1916, after providing for a 50 per cent. superiority over Germany in home waters, we shall only have two Dreadnoughts in the Mediterranean, and will not that be practically an abandonment of the Mediterranean?"

Mr. Winston Churchill: "The hon. gentleman is giving information and not asking for it."

MR. BALFOUR AT TENNIS.

The ex-Leader of the Unionist Party is having the time of his life in Nice. He has entered for the men's handicap doubles and mixed doubles in the international lawn-tennis tournament now proceeding there with Mr. A. F. Wilding, the world's champion, and Mrs. Lambert Chambers, the lady champion, as his respective partners in the two events. He and Mr. Wilding have already beaten Prince Bahram of Persia and Mr. Craig Biddle, the American player, in the first round. Mr. Balfour, who is an ardent supporter of the game, and a frequent patron of the Queen's Club and Wimbledon meetings, plays much after the style of real or court tennis, his racket being gripped well down the handle and a pronounced "cut" applied to the majority of his strokes. He shows great keenness and thoroughly enjoys his game. Being out of the present political crisis over the Home Rule Bill, the ex-Premier, no doubt, feels his freedom to the utmost degree, though one cannot help regarding it as a cruel irony of fate that a statesman of Mr. Balfour's experience in politics, who had fought with such vigour in the former Home Rule campaigns within the walls of the House of Commons, should, by force of circumstances, have been deprived of his command of the Opposition at a time when his Party is in great need of experienced leadership. From Nice and Lawn Tennis to Westminster and Home Rule is a far cry, but it was certainly more dignified for him to have honourably retired than to have continued his leadership at the dictates of his "Die Hard" followers, the unbecoming position, which Mr. Bonar Law, the present Tory "Leader," finds himself in.

THE "TIMES" AT ONE PENNY.

The expected reduction in the price of the *Times*, about which I had already hinted in one of my previous weekly letters, on the authority of the *Daily Chronicle*, is at last an accomplished fact. The authorised announcement was made in its issue of the 11th inst. in the following terms: "In view of the grave importance of the present political situation, it has been decided that on and after Monday next the *Times* newspaper, complete including the financial section, shall be sold at one penny per copy in Great Britain and Ireland, and at three pence per copy on the Continent."

In spite of the "grave importance of the present political situation"—which is officially given as the main reason for this step—it is

generally understood that, owing to the obvious loss of popularity which this journal has been undoubtedly meeting with during the past few years, this course had become an absolute necessity if the paper was to hold its own against the keen competition that prevails now in the journalistic world of London. Formerly, when the *Times* was famous for its fair-mindedness, impartiality and independence, it certainly held a unique position and was indeed the national journal of England. Its exorbitant price was then no bar to its popularity, as the thinking section of the community was prepared to pay any price, provided it could secure the genuine and unbiased expression of public opinion in the country on various grave and important current affairs. Ever since the *Times* has changed hands, however, it has been rapidly drifting towards the detestable system of party politics, under which every other journal here is being conducted. So it has automatically dropped from the proud pedestal of a national organ to the level of a mere party newspaper. With this change, of course, it is not surprising that it has been visibly losing its influence and popularity and, at a time when there are some excellent party organs in existence at reasonable prices, it is equally evident that the reading public after a time showed its reluctance to subscribe to the *Times*, now a mere party paper, but, notwithstanding, still offered at a prohibitive price.

As I have mentioned already, the journal, however, has had a great past. The history of the *Times* begins with the history of modern Europe. The first number was produced by the first John Walter in 1785, and it was then called *The Daily Universal Register*. It was christened *The Times* in 1788, just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Its first proprietor, it is interesting to remember, was sent to goal for severely censuring the Duke of York; but while Mr. Walter was in prison his paper went on serenely expressing a fully democratic opinion on current topics. For a hundred years a John Walter was the chief proprietor of the *Times*; and no reference to the really important affairs of English history, since the paper was established, would be complete unless the *Times* was somehow introduced into the matter. It has made some very serious blunders, but on the other hand it has often been the first to give publicity to matters of vast public importance. Among its famous editors were Thomas Barnes (1817-1841) and John Delane, who succeeded him. It was under Delane that the *Times* reached its apogee. Its more recent history, the acquirement of its control by Lord Northcliffe, is already well known. It is only a matter of yesterday. In February, 1911, its original price of three pence was reduced to two pence, in spite of the fact that it had added various regular supplements. As regards the Asiatic policy of the *Times*, your readers are well aware of its traditional antagonism and time-honoured opposition towards the oriental nations in general. Its recent bogey of the "Indian Peril" will, no doubt, be within general recollection. Comment is useless, as the paper is notorious in the East for its ever hostile attitude towards all that is progressive, self-respecting and sacred throughout that ancient yet newly-awakened continent.

THE PROPOSED CHIEFS' COLLEGE AT DELHI.

Renter's brief messages from Delhi do not enable us here to form an adequate opinion as to the scope and character of the proposed Chiefs' College in the new Capital. Neither do the brief telegraphic summaries of Lord Hardinge's and the Maharajah of Bikaner's speeches, delivered at Delhi on the occasion of the inaugural meeting, at which the Viceroy addressed the assembled Princes and Chiefs, help us to thoroughly grasp the aims and objects of the proposed institution. We must therefore await the arrival of the full proceedings in that connection by the Indian mail a fortnight hence. As far as one can at present judge, however, it is proposed to establish a college there for the education and instruction of the sons and relatives of the Ruling Chiefs in India. That, of course, would not be the first institution of its kind, as there are already some excellent Chiefs' Colleges in various parts of the country. All the same it is a very happy idea and the scheme deserves every success. As a matter of fact, under the distinguished patronage, which has been so rightly extended to it, there will be no anxiety felt as to its future. It is, however, understood that the proposed College is likewise intended for the training of the younger members of the nobility and aristocratic families of India. If that is so, the decision is certainly regrettable, as it is bound to widen the gulf between the upper classes of the population in India and the middle classes. As it is, India is keenly suffering from the effects of the existing system, which has so rigidly divorced the overwhelming bulk of the aristocracy from the national and popular sentiments of the country. They are even to-day very remote from the spirit of the people and are hopelessly out of touch with the real needs and requirements of democracy, the backbone of the Indian nation. Recently there have certainly been visible hopeful signs of a genuine awakening amongst all classes and sections in India, and the wave of democratic ascendancy that has been overrunning

the vast continent of Asia with such vigour and force has not been without its effect in that country as well. The best interests of India and the Empire could only be served by mutual co-operation of the aristocratic and democratic elements. Nothing could be more suicidal and more destructive to national progress and national advancement in India than the maintenance of the "caste-system," which has been the curse of the country for generations. The aristocratic youth in India, as well as in other States, can only imbibe the true notion of good citizenship, if he is trained on democratic lines and brought up in a democratic atmosphere. Liberal education, to be effective, cannot be administered in the exclusive atmosphere of a Chiefs' College and the young scions of the nobility, to be thoroughly initiated into the fundamental principles of citizenship, which should be of substantial advantage to them in their after-life, can not be usefully brought up in the "gilded chamber" of the proposed institution. That would lead to certain failure and is sure to immensely retard the steady progress of national development. The significance of this great principle is nowhere recognised more fully than in Great Britain where, as is well-known, even His Majesty the King himself has been so closely following this undoubtedly sound doctrine. The young princes here are being brought up on the most democratic principles, and even the Prince of Wales is at this moment undergoing his course of education at Oxford as any other ordinary undergraduate. Prince Henry, who is at Eton, is, at the King's own express desire, being treated in the same way as his other college-fellows, and has even had to discharge his duties as a "fag" to a senior colleague. It is obvious that the "feather-bed" system of education is wholly unsuitable for those who are expected to take their proper share in providing for the welfare of the community in future and who are meant to subsequently serve the interests of the nation. This rule applies to India in a very real sense. The days when the country depended on the sole efforts of the landed aristocracy for lead and guidance are happily things of the past. The force of democracy and the national spirit have to-day become living factors even in India and the sooner the "upper ten" realise the change and the more closely they associate themselves with the general body of the people—the bulwark of society—in the national evolution, the more peaceful and the more honourable will be their own path of progress and improvement. Co-operation, and not seclusion, is needed for the common good of the country, and elements of fellowship and comradeship could nowhere be more fully mastered and maintained than in the class-rooms of a popular democratic educational institution. It is to such high and noble ideals that the proposed Chiefs' College at Delhi will deal a fatal blow.

INDIAN GIRL BARD.

The interesting announcement has just been made that Miss Dorothy Bonarjee, daughter of the famous lawyer of Calcutta, has been appointed bard at the Aberystwyth University College in Wales. I believe this is the first occasion on which this honour has been awarded to an Indian lady in this country—yet another happy symptom of female progress and enlightenment, which is manifesting itself so powerfully throughout the Eastern World. Miss Bonarjee is to be heartily congratulated on this recognition of her talents in such a distinguished quarter.

THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS IN LONDON.

Mr. Andrews, who went from India to South Africa to investigate the Indian question, arrived here from Cape Town on the 10th instant. He was met on arrival by a large number of Indians, who congratulated him on the result of his visit. He was also garlanded by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poetess. During his two months' stay in South Africa Mr. Andrews has had conferences with Lord Gladstone, General Botha and General Smuts. He is returning to India by the "Caledonia" on the 3rd of April.

In conversation with a Renter's representative Mr. Andrews said: "When I landed in South Africa two months ago things were very black indeed. But chiefly owing to Mr. Gandhi's chivalrous and patriotic action in refusing to add to the complications of the railway strike by renewing passive resistance, the atmosphere cleared, and from that time more friendly relations came about. General Smuts did all in his power to give Mr. Gandhi a full hearing, and out of this it is hoped that legislation may be carried through Parliament with regard to the £3 tax and the marriage question. These are the two main questions, and, if these are settled, the Indian trouble will be practically concluded. I cannot but confess unbounded admiration for the heroism and endurance of the Indian community in South Africa during the struggle, and especially for Mr. Gandhi, with whom I lived during the greater part of my stay. I must also express my keen sense of appreciation of the kindness and generous and fair-minded treatment I received at the

hands both of my own countrymen and of the Dutch leaders in South Africa. I was given every opportunity of studying the situation carefully and openly. I trust that in future friendly relations between India and South Africa might be established on a wider and more permanent basis than in the past, and I hope on my return to India to do what I can to further such a cause. I saw General Botha before leaving, and I was impressed by his sterling character and simplicity. The Premier assured me that his sincere desire was to do whatever lay in his power to act justly by the Indian community in their present difficulties. As legislation is now pending I do not feel free to discuss details, but I am convinced that the friendly spirit evinced on both sides would result in the Indian trouble being brought to an end."

GREEKS AND TURKS: GROWING BITTERNESS.

According to the Constantinople Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, it is observed in Ottoman political circles that the Ottoman population of the provinces and the capital are greatly irritated against the Greeks, as a result of the reports which come every day from the territories annexed by the Greeks, where Mosques are being destroyed and the Mussalman inhabitants subjected to various forms of cruelty, including robbery, violation and even assassination. Moslems, it is declared, are emigrating *en masse*, leaving their houses and possessions, and as soon as they reach Turkey they relate to their co-religionists the evils they have endured. Lively imaginations embroider upon facts which may be isolated, but which seem to be incontestable, and which assume the appearance of a general hostile movement against the Mussalmans. Strong feelings are thus aroused, and worse catastrophes may happen in Turkey, by which the Greeks will suffer, unless Europe immediately intervenes and advises the Hellenic Government to induce the local authorities to respect the lives and property of Mussalmans in accordance with the Treaty of Athens.

The *Tanin* has published a strong article commenting upon a letter from its Salonica Correspondent, who describes the cruelties inflicted upon Mussalmans under the tolerant eye of the Greek Government. Having given expression to its indignation, the *Tanin* adds that "the Turks might make use of the same means, but, being a civilised nation, they abstain; but it must not be forgotten that patience has its limits."

THE TURKISH NAVY.

In pursuance of the policy of the Ottoman Government to strengthen her Navy, the Turkish Ambassador, Towfik Pasha, visited the Admiralty two days ago and had a long interview with Mr. Winston Churchill for the purpose of conferring with the First Lord on the question of the loan of more officers of the British Navy for service in the Turkish Navy. The necessary preliminaries between the Foreign Office and the Porte were disposed of last week. Although the names of a number of British officers, whom the Turkish Government may desire to approach, were mentioned at the interview, no definite appointments were made. Further interviews between Mr. Churchill and His Excellency will take place, it is stated, before the selections are made. Already there are nine British naval officers on duty in the Turkish Navy, the most recent appointment being that of Commander C.R. Hamilton in June last year. The senior officer in rank at Constantinople is Rear-Admiral Limpas.

Rapid progress is being made, the *Daily Telegraph* learns, at Armstrong and Whitworth's yards on the Tyne with the battleship, "Rio de Janeiro," which Turkey recently bought from the Brazilian Government. Commander Raouf Bey, the Turkish officer who manoeuvred the "Hamidieh" so skilfully during the early stages of the recent war, has been given, it is understood, the command of the ship. For several weeks now he has been at Elswick superintending the work of completion, and, incidentally, with about a score of other Turkish officers, receiving instruction in the use of the modern machinery with which she will be fitted.

THE INDIAN POLICE.

To-day's *Daily News* contains a leading article on the methods of the Indian Police, as alleged by Mr. E. Norton in his defence of the young Bengali student Roy at the trial which has just ended in Calcutta concerning the murder of Inspector Ghose. "Whatever the facts in connection with the murder of Inspector Ghose may be," the journal proceeds, "the allegations made against the police by Roy's counsel are so very serious that it is scarcely possible to believe that they will be allowed to pass unnoticed. That the most important police witnesses were ex-convicts might be an unavoidable accident: there are cases in which witnesses of repute are from the nature of the charge unobtainable. But that it should be possible to suggest that the police publicly gave rewards to witnesses of the crime for capturing the accused, and even that they put a revolver into his hands for the purpose of incriminating him, argues a state of things certainly no better than that which exists in Russia and quite conceivably worse."

TETE À TETE



We are informed by the Alliance Bank, Simla, that all the Ottoman Treasury Bonds applied for through the Bank have been duly distributed among the various subscribers. As far as the Bank is aware all the Bonds have duly reached their destinations, "except 2 Bonds, £ 0-10-0 each, which were subscribed for by one Mohamed Moosa (who gave as his address, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Chammarayapatta, Hassan (?))." These Bonds have been returned to the Bank through the Dead Letter Office. We hope some one amongst our readers will try to find out the exact address of the subscriber referred to above, or inform us if he happens to know it already.

We had hardly finished welcoming him when we learnt that His Excellency Khalil Khalid Bey was shortly going to leave India, and in fact our welcome of him partook of the character of farewell.

It is difficult to express the feelings of thousands of people in India like ourselves, who had been able to renew their acquaintance with Khalil Khalid the author, by meeting Khalil Khalid the man, when it was learnt that his stay among us would be so short. The circumstances surrounding his visit to Northern India with the carpets from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan were such that most people could only see him, and all looked forward to less restricted intercourse in the near future. Their grief was, therefore, great when the *Hamdard* inadvertently published an interview in which he had said something to one of the members of its staff about his impending departure. We were inundated with letters asking us to persuade His Excellency to visit other cities also besides those where he had to take a carpet, and we are certain that a good deal of the eagerness displayed was a personal tribute to the Turkish patriot and author who had suffered so much under the régime of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan. Unfortunately His Excellency's itinerary was a short one, but we are assured by numerous testimonies that wherever he went he charmed those with whom he came in contact, from Her Highness the Begam Saheba of Bhopal and His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur to the humblest Indian Mussalman. Whatever the reasons for his early departure, we feel sure that His Excellency carries with him the best wishes of Mussalmans in this country for his future success and hopes of his early return to India as well as his affection for them and a desire to be able to visit them again. We trust the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will not refuse to pay a certain amount of consideration to the earnest desire of Indian Mussalmans that in future the Ottoman Consul-Generals would be men of the character and attainments of Khalil Khalid Bey, who so worthily represented a great and distinguished race during his all too short tenure of office, and gave us a glimpse of the great men who now preside over the destinies of the Ottoman Empire. Khalil Khalid Bey visited some of the friends he had made in the course of his short tour in Northern India before leaving for Turkey, and was once more at Rampur and Delhi. He was fascinated by the hospitality and charm of manner of His Highness and spoke in terms of great affection of his friends in Rampur and in this great city, and regretted greatly that he could not go to any of the numerous places whence he was receiving such pressing invitations after having handed over the charge of his office. At Delhi he met some Mussalmans at our office and spent the whole of a long and warm afternoon in free and friendly intercourse with them, after having shaken hands with thousands of Mussalmans in the Jami' Musjid who wished him *bon voyage* and parted with him with a heavy heart. We wish Khalil Khalid Bey a prosperous career full of great usefulness for Islam and the Ottoman Empire, and—really we wish him back among us.

It was not so long ago that the vague and undefined quality, which, according to some, can mean everything, and according to others, means nothing, but which is known to all by the name of "Prestige," was in danger because

Prestige and "Paradise Lost."

lessees of theatres were putting up bills and placards declaring that "Maud Allan is Coming!" The world awaited the result in great suspense, but eventually the defenders of Prestige proved to be more fortunate than they had anticipated and we announced some weeks ago the welcome news that Prestige was saved. Those who assail it, however, are a persistent lot of people and seem to be determined to shatter it to bits. We trust in this case we shall not be accused of being alarmists when we merely act on the maxim, "Prevention is better than Cure," and warn the defenders of Prestige of a possible night attack not altogether unlike Miss Maud Allan's which caused so much confusion. We hear a Mr. Walter Stephens is about to launch upon England a Cinema film production of "Paradise Lost." The Lord Chamberlain has been squared and his scruples have been overcome. "The Licence is granted," says Mr. Stephens, "on the guarantee that the costume of Adam and Eve before the Fall shall be such as no one can take exception to." We wonder whether the Bishop of Kensington has also been squared, for the Lord Chamberlain is a slippery official who is at times on the side of Mademoiselle Gaby Delys and the Proprietors of the "Palace" and at other times altogether "on the side of the angels." Be that as it may, we are told that Mr. Stephens readily gave the assurance as to the costume of Adam and Eve, and an English contemporary suggests that the "readiness" is obvious, because "no one can take objection to that which does not exist." Among the list of non-existences it naturally includes the costume of Adam and Eve before the Fall. Of that then happy couple it is written that they knew not they were naked. Clothes, it has been said, are a symbol of our lost innocence, and some pure-minded, art-loving souls would have us believe that their absence is a symbol of its restoration. Now we do not know to which side Mr. Stephens inclines, and whether he is a stickler for historical accuracy in the matter of costume, or is going to anticipate the discovery of the fig leaf. But we know this, that if Mr. Stephens' Adam and Eve before the Fall come out to India in the costume that tradition has assigned to them—as sooner or later everyone and everything from England comes out—Prestige would undoubtedly receive a severe blow. How would it look in the eyes of the "Natives"—we hope we are not encroaching on the copy-right of the expert draftsmen of the Legislative Department in using this word—yes, how would it look in the eyes of the "Natives" if the first parents of the defenders of Prestige are seen wandering in Eden attired according to the fashion-plates of the time in their native innocence? Would not that add to the "Indian Peril" of the *Times* creation? We trust the Police Commissioner of Bombay would expostulate with Adam and Eve about their unseemly costume, or rather absence of it, which would not only be an offence against public decency but wholly destructive of that which is higher than public decency, and even public morality, namely, Prestige. We do not ignore the fact that some people are of opinion that Adam and Eve are common to the whole human race, including coloured people. But whether the Lady Clara Vere de Vere of to-day and her suitor, presumably a Syndicalist leader, have both realized or not that

"The gardiner Adam and his wife

"Smile at the claims of long descent,"

it is certain that the removal of class distinctions cannot remove colour distinctions. If Adam and Eve had any "colour" and Eden was a tropical garden, then Prestige would rather discard them and go over from "the side of the angels" to the side of Darwin. "Common ancestors," indeed! This theory has been exploded long ago by the biological researchists of the Prestige School, and if Mr. Stephens, or, at least, the Police Commissioner of Bombay, doesn't look out and adapt "Paradise Lost" to Prestige, we shall have both Prestige and "Paradise Lost":

On the 18th of March last the Hon. the Home Member introduced a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure designed to punish certain kinds of contempt of Court, which according to him, were either not covered by the existing provisions of the Indian law or about which the existing law was doubtful. The Statement of Objects and Reasons declares that "when the Penal Code became law in 1860, conditions in India were such that its framers were in a position to disregard that class of contempt which is known to English law as scandalizing the Courts. But subsequent developments have demonstrated the necessity of affording greater protection to the Courts against attempts to lower their prestige and of checking the practice, which has manifested itself to a serious extent in recent years, of commenting on cases pending before the Courts in a manner which constitutes a

"serious menace to the dispassionate administration of public justice." We shall deal with the proposed legislation in a subsequent issue, but would like to state here that the proposed Section 228B makes it punishable with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months the publication of (a) a false or misleading report of a judicial proceeding during its pendency or of any stage thereof, and (b) any comments relating to such proceeding or regarding the presiding officer, the parties, witnesses, assessors, jurors, or pleaders concerned in such proceeding, knowing or having reason to believe that the comments may cause or tend to cause prejudice in the public mind in regard to such proceeding, or prejudice or tend to prejudice the trial thereof. We do not know whether any Indian journalist would care to publish the report of such proceedings before a *subordinate* Magistrate—a variety not rare in Northern India—even though this section is provided with an explanation to the effect that "a true, full and fair report of a judicial proceeding or any stage thereof does not constitute an offence under this section." It is just this class of judicial officer whose conduct of a judicial proceeding needs a true, full and fair report, and yet he must be a venturesome man who would undertake to publish such a report with the prospect of six months imprisonment before him inspite of all the explanations in the world. But we wonder whether such a section, if passed into law, would be enforced against Anglo-Indian newspapers also, or would be confined in its operation to Indian newspapers only, as in the case of the Press Act, against which the *Pioneer* offended so flagrantly the other day but was allowed to go scotfree. An hon. member of the U. P. Council who had asked a question, drawing the attention of the Government to the matter, was given the laconic, stereotyped answer that "the answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative and the answer to the second part of the question is in the negative." We ask this question because we know that although the provocation for the proposed Bill was admittedly supplied by an Indian contemporary, it is some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries that are the worst sinners in the matter.

In our issue of the 14th March last we had quoted at some length from the *Pioneer* which had commented six weeks earlier with enthusiastic admiration upon the Police Parade at Calcutta for rewarding those who, according to our sinless contemporary,

Trial by
"The Times."

"had been instrumental in the capture of the murderer of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose." As perhaps every body knows by now, the jury returned on the 11th March a unanimous verdict of not guilty on the two charges of murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose and Ananta Teli on which a verdict of acquittal was recorded by the High Court of Calcutta. We were waiting to see what the London prototype of our Allahabad Oracle would say on the subject, and we did not wait in vain. In its issue of 9th March it published under its favourite headline, "Political Crime in India," a column letter from its well-known Bombay correspondent, himself the editor of an Anglo Indian daily, in the course of which he wrote that, "in this case Roy was arrested with a smoking revolver in his possession and the bullets extracted from the murdered man fit the pistol. He is reported since to have made a full confession of the crime." How far this is a true, full and fair report of the facts of the case every one who has read the proceedings in the first trial before the High Court can judge for himself. But that is not all. The *Times* hangs on this peg a leading article on the subject of "The Anarchists of India," dealing with the political situation in the country to which we shall refer later. But writing on the subject of the capture of the accused Nirmal Kanto Roy, the *Times* says: "The assassin of Inspector Ghose was captured after a long chase through winding streets and lanes. Our correspondent attaches importance to the fact that the murderer was eventually seized by townspeople." Again it refers to a "gathering at which the captors of Inspector Ghose's murderer were rewarded." Now a verdict of not guilty on the charge of murdering Inspector Ghose was recorded by the High Court of Calcutta two days after this statement was published by the *Times*, and the *Statesman* wrote on the 13th that the acquittal "convicts the police of one of the most remarkable blunders to be found even in their records of failures. . . . The real assassin escaped under the eyes of the police who were rewarded for having caught him. It is deplorable that such an exhibition of police incompetence should have been rewarded as a display of valour." But the *Times* has already tried Nirmal Kanto Roy and pronounced on him the verdict of guilty of the murder of Inspector Ghose. We ask, can there be a grosser example of contempt of Court than this? Indian newspapers guilty of such conduct may possibly plead that no law exists in the country against the publication of such statements and it is well known that Sir Reginald Craddock is characteristically filling up one more gap between the law of England and of India. But can the *Times* offer the same plea of ignorance in the face of the time-honoured law of England? Well may we read to the tremendous *Times* the sermon

which was recently preached to us from the text of a distinguished Lord Chancellor, that "nothing is more incumbent upon Courts of Justice than to preserve their proceedings from being misrepresented, nor is there anything of more pernicious consequence than to pre-judice the minds of the public against persons concerned in cases before the case is finally heard." We trust the *Times* would remember these wise words and—not do it again.

As we had announced in our issue of the 11th March, Mr. Justice Stephen had ordered a re-trial of Nirmal Kanto Roy, the accused in the case of Inspector Ghose's murder, on minor charges on which the jury had differed. Mr. Justice Stephen presided over the Session trial once more. The counsel for the accused pleaded *autrefois acquit*, but the judge had the jury empanelled and promised to pronounce judgment later. The accused then pleaded "Already acquitted, not guilty." When the jury was being empanelled, the defence challenged two Bengali and six European jurors, while the Crown challenged eight Bengali jurors. Eventually the jury that was empanelled consisted of three Europeans and six Indians. The jury in the previous trial was also similarly composed. On the last occasion the difference among jurymen on the minor charges on which a re-trial has now taken place was in the ratio of 5 : 4. It was not indicated whether 5 were for the verdict of "Guilty" or 4; but this time 7 were for "Not Guilty" and 2 for "Guilty." Evidently either 2 or 3 more jurors now believed in the innocence of the accused. Although we know the composition of the jury on both occasions, it is not possible to know how many Indians and how many Europeans were on each side; but it is clear that at least one or two Indians must have considered the accused "Guilty" in the former trial and at least one European must have considered him "Not Guilty" in the re-trial. We state these facts with a view to show that neither verdict accords with the racial proportion in the composition of the jury. Possibly the *Pioneer* and the *Times* may be impressed by the fact that at least one European is convinced of the innocence of the accused on whom they had pronounced the verdict of "Guilty." But our chief desire is to dissuade Sir J. D. Rees from condemning the jury system as he has been doing, regardless of the fact that "a man," if not also "a brother," has been fighting for life and liberty at the every moment when he has been prejudicing the case of the accused by not controlling even for a time his bureaucratic dislike of trial by jury. If the system needed any defence, Sir J. D. Rees has provided it in ample measure. If civilians, of whom we presume he is regarded, or at least regards himself, not only a champion but also the best type, cannot respect the decencies of judicial proceedings in the interests of which the Hon. the Home Member would like to send our poor journalists to prison for six months, and must needs prejudice the case of the accused by their comments, then indeed it is extremely necessary to protect the accused from judges of the same class by retaining, and even extending, the system of trial by jury. In this connection we may reproduce with advantage the opening remarks of Mr. Norton's address to the jury in the retrial and of Mr. Justice Stephen in his summing up. The *Pioneer's* report of Mr. Norton's remarks is as follows:—

"This man standing here to-day in the shadow of a great private misfortune, the death of his father, has been called upon twice within fourteen days to fight for his life before two separate juries. In the course of these two trials he has found himself oppressed by circumstances which do not usually attend a trial on a charge of murder. In the first place, he is being tried before the learned judge who already tried him before a separate jury and who on that occasion summed up against him. He stands before you to-day with this farther object in his pathway, that at the inception of this trial he saw a resolute attempt made to take off every Indian juror from the jury. He saw the Crown expend the whole of its eight challenges upon an attempt to deprive him of that to which I submit, in law as well as by every standard of morality, he was entitled, namely, to be tried by a large proportion of his own fellow countrymen. He further found himself oppressed by the system to which the Government at an early stage of this case had recourse. Although I do not for one moment suggest they intended it, a very serious danger was interposed between him and relief, by recourse to an event which, whether intended or not, might have had, I venture to submit you will agree with me, a very disastrous result on the opinion of those who are called upon to perform the duties of jurors. He had seen in the public Press even before he was first tried a second oppression of Government, by disseminating throughout the length and breadth of the land articles which ought never to have been written under the circumstances. He was subjected as soon as acquitted to interrogatories in the House of Commons based on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. These are some of the circumstances which he regards with dismay, which may tell against him in his last effort to relieve himself of the charges brought against him. Dismayed but not disheartened by all these

circumstances, he now turns to that last and ultimate tribunal to which he can look for relief, namely, the trial by nine jurors of his fellow-citizens. I believe and trust I may not in vain stand before you, and that whatever the circumstances under which he himself stands before you, you will endeavour to shake off that attack of pure passion and pure prejudice, and endeavour to come to a conclusion in the trial by consideration of the facts, and merely facts which have been sworn to on oath in the course of the case." We now turn to the remarks of Mr. Justice Stephen at the commencement of his summing up. The *Statesman's* report of them is as follows:—"I have always felt it to be a humiliating position to sit here and see my countrymen challenged off a jury because they are my countrymen. I should very much dislike, and I think I should have very much the same feeling for rather different reasons, if I saw an Indian being challenged off the jury because he is an Indian. But, Gentlemen, I would gladly see all peremptory challenges abolished. If there is an objection to a juror let it be stated. Since I came into this court I have always thought that our method of peremptory challenges is an unfortunate one and I should like to see it abolished. I cannot believe that the bulk of my countrymen are not competent to try a case fairly, and I entirely refuse to believe that Indians are unwilling to convict when a conviction ought to take place. I have therefore always felt distressed on hearing challenges on behalf of a defence when those challenges seemed to be directed to keeping men of one nationality off the jury. But if these challenges are made it seems to me that challenges from the Crown have this result, namely, that one set of challenges may cancel out the other, and a jury be chosen, as, to my mind, it should be chosen, purely and entirely by lot. But, after all, Gentlemen, if there are to be challenges I think it is not unfair that challenges should come from both sides. In this case, however, if my recollection is right, the challenging of the Indians was not confined to the prosecution. However, Gentlemen, I am sure I have no desire to find any kind of fault with the result arrived at in this case." Now we do not wish to say anything about the case itself, for the judge has merely directed that the accused be taken back to jail, and it is yet possible that a third trial may take place. Nor do we wish to offer any opinion about the system of peremptory challenges. But Sir Harry Stephen's observations regarding Englishmen and Indians as jurors, which are certainly entitled to more weight than the irresponsible tattle of Sir J. D. Rees, is an excellent corrective of what Mr. Norton called "that attack of pure passion and pure prejudice." Although the new Bill about Contempt of Court is not yet law, the High Courts at least can even now haul those over the coals who are guilty of contempt. We suppose an M. P. can plead "privilege," and Sir J. D. Rees talking nonsense in London is beyond the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. But most people would wish that at least in this case things had been otherwise.

Our friend the *Times* is extremely sick that its recent series of articles upon "The Indian Peril" have been, to use its own phraseology, derided even in Anglo-Indian journals. This is indeed the unkindest cut of all, and well may the *Times* exclaim: "*Et tu, Brute!*" Its Indian prototype, the *Pioneer*, pooh-poohed the Peril in its most supercilious vein, and although the murder of Inspector Ghose on the 19th January provided an excellent opportunity for the *Times'* Bombay correspondent to justify its creation of the "Peril," that unkind gentleman ignored this obvious fact even in so belated a report, and began to squeeze some hope for the future of India out of "the pluck shown by certain townspeople and police officers in effecting the arrest of the accused at considerable personal risk," and out of what he calls the "more significant still" and "apparently well authenticated story that a body of Bengali ladies on their way to the bathing ghat solemnly cursed the assassin." And last but not least is the highly disconcerting quotation from the *Statesman* which the *Times'* Bombay correspondent approvingly incorporated in his letter. It runs thus: "In reality, however, there seems to be no connexion between the Anarchist organization and any known form of political agitation. At present the educated classes have no acute grievance. There are no signs of any bitterness of feeling against the Government."

Bengal appears to be more peaceful or apathetic at this moment than it has been for many years past. It is hard to see how by any ingenuity the latest Anarchist outrage can be treated as a symptom or outcome of political unrest, or even of seditious propaganda of the type with which we have been long familiar. The only reasonable theory by which recent political murders and dacoities can be explained is that Anarchism has now become a special branch of crime like Thuggee. In view of this incontrovertible interpretation of the present situation it is particularly unfortunate that the *Times* should have tried to justify its creation of the "Indian Peril" by referring to the attempt on the

life of His Excellency the Viceroy fifteen months ago. The Delhi Sedition Case is at present *sub judice*, and no one can tell its final result. But it is clear that not one of the many accused is a person that had taken a prominent part in the public life of India or as an important newspaper or public platform critic of Government. And yet did not the *Times*' articles attempt to involve those who publicly criticise the actions of the officials and the measures of the Government, and in fact the educated classes generally, in their sinister and sweeping condemnation? We, however, admire the *Times*' tenacity when it says that it is not likely to be deterred by the derision which its "Indian Peril" has excited. Certainly Goldsmith's Schoolmaster in the *Deserted Village* was a worthy person, and no one need prevent the *Times* from imitating him.

On the 14th of March last the Senate of the Cambridge University was to have been called upon to decide what Cambridge and a Government Grant. Professor William Ridgeway, writing to the *Times* from Cambridge calls "a vital question of principle." It seems that the Medical

Department of the University, being in need of financial support, is likely to secure the annual grant of £4,600 from the Board of Education. Dealing with the letters of Professor Ridgeway and another writer published in its columns, the *Times* says: "This is no doubt a sum which few who are concerned with the efficiency of the medical teaching at Cambridge would care, if it could be had for the asking, to forego. Nevertheless the proposal has aroused no small opposition among the principal residents of the University; and the Senate, which is mainly composed of non-residents, may well be asked to pause before it commits itself to a resolution, beneficial no doubt to the study of medicine, but of uncertain value, if not of positive risk, to the University itself." It seems that Sir T. C. Allbutt took the responsibility of applying to the Education Department without consulting the University, and to the objection that "the University cannot accept Government money without Government control," Sir T. C. Allbutt and his colleagues offer the reply that "the Board of Education have explicitly denied that they have, or would claim, the power to decide or discuss the character of the scientific instruction given, or interfere with any internal affair." To this Professor Ridgeway replies by reminding the readers of the *Times* that "the present authorities at the Board of Education cannot bind their successors, and at any time a complete change of policy with vexatious inspection and other serious encroachments on our freedom might be made by new officials." He also quotes the opinion expressed by Professor Sir J. J. Thomson that "it was most desirable that there should be some educational authority in this country free from the Board of Education, and free to work out its own schemes in its own way without interference from outside." Professor Ridgeway adds that "Government money may be purchased at too dear a price, if it changes the whole character of the University, cramps her intellectual freedom and alienates her sons." This then is the view of some responsible educationists at Cambridge about State aid and State control. But what is still more noteworthy is the support which the *Times* gives to this view. It says: "In our view their objections form a substantial, if not a conclusive, argument for the rejection of the proposal. . . . Without further consideration we are inclined to think that the University would be unwise to commit itself to the acceptance of State aid. Government money must in the long run mean some measure of Government control; and it is by no means certain that Government control of one or of either of our ancient Universities is as yet to be desired. Cambridge, and Oxford also, occupy a peculiar position among our Universities and in our scheme of national education. If they do not always find it easy to command at a moment's notice the money which they may happen to need, they have, what, we imagine, no other universities in the world have, to draw upon the goodwill and the voluntary liberality of a large body of influential and wealthy graduates. Both are constantly in receipt of legacies and gifts, and, if necessary, of subscription, from their old members and from the friends of their old members. . . . Debt creates obligation, and the acceptance of the State's bounty means a corresponding surrender of independence—a forfeiture which is none the less a forfeiture even if no actual State interference may in practice follow. The present proposal, if it is carried at Cambridge, will be the thin end of the wedge, and the power of the wedge, where it has once found a purchase, is, as experience proves, nearly always irresistible." We refrain from offering any comment; but we cannot help thinking that the controversy provides sufficient food for thought for educationists much nearer home than Cambridge. It will not be possible to discover in India, an exact parallel of any institution in England. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that English experience is sought only too often to assist us in the settlement of Indian questions, and there is more than one institution in India which has much to gain by the experience of the two ancient English Universities which are only too often sought to be copied slavishly in India. We deprecate slavish imitation; but we also deprecate the absence of a desire to profit by the experience of others.

Dr. A. H. FYZEE, M. R. C. S., L. R. O. P., who was the Assistant Director of the All-India Medical Mission and did such excellent work in Turkey, sends to us a letter in which he pays a well-deserved tribute to the efforts of Prince Hamidullah

The Aligarh Cricket.

Khan, Captain of the Aligarh Cricket team, to revive the Aligarh cricket. Dr. Fyzeo is himself a keen sportsman and athlete and a fine tennis player. He writes:—"As one who has followed Aligarh sports with more than ordinary interest, it has been a great joy to me to note that the Aligarh cricket is in a state of regeneration. In the old days the names of the brothers Siddique and Mahmud, of Shaukat and Amin, of Abdul Wahab, Mughni and Abul Hassan were those to conjure with. With the advent of Ahsan and Ali Hassan many of us thought that the brilliant days of Aligarh cricket were about to return. Although these hopes were realised, Aligarh cricket was at a very low ebb soon after. But now again our hopes are reviving. Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal is at the helm of the affairs, and the very fact that through him the services of Mr. Fairservice of Kent have been secured shows how earnest he is that Aligarh should regain her old supremacy in India. There is no doubt Aligarh has done extremely well this year. Out of 14 matches played 12 have been won and 2 drawn—truly a magnificent record. It augurs very well for the future. In the quadrangular matches in Bombay, where undoubtedly the best cricket in India is played, Aligarh has been very poorly represented. In the first year in which the quadrangular contest was held in 1912, only 2 Aligarhians were included i.e., Said and Salimuddin. The first named was only taken after some discussion and difficulty in the final match i.e., Mohamedans v. Parsees. There is no doubt he thoroughly justified his selection, for he batted and fielded extremely well, and was a very useful man for his side. Last year no Aligarhians were included. It was the opinion of a great many that the Committee, which selected the Mohamedan team, was very partial to the Bombay cricketers. It is possible there may have been some truth in the allegation. At the same time, it must be said for the Selection Committee, that they only judge by the form shown by the Aligarhians on the Bombay wicket before the quadrangular contest. Here the Aligarhians rather disappointed the members of the Selection Committee, and this accounted for their absence in the selected team. It would not be uninteresting to review what some of the Mohamedans who played last year in the quadrangular contest in Bombay have performed lately. Playing for the Maharaja of Nattore's Team in Calcutta, Yusuf Beg of Poona, Abdul Aziz and Nazir Hussein of Delhi have done wonders with the bat and the ball. Yusuf Beg is considered by many competent authorities to be the best bat in India. Aziz is blossoming out into a first class all-rounder, and Nazir Hussein is another all-rounder very hard to beat. These three men, together with some Aligarh boys, and men from Bombay and Northern India i.e., Cashmere, Indore, and Patna etc., will make an almost invincible Mohamedan team. What I should like to impress on all well-wishers of the game is that there should be no feud in our own camp, and that all should work in harmony with one object in view i.e., the supremacy of the Mohamedan cricket. Now coming to Football and Hockey, it has been very pleasing to me to see the form shown by both the Football and Hockey teams from Aligarh which visited Bombay about 3 years back. The Hockey Team ought to have easily carried off the Aga Khan Cup, but on account of some mishaps, and misfortunes they failed to attain that object. I well remember the brilliant form shown by Asad Ali and Nuruddin. The latter's death must have been a great loss to the team." Writing about the lawn tennis Dr. Fyzeo says:—"It has always been a wonder to me why Aligarh has not produced any famous players. Of course there have been some very good players, but their fame has only existed in the Inter-collegiate world. None has gone, to the best of my knowledge, further than that. None has carried, say, the Championship of the Punjab, or the All-India Lawn Tennis Championship of Allahabad or the Championship of Bengal. What I should like to suggest is that the best and second best pairs should enter a series of first class tournaments, like the Championship of Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh and Bombay. They would only then get the experience which is so necessary to a first class player. I should also much desire to see Prince Hamidullah Khan, the popular skipper, bringing down a first rate Aligarh team during the next cricket season of Bombay, just to give us a taste of the palmy days of Aligarh cricket. In conclusion, I should like to congratulate Prince Hamidullah very heartily for the splendid result he has attained this year. I am sure, his career will be watched by all sportsmen all over India with great interest. I am certain I am echoing the sentiments of all the Mohamedans of India when I wish him every success." We heartily echo what Dr. Fyzeo says, but we hope Aligarh cricketers will not go on a strike, like the Lahore Medical College students, if we said we sometimes wish Prince Hamidullah Khan's team got a sound beating once in a way as a trial of their patience and sporting spirit, and chiefly to set a keener edge on their desire never to be overcome. Adversity is the lot of the poor and would do a Prince a lot of good! Cheer up, and never say die.

The Comrade.

Ulster and the Army.

1.

WHEN some months ago Lord Crewe, when Sir Edward Carson called "a somewhat inaudible Minister," drew attention to the effect which the tactics of the Unionists' Party in England and the preparations made by Orangemen in Ulster were likely to have in India, his lordship was not preaching from the text that virtue is its own reward and the kindred doctrine that vice is its own retribution. Obviously the idea of consequences was then uppermost in his mind, and although such sermons are not very lofty, they are sure to appeal to minds not fully attuned to ethics but alive to the practical considerations of profit and loss. The kind of tactics which the Unionists were adopting in England were bad in themselves, and the preparations which were being made by the Orangemen in Ulster appeared to the layman at least as illegal, and were therefore deserving of Liberal condemnation. But the fear underlying the question "What would they think of it in our Indian Dependency?" was common to Unionists and Home Rulers, and therefore Lord Crewe's criticism was calculated to cause some flutter in Unionists' circles. At any rate, it was not ignored, and even the *Times* attempted a clumsy rejoinder by saying that if the Bengalis vowed to die rather than permit their severance from Great Britain that would be an occasion for rejoicing rather than uneasiness. That is a kind of argument one always expected from the *Times* when in a tight corner, and may be passed over; but the fact remains that Indians receive no great access of virtue from the tactics pursued by their "Imperial" mentors. We should be really sorry if our fellow-countrymen regarded such conduct as ideal, but we are happy to be able to testify that the only effect of a close observation of "constitutionalism" as practised by the Unionists' Party has been to amuse the Indians and make them regard their mentors as endowed with the usual amount of hypocrisy and human nature. More recently things began to take a more serious turn when the question of the Army *versus* Parliament became acute in the course of the Ulster controversy, but we felt sure that commonsense would come to the rescue even of the "Constitutional Party," and as things are once more settling down we have no fear of any injurious reaction in India if we elucidate the points raised last week over the attitude of the Army in Ulster.

The first disquieting news that came to India through Renter was that the tension in Ulster was growing and the authorities were taking precautions. Large bodies of armed police had left Dublin and special magistrates for Ulster had been sworn in Dublin Castle. It was reported that a detachment of the 1st Norfolks had arrived at Carrickfergus and that sentries with fixed bayonets were posted day and night at the Castle armory, while the guards at barracks at Enniskillen and Armagh had been doubled and civilians prevented from entering. Although the police were declared to have sent no orders to follow the movements of the leading Unionists, they were said to be watching the various Ulster battalions. Guards at the military barracks throughout Ulster where stores were kept were doubled. According to various reports from the crowd of correspondents at Belfast the Government had already taken measures such as the summoning of naval reservists to be in readiness and the issuing of orders with the object of the military occupation of Belfast. Troops were arriving in Ulster from the south, while two warships were stationed in Dublin Bay. Two destroyers had landed 150 troops at Carrickfergus. A gunboat had arrived at Bangor and a destroyer at Kingstown. It was also announced that the artillery had been ordered to proceed to Ulster, and that all reservists had been instructed to be in readiness instantly to join the colours. Instruction had also been given that the ordnance storemen in Ulster were to be searched as they left work. A detachment of 110 men of the Yorkshire Regiment had gone on board the warships in Dublin Bay and sailed for an unknown destination. Subsequently the destroyer had anchored in the Bay. One hundred and fifty men of the Royal Engineers from Carragh were reported to have arrived at Dublin and proceeded to Hollywood Barracks, and other drafts were expected. Three thousand regulars and two field batteries were said to have already arrived in Ulster. Rumour went even so far as the statement, made at Aldershot, that the South Western Railway had been ordered to have trains in readiness to move 10,000 troops to Glasgow and other ports whence they could be transported to Ireland. The officials of the Railway, however, said they knew nothing about such an order. Nevertheless, the papers were full of the details of the military movements towards Ulster, which, according to the Conservative papers, indicated that the Government were in panic, but which the Liberal papers declared to be the outcome of a well considered plan on the instructions of the Army Council prepared sometime ago.

The Orangemen were no less active, and forty motor-cyclist volunteers had left Belfast under secret orders. The city was intensely excited. A picked reserve force of volunteers was called out one night when rumours were renewed that 28 warrants for arrest had been issued, though Sir Edward Carson's name was not on the list. Eight hundred volunteers had mobilised in Belfast and guarded the residences of the Unionist leaders. Not to be entirely outstripped by Orangemen, the Nationalist at Derry had also called a muster on which they insisted in spite of Mr. Redmond's deportations. A prolonged Ulsterite conference was in progress at Belfast while the military authorities were conferring at Dublin. One need not be surprised after this at learning that nervousness prevailed and caused depression on the Stock Exchange.

Then came a somewhat different announcement when it was officially declared in Belfast that the special train ordered to convey the troops from Carragh to Belfast was subsequently cancelled, no reason being given. This was followed by the news that a number of officers in the south had written to friends in Belfast that they would resign if they were ordered to Ulster. A telegram from Carragh was even more explicit and reported that the removal of the mounted troops has been cancelled owing to the resignation of the officers. The War Office denied a report that it had issued an ultimatum to the officers in Ireland to serve or resign, and further stated that it had no information of wholesale resignations. But it was also reported that the Executive of the War Office had been working day and night for some time, which was in itself somewhat ominous. The whole thing became clear, however, when it was reported that General Sir Arthur Paget, in command of the troops in Ireland, had arrived at Carragh and that "negotiations" were proceeding between the officers who had resigned and the Army authorities.

After this telegram came down as thick as autumn leaves in Vallambrosa, all showing how "loyal"—at least in the sense in which we are required to be in India—was the Army to the Government in Great Britain. We had already heard that at various places in Ulster the troops were greeted with enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the Unionists and that a detachment of Ulster volunteers stood at the salute as the Dorsets passed. Even then it was reported that many troops had returned the compliment; but the *Pall Mall* published a telegram from Belfast which showed that the compliment was more than returned by the troops. It stated that, when two companies of the Dorsets were paraded and notified that they were being transferred to quarters near the volunteer manœuvring ground, the men hurled their rifles on the barrack square and the sergeant saluted and exclaimed, "We will have no Home Rule here!" If this is true there is nothing surprising in the touching spectacle of detachments of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and the Bedfordshire Regiment and the Ulster volunteers attending church at Armagh together, many sharing prayer books and all exchanging salutes when they marched off. Bluejackets were also reported to be fraternising with Ulster volunteers, and under the circumstances it was indeed the height of discipline that, addressing the 2nd Manchester Regiment at Carragh camp, Major-General Sir C. Fergusson said that his and the men's sympathies were with Ulster, and that he hoped that they would not be compelled to take up arms against her, though if they were ordered there they would loyally obey.

We got out of the Irish bog of vague rumours and were on the firmer ground of more precise statements, if not of facts, when the *Morning Post* declared on Saturday the 21st March that all the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade resigned and that Colonel Seely's Secretary, questioned on the subject, replied that the War Office had received similar rumours. The *Daily Mail* supported this statement and stated that on the receipt of the rumours Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill and Colonel Seely conferred with the War Office staff on the 21st, and subsequently Mr. Churchill summoned Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, the First Naval Lord, to the Admiralty. Later it was reported that a number of officers at Aldershot had also resigned. The Conservative papers continued to publish alarmist reports. They asserted that the Dorsets, who were reported to have mutinied, were being kept prisoners in barracks; but, Renter added, this was probably an exaggeration of the fact that all troops in Ulster were for the moment confined to barracks. The *Observer* was more explicit and asserted that Sir Arthur Paget had visited the Carragh on Friday, the 20th March, and had given General Gough two hours to decide whether he would take command in Ulster or resign and that General Gough resigned immediately.

Subsequently more details were received and it was learnt that on March 20th the War Office had requested all officers who were not prepared for active service in Ulster to send in their papers, and that in twelve hours seventy out of seventy-five officers, including Brigadier General Gough, had done so. As a result of a War Office conference on the night of Friday, the 20th March, General Sir Arthur Paget had conferred on the following day with the senior officers who had resigned and had intimated that the War

Office was willing to accept the resignation of Brigadier-General Gough and Major Kearsely, but not of the others, who, if they disobeyed orders, would be liable to be court-martialed. It was stated that these two officers declined the special treatment offered, and said they would stand or fall with their brother officers. General Sir Arthur Paget had then intimated that the movement of troops was at present only for the protection of the Government property and for the assistance of the police in maintaining order, and it was stated that in view of this assurance the officers eventually agreed to go to Ulster, but definitely stated that they would not participate in hostilities against the so-called Loyalists who were preparing to resist Home Rule if enacted into law by the King in Parliament. This extremely "loyal" decision was telegraphed to Whitehall, after which General Gough and two other officers were reported to have been summoned to London where they visited the War Office on Sunday, the 22nd March. It was also reported that a number of officers had left the Curragh on special leave, and that their resignations had not been accepted, because, if they had been, the officers would have been free to join the Ulster volunteers. Evidently the spirit shown by the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade was contagious, for it was reported that many resignations had also been tendered in the Infantry and the Artillery Brigades at Dublin, the Curragh, Newbridge and Kildare, though up to that time all infantry and artillery ordered north had gone without demur. General Gough's brother Brigadier-General John Gough, of the Aldershot Command, had also resigned, and it was reported that a number of other officers at Aldershot were in readiness to resign if they were ordered to Ireland.

The *Observer*, while publishing the news of General Gough's choice, had exhorted all officers to resign, declaring that they would be supported by the Unionists. This promise was fulfilled to this extent, at least that, Sir Marcus Samuel offered £10,000 to start a fund in aid of the families of officers who were resigning. The temper of the Party of "law and order" which has so repeatedly clamoured for "Martial Law and no Damn Nonsense" in India, can be judged from the tone of its papers, which were jubilant over what they described as the Government's abject climb-down from coercive demonstration in Ireland to humiliating explanations in the House of Commons because the instrument which they had thought to use had broken in their hands. The Conservative Press acclaimed General Gough as the man of the hour and paid tribute to the band of officers who, they said, had saved the country from disaster. The *Morning Post* urged the House of Lords to amend the Army Annual Act to prevent the Army from being used in Ulster. According to Belfast papers, the Danganon volunteers had wired to the 16th Lancers congratulating them on their firm stand, which, according to them, had prevented the "loyal" minority of their countrymen from being wiped out.

Let us now hear how the Liberals regarded the whole affair. The Liberal papers, while proclaiming the failure of the Tory attempt to split the Army, declared that the limit of patience had been reached. The *Daily News* said if the Army was to be used as a Tory institution to coerce the House of Commons, "we shall democratize it as we democratized Parliament." Military conspirators against Parliament should, in its view, be broken mercilessly and never co-admitted to the Army. The *Daily Chronicle*, commenting in a similar strain, said it would have been more agreeable to the Liberals if the officers had been sent about their business. The Government had delayed too long in dealing with indiscipline.

As regards General Gough's return to duty, while the *Daily Chronicle* averred that he had rejoined unconditionally, the *Daily News* appeared to be ignorant of this and said it was most important to know on what conditions General Gough had returned. The *Times*, however, declared, that General Gough had received a written assurance from the Government that the troops would not be used to coerce Ulster. The *Daily Mail* said that General Gough had telegraphed to the 16th Lancers that all the officers would be reinstated without loss of prestige, while the *Morning Post* said that high officers in the War Office and throughout the Army had threatened to resign if General Gough and his comrades were penalized and that Staff resignations were still probable. When General Gough and Colonel MacEwen returned to the Curragh they had an enthusiastic reception, the troops escorting them to their quarters. On that occasion General Gough announced that troops would not be asked to go to Ulster or, if they were, they would not be asked to carry arms.

We have reproduced the reports cabled to this country as faithfully as possible so that our readers may get a connected account of the preparations made by Government to meet the Ulster crisis, the activity of Ulster volunteers, the commotion in the country and the sensational outburst of the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade following on the fraternizing of the troops with the volunteers and the reported mutiny of the Dorsets. We have also given a narrative of the Gough incident as cabled to India by instalments and the opinions of the newspapers of the two Parties and their

surmises as regards the terms on which General Gough rejoined. But it did not seem clear from the newspaper reports cabled to India whether General Gough had returned to duty unconditionally or on the receipt of some assurances, nor indeed was the narrative free from a certain amount of mystery as to the origin of the Gough incident. For this we have to piece together the telegrams sent by Reuter as regards the various explanations offered by the Government, and we must say it is an extremely difficult task, though we cannot say whether the difficulty is due to the summarizing of Reuter or to the halting and disjointed character of the Government's explanations.

It appears that some months ago when the Government were considering the question of a possible disturbance of the peace in Ulster on the passage of the Home Rule Bill, Colonel Seely, the Secretary of State for War, had an interview on the 12th of December last with General Officers Commanding, in the course of which he made a statement to them with reference to the duty of soldiers in the event of disorders in Ulster. Attempts had been made to dissuade the troops from obeying lawful orders when supporting the civil power; so Colonel Seely, while explaining the law on the subject, informed the Generals that he would hold each of them responsible for seeing that there was no conduct subversive of discipline and warned that such conduct would be dealt with forthwith under the King's Regulations. Now that the Government were making preparations in Ulster for all eventualities, it seems that General Sir Arthur Paget Commanding the troops in Ireland, had occasion to make a statement with regard to them on the 20th March, and in reference to this verbal communication from the War Office through Sir Arthur Paget, General Gough asked for a clear definition of the terms "duty as ordered" and "active operations." Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons is said to have read a statement from General Sir Arthur Paget to officers that active operations were to commence against Ulster and that the country would be ablaze by Saturday. Mr. Asquith in replying to Mr. Bonar Law referred to Colonel Seely's interview with the Generals last December, and added that they were assured that officers domiciled in Ulster would be exempted. He said that the War Office gave General Sir Arthur Paget no instructions concerning the conquering of Ulster, and that the only instructions sent to him were those of the previous week for the movements of troops which was purely a protective one. Under the circumstances we do not know what instructions Sir Arthur Paget gave to the officers, and it is not possible to say whether Sir Arthur Paget interpreted the Government's instructions incorrectly or that, as the Conservative papers declare, he has been made a scapegoat. It, however, appears that General Gough, while asking for a clear definition of the terms "duty as ordered" and "active operations," said that if "duty" consisted of the preservation of property and the maintenance of order, all officers in the Brigade would carry out their duty, but that if it involved initiation of active military operations against Ulster, "the following officers respectfully and under protest" preferred to be dismissed. General Gough is then said to have detailed the names of sixty officers of his Brigade. It is stated that Sir Arthur Paget reported to the War Office at midnight on March 23rd that the Brigadier and 57 officers of the Cavalry preferred to accept dismissal if they were ordered north. Further it is stated that Colonel Seely replied immediately authorising General Paget to suspend any senior officer who resigned or otherwise disputed his authority, ordering General Gough and others to report themselves at the War Office forthwith and directing that they be relieved of their commands. He is also alleged to have stated that officers were being sent to replace them and that the resignations of all officers should be refused. This statement is in violent conflict with another, according to which General Gough wrote on the 23rd March asking the Adjutant-General on behalf of his officers whether in the event of Home Rule becoming law they could be called upon to enforce it upon Ulster, and that the reply was sent the same day authorising General Gough to inform the officers that the Army Council was satisfied that the incident connected with the resignations was due to a misunderstanding, Government having had no intention whatever of taking advantage of the right to use the troops to support the civil power in maintaining law and order for the object of crushing political opposition to the policy and principles of Home Rule.

We do not know how to reconcile these two statements, unless we presume that the midnight report to the War Office was sent not on March 23rd, but on March 20th, specially as General Gough and other officers are reported to have visited the War Office in response to the summons on Sunday March 22nd, and the *Times* of the 23rd published that the attitude of the Government towards the resignations of officers was that they were due to honest misunderstanding and that there would be no penalisation. Thus, the question about enforcing Home Rule arose on the Friday the 20th March when Brigadier General Gough and the officers of the Third Cavalry Brigade offered to resign rather initiate active military co-operations. The War Office was informed of it the same night and was reported to have been very firm in its reply

which was despatched immediately. On Saturday, the 21st March, there was another interview between Sir Arthur Paget and the officers, who evidently stood their ground, and on the receipt of this information were summoned by the War Office to London. On Sunday the 22nd March, they visited the War Office, and it was after this that the Government discovered the "honest misunderstanding" to which the *Times* referred on Monday, the 28th March. On that a conference was held at the War Office between Col. Seely and Sir Arthur Paget, and Brigadier General Gough and the Irish officers and several Aldershot officers were also called to the War Office. A full Cabinet meeting was held after this conference and Mr. Asquith was able to confirm in the House of Commons the same evening what the *Times* had published about the "honest misunderstanding" in the morning. Thus the crisis of the officers' resignations with reference to the question whether the Army could be forced to coerce Ulster was averted, but it was averted only at the cost of a still greater crisis with reference to the question whether the Army could ask for and obtain assurances from Government about the manner in which it would be employed by the Civil power. With this, the more important question, we shall deal in our next issue, and bring out the facts of the case and the views of the two political Parties in England.

Hindu-Muslim Entente.

It was some time ago that we noted with extreme pleasure the announcement that the Hon. Sir James Meston was willing to co-operate heartily if the Hindus and the Mussalmans of unfortunately the most disunited Province, misnamed "the United Provinces," met together in a conference for the purpose of discussing the Hindu-Muslim problem and invited His Honour to preside. Those were the days when we expected the millennium to be effectively ushered in during His Honour's quinquennium. Since then much water has flowed by the Sangam, and the millennium appears at least as distant as ever. To none has recent experience tasted more like gall and wormwood than to ourselves, but it is not always possible to shatter the world into little bits and remould it after the heart's desire. We have, therefore, refrained from grumbling, and are quite content to pursue the same policy. But in public affairs only those can sit smiling like *Patience* on a monument that feel public misfortunes less poignantly than their own trivial worries. If, therefore, we turn our attention to the affairs of the United Provinces, which is perhaps dearer to us than any other part of this sub-continent, it is because it would pain us at least as much as any other person in the world to see the two great communities inhabiting the province drifting away still more from each other.

We are not so wedded to the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in government that the least inclination on the part of the Administration to participate in the affairs of the people would appear to us to be the indication of some deep-laid plot against them. But it does seem to us somewhat odd that when no responsible representatives of the Hindus and the Mohammedans have called together a conference such as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor suggested, and no one to our knowledge has invited Sir James Meston to preside. His Honour should go out of his way and himself call together such a conference under his own chairmanship. Surely he cannot be unaware of the suspicions to which publicity has already been given by some vernacular papers which have since been punished for it under the Press Act. In the face of these circumstances, it is an extremely courageous act to take the initiative in such a matter. But if Sir James Meston is determined to show to the world the utter baselessness of such suspicions, by himself doing that which he had at first suggested to others, and which they have hitherto failed to do, and is confident of bringing the Hindus and the Mussalmans closer to each other than they have been in the past, then we must say he has done the right thing, and whosoever admires courage, determination and self-reliance would feel great respect and genuine admiration for the bold policy of Sir James Meston. As this is the most favourable interpretation upon His Honour's action, we readily accept it, and it would be extremely unfair to him if by any comment of ours we prejudiced the conference which Sir James has called. In fact we pine for the result and care not who achieves it and how. The enterprise is admittedly a difficult one, and if Sir James Meston carries it to a successful issue, no one will offer him a heartier tribute of praise and gratitude than ourselves.

But we hope we may be permitted to say this much, that although His Honour has included in the list of those invited to this conference practically every true representative of the Hindu community, his selection of the Mussalmans is one that does not augur well for the success of the conference. From the very first we have suggested to His Honour that he has placed wrong values on leading Mussalmans and has sought advice only from those that are prone to receive advice and accept advice without the least

demur, and we are sorry to see that even after considerable experience in recent days Sir James Meston leans heavily on the old broken reed. We have learnt, though we cannot vouch for its accuracy, that the following gentlemen will represent the Mussalmans. The Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Jehangirabad, the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Pirpur, the Hon. Shaikh Shahid Hossain, the Hon. Mr. Abdur Raof, the Hon. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, Nawab Mehdi Hossain of Lucknow, Nawab Abdul Majid, C. I. E., Maulana Syed Karamat Hossain, Nawab Ishaq Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Mr. Hamid Ali Khan. These gentlemen have to confer with Mr. Bishan Narain Dar, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Sunder Lal, the Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Mr. Ganga Pershad Varma and some others. Without exaggerating the ability of these Hindu gentlemen, we can say that the Mohammedan gentlemen invited to confer with them are not likely to do justice to the community to which they belong in any discussion of rights and responsibilities. Most of them belong to the class beloved of the officials and known as the "natural leaders of the people." On the other hand, the Hindu gentlemen are not the "natural," but the *real*, leaders of their community.

Passing to the omissions, nobody can fail to miss the name of the Hon. Syed Riza Ali, the *only* elected Mussalman member of the Council who is not invited. Without suggesting that no other elected member truly represents his community, we may say without fear of contradiction—except from the uninformed or the perverse—that the Hon. Syed Riza Ali represents a very considerable body of Muslim opinion, and by dint of sheer ability has established for himself both in his profession and in public affairs a position second to none among the elected members of the U.P. Council. What is more, he can be trusted to be independent in the expression of his opinions, and it is difficult to assign any reason for his omission which does not support the popular belief that Sir James Meston is not an admirer of his bold advocacy of the claims of his community. No less remarkable is the omission of the name of Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who is the chief executive officer of the All-India Muslim League, which, according to the recent Deputation to the Viceroy, "has ever since its establishment continued to be the true representative organisation of Indian Mussalmans." Now we fail to see what the Muslim League and its Secretary have done to merit this neglect. If it is the ideal of self-government suitable for India, then why has Sir James been so remarkably affectionate towards the National Congress Committee in Allahabad where the ideal of Colonial self-government was evolved even earlier? Does His Honour think that self-government suited to India is more inconsistent with the British connection than Colonial self-government, or that Mr. Wazir Hasan is less friendly to the English, say, than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or Mr. Varma? Mr. Wazir Hasan has taken a prominent part in advocating a Hindu-Muslim *entente*, and, in fact, this is his chief crime in the eyes of a certain type of officials. To leave him out of such a conference requires an explanation other than the plea of inadvertence. Again, we miss the name of Mr. Syed Nabiullah, the President of an annual session of the All-India Muslim League. We do not find the name of Sir-izaz-Adab Ahmed Khan in the list, though we have since learnt that he is likely to be asked. Mr. Alay Nabl is the President of the Provincial Muslim League, and we do not understand on what grounds he has been excluded. Can it be that our latest and youngest King-Maker, the very masterful Secretary of the Provincial League, refrained from nominating him?

The Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad is no doubt there, and he is the solitary member in whom the majority of the Muslim community could put implicit faith. But his inclusion has not even the doubtful virtue of consistency, and we wonder whether he would be able to accomplish anything in the company of such strange bad-fellows as Dame Fortune has provided for him. We do not know whether this goodly dozen of the "natural leaders" of the Mussalmans would be able to get any section of the Mussalmans to abide by their decision except that which, like them, has the great quality of abiding by the decisions of every officer of the Government. It was superfluous to invite them to this conference when the decision of the Government itself would have proved equally efficacious with the action of *Ja-hoolians* in the Muslim community.

We do not know what procedure the conference would follow, but all the Hindus and the Mussalmans alike await the result of its deliberations. What we fear is that the conference would not be able to influence the attitude of any Mussalman towards the Hindus, and if it proves abortive, it may be advertised as another indication of the hopelessness of unity between the two communities and of the absolute necessity of an impartial European arbitrator with the fullest powers to prevent breaches of peace and "to hold the balance even." But this is by no means the worst of our fears. An abortive conference may possibly strain the relations of the two communities still further and may well take rank with the Ajudhya and Agra troubles of last year. *Abol. omes.*

Indians and South Africa

(By ASIATICUS)

THE partial truce which has been declared between the Indians in South Africa and the Union Government affords an opportunity for examining certain aspects of the Indian immigration question which are too often disregarded. In this matter the first duty of the onlooker in Great Britain, who stands outside the range of the dispute, is not to take sides. There has been too much taking of sides. The Indian leaders in Natal are men of high principles and honest purpose, but their tactics have not always been discreet. The march of the passive resisters to the Transvaal frontier was a device which can perhaps be excused, since it was peaceably conducted, and was chiefly meant to draw swift attention to a situation which to the Indians seemed intolerable. When two thousand Indians allowed themselves to be arrested by forty policemen, clearly they were not out for mischief. But the refusal of the Indian leaders to appear and give evidence before the Commission of Enquiry was a mistake, as even Mr. Gokhale seems guardedly to have acknowledged. They, be it remembered, were the accusers; and Sir Richard Solomon pointed out at the first sitting that though the Commission had asked for specific allegations, none had been received. Mr. Gandhi and his followers took exception to two members of the Commission, on the ground that they were prejudiced. They therefore declined to attend the enquiry. There was some talk of an oath to which they had subscribed; but considering how important it is for them to make a good impression upon English public opinion, they would have been wiser had they smothered their objections and given their testimony.

Another phase of the trouble which had unfortunate results was the undoubtedly exaggerated telegrams which were sent to India about the alleged treatment of Indians in Natal. There is no question now that many of the statements made could not be substantiated. Some of them have been carefully investigated by competent tribunals, whose fairness cannot be challenged. There have been cases of ill-treatment, but the inflammatory stories which roused India to burning wrath were largely without foundation. Yet the mischief has been done. The allegations telegraphed to India have obtained wide currency, and are generally credited despite official denials. They have brought into the ranks of the agitation in India large numbers of moderate men who usually keep aloof from politics, and many violent speeches have been made which had better have been left unsaid. It is not suggested here that there was no justification for the widespread indignation manifested in India. What is urged is that it was based upon exaggerations, and that it was excessive and in some respects unreasonable in expression.

There is one other point which must be noted in order to clear the ground. An outburst of feeling which found its chief—and most moderate—interpreter in the Viceroy, who was echoed by men of all classes and creeds, must necessarily be received with respect. But the great weakness of the recent agitation in India is that it is extraordinarily belated. The grievances of Indians in South Africa are no new things. Mr. Gandhi, to his credit be it said, was expounding them twenty years ago. Sir Francis Younghusband, in a letter to the *Times*, has described how in 1896 he spent an evening with Mr. Gandhi and his friends at Durban, at a time when Natal volunteers were trying to prevent the landing of Indians. The men in India who are loudest to-day in denouncing the attitude of the Union Government were in public life in 1896, and knew all about the South African problem. They were repeatedly asked to take it up, but remained practically silent. The National Congress gave no earnest aid to Mr. Gandhi in those days. The only effective help he was able to obtain in India was from the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian Press. When he wanted a spokesman to plead the cause of his followers, he had to turn, not to Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the rest, but to Sir Muncherjee Bhownagroe, the sworn foe of the Congress, who year in and year out laboured strenuously, but largely in vain, to awaken public opinion in England and in India to a consciousness of the disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

Why was it that Mr. Gandhi was left for so many years in the wilderness, while the Congress leaders, who are now so vehement, turned a deaf ear to his appeal? The reason was that the Congress was looking for reforms in India, which they hoped to receive from English Radicals; and the leaders had conceived a hazy and possibly quite wrong-headed idea that if they pressed the South African question too much they might embarrass their own cause. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was worrying President Kruger a good deal about the position of Indians in the Transvaal. The Congress thought it discreet not to back up too prominently so ardent an Imperialist. I have had the curiosity to search the addresses of Presidents of the Congress from the very first meeting in 1885. Not one of them made the faintest allusion to the South African question in their Presidential addresses until 1902, when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee referred to it. The only other occasion, until recently, when the grievances were mentioned, was in the address of Sir Henry Cotton in 1904. It is true that from 1894 onward the Congress in most years passed a perfunctory resolution on the subject. It was usually carried without discussion, and sometimes

it was merely embedded in the "omnibus" resolution with which the assembly is wont to wipe out miscellaneous questions about which nobody cares.

In 1904 I ventured to make an appeal to the Congress leaders—one of many such—to take up the cause of the Indians in South Africa. Upon that occasion I wrote:

If the Congress had been really practical, if it had desired—and known how—to make its voice ring throughout the Empire, it would long ere this have held great meetings in every city in India to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Here is alive, an important, a really burning question, which affects the rights of India. What has the Congress done to make the views of the people of India heard in this connection? Practically nothing. Not a single public meeting has been specially held with regard to this controversy. And if one was called, how many would attend? The only serviceable champion the Indians in South Africa have found is Sir Muncherjee Bhownagroe.

To that and other appeals there was absolutely no response, and it was another seven or eight years before the leaders of the Congress, or any public men in India, began to take an interest in the South African issue. Yet the poll tax of £3, of which so much is now heard, dates, I believe, from the seventies; President Kruger inflicted his registration tax in 1885; and the "Natal Act" was passed in 1897. My point is this. No one questions the sincerity and force of public feeling on this matter in India to-day; but the speakers who are now loudest in their denunciations of the Union Government must not complain if onlookers say that, however sincere, they have waited overlong. They are no doubt eager now to redress the wrongs of their compatriots, but it would also seem that they are not reluctant, at a critical stage in Indian history, to deepen the prejudices against British rule. The motives of some among them, in short, are not wholly single-minded, and the thought should serve to chasten their unbridled utterances. All that is sound in what they are now saying ought to have been said by them at least ten years ago.

I turn to the larger question, to the issue which far transcends in importance the precise grievances of Indians in South Africa, to the feeling which has brought thousands of moderate and loyal Indians into line in this agitation. Behind the South African grievances lies the whole complex problem of the future status of Indians in the British Empire. It is a problem which will tax to the utmost the resources of British statesmanship; but it must be solved some day if we are to preserve our rule in India. We have talked far too long of holding India with the sword. In the last resort we must still do so; but 75,000 white troops will not for ever control 315,000,000 of people without their full and free consent. The task which still confronts English statesmen is that of persuading the people of India to be willing citizens of the British Empire. We have to convince them that they will be better and safer and happier and more prosperous if they remain within the Empire than if they turn their energies to schemes for passing outside it. Only by arousing India to a consciousness of the advantages of the British connection, and to a realisation of the dangers which will beset the country if it drifts apart, can we hope to maintain our administration in the stormy days which assuredly lie ahead. But what does British citizenship mean for Indians? The question is being asked by many thoughtful Indians to-day, and no very satisfactory answer is forthcoming. The Englishman, the white dweller in the Dominions, can pass at will throughout the Empire, certain of protection and free movement. The Indian who leaves his own country finds almost impassable barriers erected against him in the self-governing Dominions. He is a British subject, he may be sober, industrious, loyal, a clean and honest liver; but his rights of British citizenship will not carry him into South Africa, or Canada, or Australia. Not unnaturally he asks how he can be expected to cling to the British Crown, or to fight for the British Empire, when he is treated as unworthy of admittance to many of its most favoured lands.

Lord Morley said once that if we would understand the Indian peoples aright, we must try to get into their skins. Let me quote words recently uttered by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, an extremely able and loyal Mohomedan who has worked for many years as an unofficial member of various administrative bodies. He is a man of calm judgment and moderate views, and in the following passage he expresses the attitude of most intelligent Indians to-day.

The wider question can no longer be postponed but must now be faced, and that question is, "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire?" Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of his Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of his Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious Proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal Proclamations of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocal manner that we are citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada, and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have therefore every right to ask the British

Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the power which legally vests in her to ensure to us such rights and privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organise means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity. Retaliation is a bad word, but it has been freely used in this connection, and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for....

We will have to consider and devise means which, while being perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian officials are supporting our cause and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English Press is sufficiently outspoken. We have therefore to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against component parts of the mighty British Empire, but the fault entirely lies with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course from the Imperial standpoint will be deplorable.

There is the issue from the Indian point of view packed small; and when the controversy grows more acute, as it is bound to do, it is to be hoped that responsible statesmen in the Dominions will realise that the Indian point of view cannot be ignored in England. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula's too expansive conception of the powers and responsibilities of English Ministers need not be examined. The thing to remember is that if the problem is not some day solved, our position in India may be imperilled. It is not merely the problem of settling the exact conditions upon which Indians may obtain access to the Dominions. It is far more a problem of finding some form of settlement which will make them content with their status as British citizens. At present they are not content; the grievances of their countrymen breed hostility; and we cannot afford to permit the development of further hostility to our rule if remedies exist. The retention of India, and of a contented India, is essential to the well-being of the Empire as a whole. The sea-borne trade of India is the largest within the Empire, save only that of the United Kingdom. India sends far more food and raw material to this country than any of the Dominions. She purchases far more British produce and manufactures than any of the Dominions, and her needs make her the mainstay of the cotton mills of Lancashire. The permanent estrangement of the people of India, with its consequent results upon trade, would mean the infliction of a vital blow upon our national prosperity. Moreover, it is estimated that £350,000,000 of British capital is in various ways invested in India. The problem, looked at in this way, cuts deep. It ceases to be a matter of taxes and licences in South Africa, and becomes an issue fraught with the most momentous meaning. The Dominions should not ignore these aspects of the question, for they in their turn are deeply concerned. The welfare of the Empire means the welfare of all its component and interdependent parts.

On the other hand, Indians such as Mr. Gokhale and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula, who really speak for their countrymen, may be counselled to remember certain considerations which are not very visible in their speeches. The fact is that, not only for Indians, but for all subjects of the Crown, there is often a very great difference between the theory of British citizenship and the practice of its rights. I have said that the Englishman can pass at will throughout the Empire, but in practice that is not really the case. Canada, for instance, occasionally rejects British immigrants on various grounds, the chief ones being poverty and physical incapacity. Australia can exercise somewhat similar powers. We need not go outside India to discover that States controlling their own affairs by no means maintain an open door. The protected States of India are under the suzerainty of the British Crown, but they possess, and frequently exercise, the right to exclude not only Englishmen, but even British Indians, from their territories. The laws which prevent Englishmen from acquiring land in various protected States of India are sometimes regarded as a considerable grievance. Most great communities in the world, both within and outside the British Empire, now claim and employ the right to scrutinise strangers and if necessary to refuse entry within their borders.

One meets with curious examples when travelling. In Canada, I think at Moose Jaw, I was once called upon to pay a poll tax of many dollars before being permitted to cross into the United States. The reason was that, although a European, I happened to have entered the American Continent from the Far East.

Indians must exercise patience in regard to the larger claims they base upon their status as British citizens. They are perfectly justified in pressing, within reasonable bounds, for some amelioration of the lot of their countrymen who have been already admitted to the self-governing Dominions. Happily in South Africa there now seems some prospect of an amicable settlement of Indian grievances, the rights and wrongs of which I shall not further discuss here. The larger plea for freedom to move and to live anywhere in the Empire is another matter. The time is not ripe for its consideration; probably it will never be ripe; and it may be added that at present there seems no sufficient reason why it should ever ripen. The disabilities of Indians in South Africa and Canada are things apart, which should be dealt with in a conciliatory way. The claim for free movement for all is not now a substantial grievance, and never has been. Enormous though the population of India is, there is room enough for all, and to spare, within the confines of the Indian Empire. India is not over-populated, but the population requires redistribution in certain areas; and it is also necessary to detach a larger proportion from the land and induce them to follow industrial pursuits. If Natal planters require Indian hands, so do employers of labour in India, who are constantly complaining of the difficulty they find in getting men. Far from desiring to emigrate, the bulk of the Indian peoples still shrink with dismay from the prospect of crossing the Black Water. India has not sent of her best to South Africa and Canada. The Sikh, in particular, seems to degenerate in the atmosphere of British Columbia. For these and other reasons, it may be held that the claim of the spokesmen of India for a more ample and practical definition of their rights of citizenship—if any—in the Dominions has no conspicuous urgency. It may well await the time when India is in a more advanced state of development, and when the Dominions have grown to greater maturity.

There remains, however, one duty which is now incumbent upon the Dominions. They should make access to their territories easier for Indians of good standing who are simply travellers, and have no desire to settle overseas. Two of the greatest of Indian princes have in turn told me that they would very much like to visit Australia, but are reluctant to do so because they fear they might experience unpleasant difficulties. One prince whose name is a household word in India actually arranged to visit Australia some years ago, but refrained because he was informed from the highest quarters in the Commonwealth that he might have a disagreeable reception. In these cases I was afterwards the means of conveying an official assurance that the apprehensions expressed were unfounded, as I fully believe they were. Mr. Gokhale has testified to the friendly welcome given him in South Africa. Yet such incidents as I have noted ought never to have occurred, and accredited Indians of position should be permitted to travel in the Dominions with as much freedom as Englishmen. The concession of better facilities to them would go a long way to ease the present strain.—*National Review*.

Honours.

Lord Selborne's Motion.

London, Feb. 23.

THE Earl of Selborne rose to move the following resolution:—

That a contribution to party funds should not be a consideration to a Minister when he recommends any name for an honour to his Majesty: that effectual measures should be taken in order to assure the nation that Governments, from whatever political party they are drawn, will act according to this rule; and that this House requests the concurrence of the House of Commons in the foregoing resolution.

Before I pass to the subject-matter of the motion (he said) I desire to make some preliminary observations. The Crown is the fount of all honour in this country, but the Crown bestows honours in two different ways. Sometimes the Sovereign acts on his own motion, and at other times he acts on the advice of his Ministers. Nothing I am going to say to-day refers to those honours which the Crown gives of its own grace. I refer only to those which it bestows on the advice of his Ministers. Again, I must make a distinction in that case. There is a certain class of honours, perhaps the most important class, in respect of the gift of which I have never heard a word of adverse criticism. I mean those honours which are conferred on the Civil Service and on the Navy and Army. Those are always given for meritorious public service or very brilliant public service, and nothing I am going to say to-day refers to that class of honours, though I must confess I fear that, unless the present tendency receives a salutary check, the day will come when someone will offer to buy a Victoria Cross. I shall only treat of those honours which are given to the public at large on the advice of Ministers, and I shall mainly refer to those which are known as political honours.

There is a prevalent belief—I do not think I should be guilty of exaggeration if I were to say a very widely prevalent belief—that persons are often recommended for these honours whom no one would have thought of so recommending if they had not contributed largely to party funds. (Hear, hear.) That prevalent belief takes three forms. I know, not only from the Press, but from a very voluminous correspondence on this subject, it is believed that persons who have social ambitions, or whose wives have social ambitions, who have really no claim at all to receive an honour, believe that they can purchase it if they go to the right place. Again, the belief takes this form, that there have been cases where social ambition has never entered into the soul of the individual, a rich man, but where he has been tempted and where an honour has actually been hawked to him on condition that he would make this contribution. The third case is of rather a different kind, but of a very grave kind. It is the case of men who have really done public service, whom public opinion would be very content to see honoured, and who have had pressure—I would almost say brutal pressure—put upon them to make a contribution to party funds that they did not wish, and in some cases could not afford to make. If it were necessary I could quote sheaves of cuttings from the public Press to prove the prevalence of this belief and from newspapers covering the whole field of political opinion. And, further, every playgoer knows that this matter of the sale of honours is now openly scoffed at in the theatre, and it is even flung across the floor of the House of Commons as a taunt from one member to another.

THE EVIL AND THE PRESTIGE OF THE CROWN.

I may say at once that this prevalent belief applies to both political parties. Both the great political parties have held office, the evil is a growth of our party system, and both political parties are responsible for it. I think, therefore, your lordships will see at once the point of view from which I am asking the House to consider this question. I will begin with a confession. If you ask me to prove, in a Court of law, one single case, I could not do it, though I have been the recipient of many confidences. Still, though I could not prove a single case, I am not ashamed to say that I believe that there are grounds for the prevalence of this belief. Moreover, I fear the evil is growing and that it will continue to grow unless it is checked by public opinion. I will first of all ask, "Is it an evil?" Certain of the most cynical amongst my friends shrug their shoulders and say it is not an evil and that it is prudery or pedantry to make a fuss about it. But I should not have brought the matter before the House if I did not believe it was an evil.

I think it is an evil with many sides to it, but the two on which I wish to lay stress are the injurious effect of this belief on the prestige of the Crown and on the lowering of the standard of public morality. (Cheers.) This is not the occasion to talk about loyalty, but, altogether apart from that, is it not true that thinking men of all parties are feeling more and more the great value of a Constitutional Monarchy as a public institution? (Hear, hear.) As we regard the working of other forms of government in other countries, I think we more and more congratulate ourselves that we possess a Constitutional Monarchy, and those who believe, as I do, that the Empire is a great force and an increasing power for human happiness and for the peace of the world, value the Monarchy because we know that under no other system whatever could the Empire be held together. Therefore, any influence which affects the prestige of the Monarchy, of the Crown, must be a great public evil. Is it possible that this belief that honours which proceed from the Crown can be acquired by wealth, by whomsoever sold or howsoever got, can be prevalent and the prestige of the Crown not be affected? We know that in this case, if the evil exists, as I believe it does, the fount is wholly undefiled, and that the source of pollution is elsewhere.

THE HALL-MARK OF HONOUR.

What about public morality? Surely it does matter whether the hall-mark of honour is to be genius or noble life or position or public service, or whether the hall-mark of honour is to be simply wealth by whomsoever owned and however begotten. Therefore, I say that it does affect the standard of public morality, because if the Crown selects men of genius and noble life and of great public service and honour it must be a support to the standard of public duty throughout the nation; whereas, if the opposite is the case and honours are just as easily or more easily acquired by those who fulfill none of these qualifications, but have simply bought them—then, I say, the standard of public duty and the service which flows from a sense of duty are dangerously impaired. Consider, if you believe as I do that the system of honours properly used is a good system and a valuable institution in the State, must it not be true that the value of honours will in time be fatally impaired if they can be bought? What possible object can a man of genius have in accepting an honour which a man who is not only not a man of genius, but who has no qualifications except wealth, shares equally with himself? There are those, of course, who think there should be no honours. There are countries in which in theory there are no titular distinctions, but I notice that in practice distinctions exist, and I am prepared

to argue that honours properly bestowed are a real incentive to public service, social and national, and that they are in accordance with the good sense and the reason of most men. Surley it is a good thing when the King fixes on the self-sacrifice of some miner or railwayman or seaman or soldier and marks him publicly in the eyes of the whole nation, and I think any sensible man feels satisfaction and personal gratification when the King confers an honour on such a man as the noble viscount opposite (Lord Morley) or the noble earl on the cross-benches, or when he crowns the career of a man like Mr. Burt by making him a Privy Councillor. I think it is quite reasonable that honours should be conferred on men of genius or of noble life or of position, or who have performed valuable public service, or who represented families or houses that have done so, provided always that the private lives of these men have been clean and honourable. My conception of public service is, I admit at once, a very wide one, and I think it ought to be very wide. In public service I include service to the State whether Imperial, Parliamentary, or municipal, and, of course, I include party service. Some people think that party service ought not to be included. But what would be the consequence? Under our system a very large number of our most valuable public servants always have been and always will be party men. Then, of course, I include eminence in commerce and manufacture, eminence in art, including, of course, the stage, in literature, including, of course, journalism, in science, and public benevolence and munificence, I do not mean for a moment that this list is exhaustive, but it is a very wide one.

The scandal, the grievous scandal, as I submit it to be, one which public opinion ought to kill, is that a man whom no one would otherwise think of recommending for an honour is able to buy it just as he would a picture.

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

Just as there are those who say there ought not to be honours, there are those who say there ought not to be party funds. That is a very big question, and a very serious question. I notice that the *Nation* calls this question of party funds the Achilles heel of the Liberal Party. I think the simile rather strained. I should have thought the militarism of Achilles would make him an unsuitable prototype of the Liberal Party. The simile of the *Nation* brought another one to my mind. Would it not be true to say that this greed of all political parties for money with which to run the party machinery is the clay foot of Democracy? (Cheers.) Just think how this question is mixed up with all we call popular movements. They cannot be worked by either party without money, and no party can do without money and without titles.

Look at the last instance, the Lund Campaign, of which the Government have appointed Mr. George as manager. That campaign consists in speeches and organization, for both of which Mr. George is responsible. But in making his speeches a duke is just as indispensable to Mr. George as a mother-in-law is to the editor of a comic paper. (Laughter.) I hope noble dukes in this House will forgive me when I say that they and Mr. George are becoming bores. The point is, that just as fictitious proceedings attributed to dukes are the basis of Mr. George's speeches, so the actual contributions of those who want to be dukes are the basis of his organization. (Laughter.) I am very glad the noble marquess (the Marquess of Lincolnshire) has come into the House, because he is the patron saint of this organization. There was an inquiry, perfunctory and illusory, it is true, but it must have been very costly, and now this programme is being preached all over the country by means of an immense organization. Am I to be told that his organization is financed by the mites of Liberal widows, or by a kind of Peter's pence of the Liberal Party; or perhaps I should say St. Paul's pence, because a noble lord opposite told us the other day that the only person worthy of comparison with Mr. George was St. Paul? No one will believe that this very elaborate and costly organization is only financed by the mites of the Liberal widow. Why do the two parties want money? And they want more and more every year. It is because a very large proportion of the democracy take no interest in politics, know nothing about them, and would not take the trouble to vote unless a refusal to do so became more irksome than acquiescence in going to the poll. It is the necessity of endeavouring to educate this large part of the democracy, however superficially, and above all of having machinery which will bring the last man to the poll, however unwilling he may be, which has forced both parties to cry out more and more and more for money.

THE SECRET INFLUENCE OF WEALTH.

Think of the incongruity of the position. Just at the very moment when those who pay most taxes have least political power, and when there is a real danger lest certain forms of property should be the subject of unjust legislation—just at that very moment wealth, as mere wealth, and without responsibility, has the most opportunity of illicit and secret influence. (Cheers.) We are not the only

country, that has had this experience. There is a noble lord, one of the most distinguished members of our House, who might be able to tell us that in other countries it has happened that those who have found the money for a party have eventually also dictated its policy. Who can say there is no danger that the same sordid fate will not befall us? Men will dispute to the crack of doom as to the respective merits of different forms of government, but I say without hesitation that the very worst fate that could befall a country is to be governed by an alliance of the caucus and the plutocrat. (Cheers.) Remember, the more the honours flowing from the Crown are depreciated the more influence you are throwing into the hand of what is known as the plutocracy. (Cheers.) There is a danger—noble lords opposite must know it as well as we do—lest the real residuary legatees of that influence of which you are trying to deprive the hereditary peerage should be not the people but the plutocracy.

THE PARTY WHIPS AND CHIEFS.

Now the whole of this controversy centres round the Whips and the Whips' Office. Whips are not more depraved than other people. (A laugh.) That would be a complete misapprehension. How is it that they have got into this position? They have a very weary and thankless life, and they are being subjected ever more and more to claims from sections of their party for money. Because the party machinery is ever becoming more and more elaborate, the Whip is ever being asked for more and more money, and he becomes obsessed with the idea that the only thing that matters in this world and probably in the next is that his party should remain in office. He begins to think that money is an essential condition to his party remaining in office, and in the end—well, the end justifies the means, and, however scrupulous he may be when he begins,—he ends by thinking that the party must have funds at all costs. He is very loyal to his chiefs. He tells them everything about the party except about the party funds. The party chiefs are very busy men and they are careful students of the Book of Genesis. And they avoid the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The position is really perfectly intolerable both for Whips and chiefs. I do not believe there are any men in England who would be more delighted if they could be freed from this curse of the party system than would the Whips and their chiefs. I very much doubt if they can free themselves. I doubt if this servitude imposed upon them by the party system is one that they can escape from by their own action and their own desire. I believe it is public opinion and public opinion alone that can rescue them.

A CAVEAT.

Now, I want to guard carefully against an interpretation of the views I put before you which might otherwise be made and which certainly does not represent my views. I wish to guard against the supposition that I think that men who are otherwise properly and reasonably qualified to receive an honour should become disqualified because they have also contributed to party funds. I think that would be most unreasonable and I give your lordships an instance. I have been very careful not to introduce any personal element into this discussion, and the name I am going to mention now I name with respect and as an illustration of my meaning. I will take the case of Sir John Brunner. There is a man who has done long and honourable service in the House of Commons and who is at the head of one of the greatest commercial enterprises in this country. It seems to me very reasonable that he should have been honoured by his Sovereign. If there is any party man in England it is Sir John Brunner, and although I have not the honour of being in his confidence I feel perfectly certain that he has contributed liberally to party funds. But how monstrous it would be if because he had so contributed he should have been disqualified for the honour he otherwise deserved. My meaning will be made so much plainer by that illustration that I think Sir John Brunner will pardon me for borrowing the use of his name. If you tell me that the line will be very hard to draw I quite agree, and not only so but I think many of us would differ in regard to individual cases that might be put before us. I submit that it is quite useless to attempt definitions in a case like this, and that any tendency to pedantry in the matter would defeat our object.

ROBBING OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Surely this is the whole truth—that if public opinion is vigilant and sound in itself, Ministers of all parties will conform to the standard demanded of them. If it is true that the evil has been growing under our party system, does no blame lie at the door of public opinion? I say public opinion has been extremely lax, and it is disquieting how little attention the Press has paid to it down till quite recent months. It is of all things in which the influence of the public, as voiced by the Press, may have a most salutary effect. We are accused sometimes by other nations of hypocrisy. We deplore the form of public corruption of which we have heard in other places. Is not the accusation a little true sometimes? Would it not have

been better if we had attended to the beam in our own eye before we deplored the mote in the eye of other nations?

Let me tell you the object of my motion. I want to do what little I can to rouse public opinion to this evil of the sale of party honours which I believe to exist and to still greater evil—this greed of all parties for money, which as I have said is one of the great dangers ahead of democracy. I have proposed no remedy, and I have been very scrupulous in my determination not to propose any, because if I had offered a prescription for the disease discussion would have raged over the prescription and not over the disease. My desire has been to focus public opinion on the disease, and for another reason, because no rule, no regulation, no law will be of any effect whatever if public opinion is not sound. (Cheers.) If public opinion is sound and vigilant, then the remedy will be found quickly enough.

Before I sit down I should like to say for myself that I believe we have in our Constitution machinery which may be of great service in this matter as in so many others and that is the Privy Council. I believe the Privy Council may help us in this matter, and with that personal suggestion I ask your lordships to affirm this motion. (Cheers.)

Lord Charnwood's Amendment.

Lord Charnwood rose to move an amendment which stood in his name as follows:—To leave out all the words after "that" in the first line, and insert "in view of the persistent allegations implying that contributions to party funds have been a consideration to Ministers when recommending names to his Majesty for honours, this House would welcome an assurance from his Majesty's Government that such allegations are untrue, and that in view of the actual or possible abuses of party funds in regard to the manner in which they are employed as well as the manner in which they are said to be raised, this House urges upon His Majesty's Government the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire by what amendments of the Corrupt Practices Act such abuses may most effectively be restrained." He hoped their lordships would not think it unfitting that on this subject a very recently created peer should come forward at once to address the House. The noble earl had described the malign influence of which he spoke not as an invention of the present Government, but as something which had a long history behind, and which almost unconsciously had been suffered to regain force in recent years. He had also made it perfectly clear that he had absolutely no personal object. The noble earl might be well assured that he had the sympathy of as many men in the party opposite to him as he had on his own side. There were, he believed, perfectly honourable gentlemen to whom this system seemed something amusing, even picturesque, something which had a fine antiquarian flavour about it reminiscent of the 18th century. He thought, however, that was not at all the way in which the man in the street regarded these things.

The prevalence and growth of the system to which the noble lord had referred, should it proceed further, would one day become so serious a thing as to hold up the governing classes to the hatred and contempt of the poorer people. He wished to point out how subtle the influence was and how likely it was to survive the remedy which he prescribed. He did not suppose for a moment that Ministers put names before the Crown for false reasons, the real reason being that they knew that party funds would benefit. That was unthinkable. A cynical Minister would take care to be always ignorant whether the man whom he recommended had contributed to the party funds or not. But a Minister could not always, could not often, be aware of how it came about that that good man's many virtues had been so prominently brought before his own notice. Therefore it seemed to him that this resolution might be passed and every Minister who ever recommended a name for honour might be able with truth to declare that he acted on the principle of it; and nevertheless it might still be going on, that cash was paid with the prospect that honours would result, or what was scarcely less offensive that honours might be bestowed and thereafter blackmail extorted with the allegation that it was a sort of customary thing. Therefore the mere assertion of the principle of the resolution did not carry them very far. As to the existence of public opinion being the sufficient and real remedy for the evil, it would be impossible in many cases for public opinion to draw the line between proceedings which were absolutely clean and proceedings which were quite scandalous.

THE USE OF PARTY FUNDS.

His own relations to party funds were those of a beneficiary not of a benefactor. There was nothing necessarily dishonourable in the existence of large party funds, nor in the fact that rich men on both sides gave large gifts; nor if, for other reasons, those very men had honours conferred on them. And yet so long as that was admitted there would be considerable danger that secret influence would be exercised. They could not get rid of the evil in so simple a way as the resolution suggested. They would do a little good, but no great permanent good, by announcing in this

resolution what after all was a moral platitude. They must be prepared for drastic measures in regard to these party funds, and cut short that lavish expenditure upon elections which was the root of the evil and which put upon party managers a really terrible strain and temptation. It might be a wise policy or it might not that the present Government had bettered the example of their predecessors in conferring recognition on many varied kinds of merit and of public service which might not have been properly recognized formerly, but it was obviously not in itself a discreditable thing.

There was one general reason why he thought they might take it as certain that the practice of which the noble Earl complained was growing and likely to grow; and it was the enormous growth of election expenditure, which went far beyond the requirements of reasonable and honest propaganda. In the South Bucks election the other day he was told that a part was taken by the Tariff Reform League, the Free Trade Union, the Ulster Unionists, the Home Rule Council, the Land Union and the Land and Housing Council. Six organizations, three on each side. The salaries and expenses paid to the agents of these organizations were, he believed, required by law to be returned as part of the election expenses of the candidates, and the treasurers of these associations were liable to criminal prosecutions if these expenses were not so returned. Would those expenses be so returned? If not, would there be any criminal prosecutions? (Hear, hear.) Why had not any criminal prosecutions taken place in the past? He could only conclude that some understanding existed between the gentlemen on either side who worked these organizations. A large and flourishing political industry was in existence, and it would be endangered if these practices were curtailed. But he put it very seriously to the Government and the leaders on either side, could they not agree to some method by which the present system could to a certain extent be broken down? Was the education of the electorate really effectively promoted by gentlemen who preached political views for hire? (Hear, hear.) While he had a high regard for some of these gentlemen, yet their ranks included some who would as readily preach on the other side as on the one. (Laughter.) This lavish expenditure on elections tended to an absolutely depraved state of things, and to put our representative government permanently in the grip of the machine. So long as election expenses went on at this lavish scale so long would party managers be under dire pressure to replenish their party war-chests *per fas et nefas*. (Hear, hear.) He thought there should be an inquiry and the names of subscribers to these various political organizations, with the amount of their subscriptions or donations, should be made available for inspection. If their lordships would allow him, he would move his amendment to Lord Selborne's motion in the following form, to add at the end:—"That in view of the actual or possible abuses of party funds in regard to the manner in which they are employed as well as the manner in which they are said to be raised, this House urges upon his Majesty's Government the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire by what amendments of the law and administration of the law such abuses may most effectively be restrained."

Lord Milner's Speech.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES FOR A GROWING EVIL.

Viscount Milner.—I hope Lord Ribblesdale will forgive me if I treat the subject with a slight approach to seriousness which he may condemn as solemnity. I am very sorry to appear priggish, and I really think I enjoy the noble lord's witticisms on suitable occasions as much as anybody in this House; but I cannot resist the feeling that a rather unfortunate impression would be given to the world outside if what is, after all, a grave matter should be chaffed out of Court. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid I shall be unable to add to the gaiety of nations in the few remarks I have to make, but perhaps I may contribute to some extent to reviving the impression under which a great many of us were earlier in the evening—that we are discussing a public matter of real gravity and that we have strong opinions about it. The noble lord expressed the view that he differs both from the motion and the amendment. I am rather inclined to agree with both. I agree with almost everything which fell from Lord Selborne except his concluding passage, in which he seemed to me to be prepared to rely exclusively upon public opinion to produce a remedy for what, personally, I cannot describe as otherwise than a very great and growing evil.

The Earl of Selborne.—I meant that public opinion must be awakened before any effectual steps can be taken.

Viscount Milner.—I quite agree, and perhaps the greatest advantage to be derived from a discussion of this kind in this House, if it can be kept on right lines, is that it will stimulate public opinion on the matter. There is a great and growing and serious feeling in the country as to the enormity of the sale of honours, which it is just as well that Parliament should take some pains to attract into wise channels. But though I attribute importance to the effect of discussion of

this kind upon public opinion, I do not myself think that we can stop there, and I believe if we are serious in this matter in this House or in the other there will be a very strong feeling on both sides in support of my noble friend. If we are really serious in both Houses something material might be achieved. I was looking forward with some curiosity to the line which noble lords representing the Government might take especially in view of Lord Charnwood's original amendment which called upon them to give us an assurance that the allegation that a Minister might recommend a name for an honour to his Majesty on the ground of contributions to party funds was untrue. The significant change which the noble lord subsequently made in his amendment has, I fancy, relieved his leaders from a very great difficulty. They could hardly have taken no notice of his demand for such an assurance, and I think we should have listened with some surprise if that assurance had been given. The great difficulty, of course, is that it is impossible to produce absolute proof of what is described as the sale of honours. In the literal sense of the word, of course, honours are not sold, like butter or cheese. It may even be said that there is no honour, however flagrantly bestowed, which cannot often, or in fact always, be accounted for by some plausible reason besides the true one, and care is always taken to avoid suspicious juxtaposition of cause and effect. Who is to say that a gentleman of good position and standing, who happens to have contributed liberally to the party funds, and who becomes the recipient of an honour—who is to say that the Minister who recommended him was influenced wholly or mainly by gratitude for his generosity and not by other considerations?

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PREROGATIVE BESTOWED.

The only thing we know is that the tendency to bestow titles of honour on persons with no very obvious qualifications is a rapidly and alarmingly growing tendency (cheers), and that the bestowal of them has a habit of synchronizing with periods when the Government of the day is in special need of funds. As regards the number of honours, taking only the creation of peerages, we find that the present Government, in their eight years of office, have created no fewer than 63 barons, not to mention Lords of Appeal, whose case, of course, has no relevance to the matter under discussion—63 barons, or about one-sixth of the total number of barons in this House, although it has existed for more than 600 years. In the eight years preceding there were 41 creations of the same rank, which one might have thought was already a sufficiently liberal figure. It may be said that the only reason why the present Government has created the largest number of peerages and other titles of honour on record is because it is the latest comer, and that its successor may outdo it in that respect, although I sincerely hope that, owing to the efforts now being made, that will not be the case. There is another interesting point besides the number of these creations, and that is what I may call their periodicity, the cyclical movements that seem to affect them. They are rather like shooting stars. I mean to say there is a certain period in the year when we always look out for them, but a really imposing shower only occurs every two or three or four years, and only occurs in connexion with critical moments in the life of a Government. The occurrence of these great showers of honours is almost always in the year before, or the year of, or the year after a General Election; and one is almost forced to the conclusion that there is some kind of mysterious relation between the two phenomena.

THE TRAFFIC IN HONOURS.

I could not add anything to what has been said by the noble earl about the bad effect which the traffic in honours must have upon the esteem in which honours are held, and the consequent effect in destroying a powerful and respectable incentive—though I do not say it is the highest form of incentive—to good public service, and munificence for public objects. But there is an even worse consequence of this traffic, and that is that by offering to party managers the opportunity of collecting enormous secret funds it helps to rivet the yoke of party upon our public men (cheers), to undermine independence alike in candidates and in members of Parliament, and to submit Parliament and the nation to the uncontrolled and growing despotism of party machinery. It is part and parcel of the same system which has destroyed the authority of this House and is even reducing the proceedings of the other House of Parliament to a farce. The noble lord who has just spoken said truly that party funds were an inevitable concomitant of the party system. I differ from him in that I am not an admirer of the party system. But, accepting the party system as a necessary evil, I am anxious to limit some of its very worst and most discreditable features. There is nothing which is more calculated to lead to the widespread corruption of public life than the irresponsible control of large secret funds by party managers. Is there not a certain extraordinary inconsistency in the line which we at present take about bribery and corruption? You have laws against them under which a trifling transgression—a transgression which may be committed in all innocence by a man or his agent—may invalidate his election; and yet can it be said that the power of money, which all these statutes are intended to curb, that the power of money, either in an individual or a party to influence the judgment of constituencies has in any way been diminished? We all

know that it has not been: on the contrary, it has been increased. The forms of bribery may be altered, but the essentials of it are there, and they are as strong and formidable as ever they were. Whether it is worse to buy a few votes at an election by giving illegitimate employment or to try to debauch a whole constituency by promising a vast expenditure of public money within its borders (Opposition cheers), or by flaunting before it some wealthy candidate who is expected to be a rich fount of future favours, I must leave to moralists to determine; the point is that the vast expenditure of money upon constituencies during election times and during the interval between elections, but especially during election times, is giving, and continues to give, an undue and unhealthy influence to mere wealth and to the possessors of it in the destinies of the nation, and that corrupting influence of party funds, in itself a thing that is undesirable and evil, is only rendered possible by this traffic in honours, which is likewise discreditable to public life.

SOME SUGGESTIONS.

I do not know that it is for me to venture to suggest any remedies for this evil. I think it really rests with members on both front benches, for both parties have something to atone for in their past conduct in this matter, to suggest remedies. But I cannot agree that nothing can be done beyond appealing—though I am all for appealing—to public opinion and trying to arouse public opinion. I agree with the noble lord who moved the amendment that it is possible, and indeed I think it is imperative, if there is any sincerity in our professions of dislike for corruption, to try and restrict expenditure at elections, and expenditure so restricted might, I think, fairly be thrown on the public funds. But that is not alone sufficient, because the wholesale bribery of constituencies is not confined to election times, but goes on between elections. It seems to me it would be idle merely to restrict expenditure at election times unless it could also be made illegal for members to spend large sums of money between elections upon various public purposes in their constituencies. Unless that is going to be done I think the unfortunate and evil need of large party funds—which has to be satisfied by these undesirable means we are discussing—will continue to exist.

STATEMENT OF REASONS.

In conclusion may I make one other suggestion? Would it be unreasonable that when honours are announced some brief statement of the reasons for which the honours are conferred should be given? (Cheers.) The thing is done, for instance, whenever money is granted to deserving individuals from the fund at the disposal of the Prime Minister—the civil List. I have constantly seen—and it appeared reasonable and satisfactory when such and such sums of public money were given to both men and women—a brief statement, perfectly honourable to them and satisfactory to the public, of the reasons why the grants were given. Why is there any objection to doing the same in the case of the bestowal of any honour whatsoever? I do not say it would altogether remedy the evil of which we are complaining—there is no single remedy, it has to be attacked in a number of ways—but it seems to me this would be a very considerable check on the abuse of the bestowal of honours, for no Ministry would wish to make themselves ridiculous by giving explanations of the honours they had asked the Sovereign to confer which were obviously ill-founded and calculated to excite general derision. (Cheers.) I do not say these are very valuable suggestions or that they are the best that might be made. I repeat that I think it rests more on the leaders of parties than upon independent members of this House to suggest a remedy. What I do hope is that the decision of the House to-night, the reception which the House gives to the motion, and, may I venture to add, the speeches to which I hope we may yet look forward from the leaders of both parties, will leave no false impression on the mind of the nation, as I think a false impression may have been left by some of the preceding speeches, but that it will go forth to the country that in this House at least the degradation of titles of honour is regarded with abhorrence and is looked upon not only—which is a very minor consideration—as an injury and insult to the order to which we have the honour to belong, but also as a fatal injury to the nation. (Cheers.)

Lord Crewe's Reply.

THE EVIL EXAGGERATED.

The Marquess of Crewe.—I agree with the noble earl who moved the motion that no question of party advantage or party feeling ought to be involved in this matter, and I think the fact has been recognized by those who have taken part in the debate. It is also true that none of us wish to adopt a priggish or Pharisaic attitude; at the same time we are certainly not disposed to minimize its gravity. Speaking for myself and my noble friends behind me, we take precisely the same view of the importance of the subject as was taken by the noble earl. I think, however, there has been a tendency to exaggerate the position as it now exists, and, as it were, to attempt to indicate that public life is becoming less pure and honourable than it was, and that, as the poet said, "We are worse than our grandfathers, and our children are likely to be worse than ourselves." As a

matter of fact, any one who looks back at political history will recognize that the facts are otherwise. There is no need to go back very far. You can go back if you like only to years within the memory of those who are now alive. The whole position in relation to party expenditure and the dependence of party expenditure upon honours and distinctions and gains of all kinds was, as everybody with the most trifling knowledge of history recognizes, infinitely worse during the whole period before the Reform Bill of 1832 than it has been since. All through the 18th century the position of pocket boroughs and borough-mongering generally brought about abuses which were infinitely more flagrant in every respect than anything nowadays. It was not until 1782 that the Whig Government of that day brought in a series of Bills, some of which became Acts of Parliament, dealing with some of the grosser forms of corruption which then existed. Everybody knows that the owners of boroughs, representing something like two-thirds of the whole House of Commons, commanded votes, and those votes meant money and also meant honours. All the patronage, English, Irish, Indian, and Colonial, was practically in the hands of the people who owned the boroughs and commanded the votes. Government loans were issued in their interest at a price which meant an enormous loss to the country, and in one famous case the country was supposed to have lost a million sterling owing to the price of issue in favour of certain privileged persons. Boroughs were bought outright. There is the famous case of Lord North, who bought boroughs for a particular election, the price offered being £2,500 per seat. There were dozens and hundreds of scandals of that kind. Then Lord Milner told us about the number of peerages created of late years, implying that some of those peerages had been connected with party funds. Between 1784 and 1801 Mr. Pitt made 140 creations or promotions in the peerage, mainly English. The noble viscount would not say that a great many of those titles now honourably borne by their descendants were given on account of anything which in a strict sense could be called service to the State. There is no object in raking up stories which tell hardly upon our forbears, but it is necessary to mention these facts in order to show that when an almost portentous tone is adopted in relation to what is considered to be the corruption of to-day we ought to remember that as a matter of fact we are living in an infinitely clearer atmosphere in this respect than ever existed before the Reform Bill. I do not believe that, except possibly for the period between 1845 and 1860, when parties were all in confusion and the party system was not working as it has worked since, there has been any material change for the worse in respect of these matters which are now complained of.

AN ASSURANCE FROM THE PREMIER.

The noble earl says that "a contribution to party funds should not be a consideration to a Minister when he recommends any name for an honour to his Majesty." Lord Charnwood, in the original form of his amendment, stated "that in view of the persistent allegations implying that contributions to party funds have been a consideration to Ministers when recommending names to his Majesty for honours, this House would welcome an assurance from his Majesty's Government that such allegations are untrue." Lord Milner seemed to think that it was out of some consideration for the feelings of the party leaders that Lord Charnwood has altered his amendment. It was in no way known to me that he had done so, and the fact does not prevent me from giving so far as I am able to give a categorical assurance on behalf of the Prime Minister that a contribution to party funds has not been a consideration to him when recommending names to his Majesty for honours. I should not have the slightest hesitation, although I have had no communication with either, in giving precisely the same assurance on behalf of Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour (if he would allow me to do it), those being the only two gentlemen alive who have been placed in the same position. The noble lord has pointed out, what is quite true, that although we should all be desirous that contributions to party funds should not be made a consideration, yet it is altogether impossible to lay down a rule that a contribution to party funds should be a bar to the reception of any honour whatever. Instances could be multiplied on both sides of men who had received some distinction and who had undoubtedly contributed—being men of wealth—to the support of the party to which they belonged. Consequently it is only possible to suggest to those who have the power of recommendation that their minds should work in a particular way and that certain considerations should not be present.

That, of course, points to the difficulty of establishing a distinct canon or rule in a matter of this kind, and I find myself in general agreement with the noble earl when he says that the real safeguard to which we can look—in my opinion it is the only practical safeguard—is the force of public opinion being brought to bear on these things. (Cheers.) It is only, as the noble lord said, supposing a person receives a distinction for which he is obviously unfit that the question is asked. "Why has this particular gentleman been singled out for this distinction?" If the recipient is considered generally worthy no question is asked whether he has or has not contributed to the support of his party. The same thing may, I think, be said to apply to other forms of what is called the purchase of distinctions. It has

always been rumoured that high distinctions of various kinds have been purchased, not by contributions to either political party, but by what may be called general munificence, gifts to hospitals, colleges, and public objects of various kinds, which according to popular talk and rumour have been made by very wealthy persons with apparently the main object of achieving some form of distinction. There again these things are impossible to prove, although I suppose in an abstract way we should all desire, that in such a case distinction should be withheld. These cases are cases of extreme difficulty, and could not be covered by any general remedy such as some noble lords have suggested.

The Earl of Selborne.—There is a distinction. In that case the nation gets the benefit, not the party.

The Marquess of Crewe.—I suppose it might be argued by party men that there is some national advantage in the party in which they believe being in power, but I am not going to agree that Lord Milner suggested that the practice which obtains in relation to the Royal bounty, by which, when donation or annuities are given to deserving people, a reason is given, might be followed. I do not know that any great service would be done by insisting on a similar rule in the conferment of honours unless you are prepared to go so far as to say that no honour should be given except for public service, independent of party, and that, I think, has not been suggested. If, on the other hand, the reason given is that the recipient has done good service to the Conservative or the Liberal Party, I do not know that public opinion would be very much more satisfied than it is at the present moment.

REASONS AGAINST A ROYAL COMMISSION.

Then I come to the suggestion made by Lord Charnwood for the appointment of a Royal Commission. His ingenious plan is to get round the difficulty not so much by inquiring into what is called the sale of honours as by having a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Corrupt Practices Act and into the possibility of their extension in order to bring about his object in a circuitous way; that is to say, supposing you can avoid all expenditure on elections you will not then want party funds. If you do not want party funds you will not desire people to subscribe to party funds, and therefore the power of acquiring distinctions as some form of reward will fall to the ground. The doubt in my mind is this. Although there is much to be said for some possible extension of the Corrupt Practices Act, particularly in regard to those irregular bodies or societies who seem to have taken the place to some extent of the regular party organisations in conducting the business of elections and spend a great deal of money. I should have thought it possible to achieve that object directly by legislation rather than by going through all the heavy machinery of a Royal Commission. I do not know whether there should be at the same time inquiry into the operations of these various leagues and unions, because, so far as I know, there is no suggestion or implication that subscriptions or assistance to these more or less irregular bodies have been used as a lever for the purpose of acquiring distinction of any kind. Therefore, while I have no desire to offer any opposition to the noble earl's motion, I am afraid that we could not give our concurrence to the idea of the appointment of a Royal Commission. At the same time, I am far from implying that I do not think some extension of the Corrupt Practices Act might not very properly be set on foot. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Lansdowne's Views.

The Marquess of Lansdowne said:—Before this discussion ends I desire to say in two or three sentences why I am ready to support the motion of my noble friend beside me, and why I shall not be able to recommend the amendment of the noble lord opposite. I must congratulate my noble friend Lord Selborne upon the extremely sympathetic reception his proposal has met from all parts of the House. (Cheers.) As to the actual wording of the motion, I think something might be said, but, like the noble marquess opposite, I pay a lot more attention to the substance of my noble friend's speech than to the precise words in which he has framed his motion. My noble friend was perfectly frank with the House. He told us he was not prepared to produce instances of the kind of abuse to which he desired to put an end; that he rested himself almost entirely upon the suspicions—the widely prevalent suspicions—which exist in the public mind that abuses of this kind do take place, and take place not infrequently. With my noble friend I believe the suspicion does exist and is widely prevalent, but I think with the noble marquess opposite that the suspicion probably is exaggerated, and I noted with satisfaction that my noble friend pointed out in his view, so far as a very large part of the honours which are now conferred by the Sovereign are concerned, there was no reason for any misgivings. (Hear, hear.) In regard to the honours conferred upon Civil servants, the Navy, and the Army, and upon the Sovereign's Indian subjects, I do not think there is a word to be said. (Cheers.) Anyone who looks through the lists of names of those who have received honours of any kind in the last few years will readily see that a great number of those names are the names of persons who are in every way well fitted to be rewarded in this manner.

THE PUBLIC MIND REQUIRES REASSURANCE.

But, undoubtedly, the public mind does require to be reassured upon this subject, and I think the resolution of my noble friend Lord Selborne, received as it has been here to-night, and perhaps confirmed by a similar resolution in the other House, will have the kind of reassuring effect which we desire. There is a universal feeling of reprobation of the idea that honours of any kind conferred by the Sovereign can form the subject of a bargain between the persons who receive them and the person who is instrumental in procuring those honours. (Hear, hear.) I agree in believing that the need of precautions in this respect tends to become greater as time goes on. I am afraid that suspicions of this kind are inevitable so long as we have what is commonly called the party system in this country. The party system in a democracy like ours means a great many things. It means that you must have party organization, party machinery, party literature, and that you may have the support of party candidates. All these things inevitably mean the expenditure of large sums of party money, and that money inevitably tends to be taken out of the pockets of the wealthier members of the party. That may not be a very pleasant thing to contemplate. My noble friend used a happy phrase where he said it "revealed the clay foot of democracy." (Cheers.) I doubt very much whether any precautions you can take will altogether obviate the dangers which we all desire to guard against. The matter is complicated by the fact that these contributions to the party funds are in themselves perfectly harmless transactions. What I think my noble friend desires to insist upon is not that a man who has made a contribution of this kind to the party funds should have a black mark put against his name and be regarded as disqualified for the receipt of an honour, but that the liberality of the contribution should not be the only justification for the honour of which he may eventually be the recipient. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say it too strongly, that, while in my view contribution to the party funds is in the first place an allowable transaction, a contribution of that kind ought in no circumstances to lead a Minister to consider for an honour an individual who, but for that contribution, he would not have considered. (Hear, hear.) But then, of course, you will inevitably find yourselves face to face with very complex cases. There is the case of a man of wealth who has spent his wealth wisely and generously, who has acquired a dignified position in the world, who has attended to local business in his neighbourhood, and who also may have been a liberal contributor to the party funds of his party. How is the Minister, or the person who advises the Minister, to decide how much weight is to be given to the generous contribution to the party war-chest, and how much to the meritorious record in every other respect of that individual? I noted, as did the noble marquess, the expression in my noble friend's motion that he calls upon the Government to devise effectual means of guarding against these abuses. He did not specify the means that he had in his mind except at the close of his speech, when he suggested that questions of this kind might be dealt with on the advice of the Privy Council. That is a suggestion worth considering, but I should be sorry to commit myself to it this evening. Lord Milner thought that with each case there might be published with the announcement of the honour an intimation of the services in respect of which the honour was conferred. That seems to be not an unreasonable suggestion (hear, hear), but I am bound to say that I would much prefer to leave the consideration of the effectual means which my noble friend desires to see adopted to the Sovereign and those who advise him in these matters. I feel sure that the action of your lordships' House this evening will have a salutary effect in calling attention to the question.

THE SUGGESTED ROYAL COMMISSION.

With the proposal to refer the whole matter to a Royal Commission I cannot say that I am much enamoured. The noble lord who makes the proposal no doubt has in his mind not that the past history of these transactions should be raked up but the question of strengthening the law with regard to them should be considered. I am afraid that his Royal Commission would find it very difficult not to consider what the alleged abuses were, and that opens up rather a long field. I doubt very much whether the noble lord would gain anything by examining Mr. Balfour or Mr. Asquith as to the circumstances under which the 200 odd peers who have been made since 1885 received their honours, or the 300 baronetcies, and the wholly innumerable knightships. That would open up a still more distracting field of investigation. May I interpose an observation based on Lord Milner's comment on the fact that present Government have made 63 baronies? The other evening, when a most important division was taken on my noble friend's amendment to the Address, in spite of the 68 baronies noble lords opposite only marshalled 55 peers of all sorts and descriptions against the motion. (Laughter.) Further difficulty would be encountered when, as a result of this or any inquiry, you set to work to frame rules for the purpose of guarding against the apprehended abuses. My noble friend said very truly that it was almost impossible to define the circumstances in which an honour might or

might not properly be given, and I am very much afraid that, whatever rules you were to adopt, it would be found that a twentieth century party manager would be able to drive a coach-and-six through them. (Laughter.) For that reason, I very much prefer, at any rate in the first instance, to trust to the effect produced on the public mind by this discussion and the motion of my noble friend, and I do sincerely believe that if the two Houses of Parliament joined in expressing a decided opinion upon this important question the result would be to reassure the public mind and greatly to strengthen the hands of the Minister and, above all, perhaps, to enable him to resist the temptation which was always present in the case of an overworked man to rely upon the advice of somebody else rather than on his own instincts and judgment.

Lord Amptill suggested that the motion should read "that it is desirable that effectual measures should be taken."

The Marquess of Crewe.—I consider that amendment a distinct improvement.

Lord Charnwood withdrew his amendment.

The motion, as amended, was agreed to.

The House rose shortly after half-past 7 o'clock.

The Times,

Persian Pensioners.

A Case for Reform.

A correspondent who was many years resident in Persia writes to us on a subject which is of considerable interest at the present time. He says:—

"There is one phase of the Persian question which I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the many articles that have been written on the subject of Persia and her ills, and that is, the extent to which the Persian Exchequer is drained, fairly or unfairly, each year by the numerous foreign employees, past and present, of the Persian Government.

"The Persian Treasury (often empty) is not only responsible for a host of handsome salaries, but also for the payment of many handsome pensions, some of them well-merited by long and faithful services, others paid as the 'pound of flesh,' squeezed out of the Treasury through diplomatic channels after very inadequate periods of service. The recipients belong to many nationalities—English, French, Italian, Austrian and others, to say nothing of the Persians themselves. I presume there is a list of them somewhere, and it would be interesting if we could learn their numbers and the amounts paid out to them: I think, too, that it would cause some astonishment.

"We may safely assume that the primary object of the Persian Government in employing foreigners is to secure for herself the benefit of Western advanced methods of administration—and the services of honest men to administer her affairs. This supposition is deducible from what we know of the corruption so prevalent among the Persian governing class, concerning which so much has been said and written. In fact, this aspect of the question has been so widely ventilated and the custom so highly reprobated, that special care ought to be taken to see that those who are selected to impart to the Persians pure methods of administration are above reproach.

"We know that the Persian employee, if paid at all, is in receipt of a mere nominal salary and has, besides, to pay heavily for his post, and it is therefore, perhaps, excusable for him to appropriate whatever may come his way in the form of pickings, seeing that he is expected to do so. But in the case of the enlightened foreigner it is very different. He is on a pedestal and, as a rule, in receipt of at least adequate remuneration, a remuneration which ought to place him beyond temptation and enable him to fulfil his mission as instructor in probity and pure administration. Does it?

"I have been told by a foreigner that 'the foreigner at the employ of the Persian Government who does not make the most of this opportunities for peculation as they arise is a fool, because if he does not do so someone else will.' A contemptible proposition, but, I fear, a widely accepted one!

"The importation of arms into Persia is strictly prohibited, yet I have known of officials who, although specially appointed to watch the trade in arms, have, by acting in collusion in evading the Custom dues, reaped huge profits from this illicit traffic. I have in my mind's eye the case of an official who after less than ten years' service, on a salary approaching £1,000 a year, and who lived up to his salary, left the country with a solid banking account of over £10,000, in addition to a large quantity of plunder 'in kind.' Another man, after a few months' service, claimed, and is at present, I believe, in receipt of, a pension of over £300 per annum; although he returned to his own country to a more lucrative post and will eventually succeed to a substantial pension there. These are typical of many similar cases, and in face of such palpable robbery of the Persian Treasury I would ask, how is it possible for that country to make progress, or for her own nationals to learn methods of probity and clean-handed administration?

"By all means let the officials be adequately paid and also qualify for a pension. But with the Exchequer at so low an ebb, and the country in such urgent need of honest help, let us in return, for very shame's sake, act up to our boasted rectitude and give her honest service." *To Near East.*

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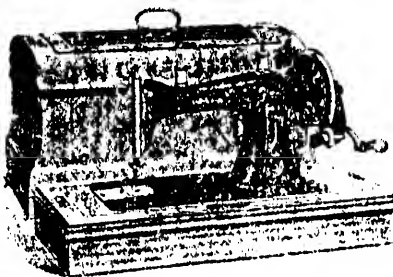
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The Week.

British Subjects.

London, April 1.

After a debate on the South African deportations the House of Commons adopted a Resolution accepted by Mr. Harcourt, that the rights of British citizens, contained in the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act as presenting freedom of the subject, are those which the House desires to see applied to British subjects throughout the Empire.

Home Expenditure for India.

London, April 1.

Replying to Mr. Rupert Gwynne in the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Roberts said that £1,415,700, which he mentioned last week as representing Home expenditure for India in 1913 and 1914 for capital account was made up as follows:—Discharge of guaranteed debentures of the Nagpur Railway £280,000; additional expenditure on Railways, £1,090,700; additional expenditure on Delhi, £50,000. Deduct Shortage of expenditure on Irrigation, £18,800. A sum of £150,00 had been remitted from India in 1913-14 in respect of profit from coinage on rupees and had been added to the gold standard reserve in sovereigns. The sale of Council Drafts 1914-15 would be conducted in accordance with the policy, recommended by the Royal Commission, which made it impossible to say what the total would be.

Frontier Expeditions And Indian Army.

London, April 1.

In reply to a question from Mr. Morrell as to whether officers and men of the Indian Army had not been informed on the occasion of frontier operations that they might disappear if they had conscientious objections to engaging in Military operations against men of their own race and religion Mr. Roberts said that in case of the Tirah Expedition the Afridis had been excused.

Persia.

Teheran, April 2.

A force of about 1,200 gendarmes was recently sent to Burujiro to protect the region from Luri raiders. It has advanced southward, and after twelve hours' engagement, secured the passes and drove the raiders back to snow-clad hills.

Turkey.

Constantinople, April 3.

Combined forces of Kurdish Sheikhs, Molla Selim and Molla-Shah-Ben-Din are attacking Bitlis, which is being defended by troops and the gendarmerie. Reinforcements are hastening thither. It is alleged that the Kurdish movement is due to hostility to projected reforms.

Albania.

London, April 5.

The *Neue Freie Presse* learns that the Powers do not contemplate intervention in Albania.

While reports from Vienna intimate that the attack on Korytza has failed, from Athens and Salonika comes intelligence of the capture of the town by the Epirotes with heavy losses on both sides, and of further successes by the Epirotes, including the capture of a number of gendarmes at Hoti Kista. It is significant that the Durazzo despatch, received from Rome, says that Prince William, in consequence of grave news from Korytza, summoned his Ministers and proposed to march out at head of his troops. After long discussion, the Ministers decided on a general mobilisation.

The *Albanische Korrespondenz*, too, admits that the news from Epirus has caused great excitement in Durazzo.

Durazzo, April 6.

In consequence of the anarchical situation in South Albania Government has ordered a list to be made out of the forces available and the eventual formation of a Militia. Proclamations have been posted throughout the county ordering the muster of all ex-Redifs between the ages of 29 and 39. Rumours of mobilisation are premature at present.

Bombay Corporation.

Bombay, April 6.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Carrimbhoy has been elected President of the Corporation for the ensuing year this afternoon. Highly complimentary speeches in reference to him and to Mr. M. Tod, the retiring President were made and the election was unanimous.

Home Rule.

London, April 6.

The House of Commons this evening passed the Home Rule Bill on the second reading by 356 votes to 276. The O'Brienites abstained from voting. Thirty-six Labour members voted with Government. Two Liberals, Mr. Agar Roberts and Sir Clifford Cory voted with the Opposition. Hundreds of Irishmen, cheering and waving green flags, saluted the announcement of the figures in the Palace yard at the entrance to the House of Commons, and gave Mr. Redmond and other supporters of Home Rule a great ovation as they came out.

Indians in South Africa.

London, April 7.

Sir Benjamin Robertson arrived this morning from South Africa by the British Indian steamer "Palomotta." On landing at the Apollo Bunder, Sir Benjamin was received by his Private Secretary, and the Inspector General of Police in the Central Provinces. A large number of Indian merchants were also present at the Bunder who profusely garlanded Sir Benjamin; who after talking to them for some time drove to the Taj Mahal where he is staying at present. Sir Benjamin will leave this evening for Delhi to meet the Viceroy. Sir Benjamin is unwilling to express any opinion regarding the South African situation and hopes for a settlement satisfactory to all.

The Persian Gulf.

London, April 1.

Replying to Sir George Roberts, Mr. Churchill said that no reduction of Naval strength in the Persian Gulf was at present contemplated as the result of an agreement with France concerning gun traffic; but the position was being closely watched with a view to such modification as the altered conditions might require or justify.



Our London Letter.

London, Mar. 20.

THE HOME RULE DEADLOCK.

SINCE my letter of last week, the political situation has undergone no material change. Mr. Asquith's offer to temporarily exclude Ulster was not enthusiastically received by the advanced wing of his own party and they would have certainly revolted if the Prime Minister had shown the least sign of surrender last Monday, when he made a brief statement in the House of Commons in reply to the numerous questions on the Home Rule Bill that had been put down on the paper. The first Lord's speech at Bradford on Saturday night—a masterpiece of statesmanship, reasonableness, courage and eloquence—in which, while making it quite clear that the government was ready to consider any honest attempt on the part of the Opposition towards the peaceful solution of the Irish problem, he none the less emphatically declared the Ministry's decision to proceed with their Bill if the Unionists reject the offers of Mr. Asquith, irrespective of consequences, has encouraged the Coalition very much. The ovation which Mr. Churchill met with on his entry in the House on Monday last bore ample testimony to the universal approval of his speech, two days previously at Bradford, on the part of the entire Coalition. The Prime Minister's firmness in the House on Monday and his nod of approval of Mr. Churchill's speech, when challenged by the Unionist Leader, has further rendered the whole question more clear, at least as far as the Government's position is concerned. It now rests with the Irish Unionists to definitely reject or accept the new terms and though Mr. Bonar Law's and Sir Edward Carson's speeches last night in the House of Commons, on the vote of censure against the Government, did certainly contain traces of anxiety for some form of settlement by which civil war may be averted, still no definite change in the situation has so far become noticeable. Mr. Bonar Law has suggested a Referendum and when the Prime Minister deliberately asked him whether, granting that the majority of the electorates in this country thus showed their approval of the Government's Irish policy, as embodied in their Home Rule Bill, the Unionist Party would then consent to the coercion of Ulster, the Conservative Leader nodded his head in assent. That is the true obstacle to the whole question. The Unionist Party in England may decide to abide by the results of a General Election or of a Referendum, but they cannot speak for the Irish Unionists in this affair. That is why it is perfectly obvious that there is a greater chance of arriving at a peaceful solution through Sir Edward Carson than through Mr. Bonar Law and his Colleagues on the Front Bench. Sir Edward has impressed his hearers in the country as well as in the House of Commons with the absolute honesty of his purpose, and whenever he speaks in Parliament his remarkable personality seems to dominate over the whole assembly. Not even Mr. Redmond has

ever accused him of hypocrisy or dishonesty and it is to him only that the nation looks up to-day for the maintenance of peace and order in Ireland. The Home Rule question is of vital importance to Sir Edward Carson and his opposition to that measure is perfectly genuine and sincere; whereas Mr. Bonar Law's hatred for Home Rule is based not so much on the merits or demerits of the Bill itself as out of considerations for the prosperity of his own party. He insists on demanding a General Election immediately not so much out of regard for the opinion of the country but merely to wreck the Parliament Act in order to restore the lost veto of the House of Lords. That is the whole case in a nutshell and the Liberal Party is fully alive to the motives of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith is not likely to surrender, when he is almost on the point of victory. He is determined to proceed with the Home Rule Bill under the Parliament Act by peaceful means if possible; if not, the responsibility for Civil War in Ireland will be on the shoulders of the Opposition, who have so far not even attempted to consider the concessions that have been offered to them by Mr. Asquith with a view to prevent bloodshed in Ulster. If Ulster wants peace, she can certainly have it, if the Opposition wants a settlement the road is clear. But if the determination is to prevent a settlement and to exploit an Ulster mob in order to destroy the Parliamentary institutions and to restore the House of Lords to supreme power in the State, then there must be an end to a situation which would be grotesque if it were not so mischievous. As the *Daily News* says, the impunity which this treasonable conspiracy has enjoyed has already done incalculable harm. The drillings in Ulster, the open repudiation of law and order by men like Lord Londonderry, Lord Roberts, Lord Milner and the rest, the raising of the flag of rebellion in the House of Commons, not by a solitary Anarchist, but by the leader of what still calls itself the constitutional Party—all this has sown seeds of which there will be abundant fruit in the future. The doctrine of violent resistance, to which Mr. Bonar Law has committed himself, cannot be limited to the Conservative Party. It is a doctrine which will serve the purpose of the Syndicalists very well. Not long ago Mr. Tom Mann was sent to prison for advising the common soldier to refuse to shoot down the working man on strike. At the same time Sir Edward Carson was reviewing a rebel army in Ulster organised to overthrow Parliament, and at this moment a Field-Marshal, who is still receiving a handsome pension from the State, is engineering a scheme to prevent the Government from employing the Army in any way they may deem necessary in the interests of law and order. The meaning of all this is penetrating deep into the mind of the country. Nor will the effect be limited to these spheres. In the very issues in which the Unionist Press is justifying Civil War in Ulster, it is carrying on a mischievous campaign for more stringent measures in India. Against what? Not against open rebellion, not against civil war; but against the small element of popular liberty at present enjoyed. Scores of newspapers have been confiscated in India for the most ordinary criticism of the Government, while the very newspapers here which are supporting these attacks on the liberty of the Press are preaching civil war in order to destroy the Government. Do these people suppose that they can advocate violence here without the Indians knowing anything about it? And who is to explain to the Indians that resistance which is a holy and loyal thing in Ulster, where they have votes, is an unholy and disloyal thing in India, where they have no votes? It is these larger considerations, as well as those immediately involved, which make it incumbent upon the Government to have no more trifling with treason. They have made their offer. Liberals dislike it and Nationalists dislike it, because it gravely imperils the unity of Ireland. But it has been made in the interest of peace. If, as seems likely, it is rejected on the second reading the duty of the Government is clear. It is to revert to the Bill as it stands, to press it through with all the resources at their disposal, and at the same time to deal with the rebel Privy Counsellors and Knights of the Garter as they would, in similar circumstances, deal with working men who conspired against the State. It is gratifying to have Mr. Churchill's assurance that "the Government have had just about enough of this sort of thing." The country has had far more than enough. It looks to the Government to protect its Parliamentary liberties against any further outrage and it will welcome the Chief Whip's renewed declaration that there will be no General Election until the Home Rule Bill is passed into law as final and irrevocable.

THE STUDY OF THE EXPENSE.

The announcement that the Senate of the London University have appointed a Committee to advise them on the best method of providing in this great metropolis for the study of matters of Imperial interest will be heartily welcomed. The regrettable ignorance of the average Englishman of almost all matters touching the laws, history, geography, and temper of the overseas Dominions, not to mention India, is a matter of common knowledge and lamentation. It is also a fruitful and most dangerous source of strife and misunderstanding.

standing. The scheme deserves the best wishes of all those who have the true interest of the Empire at heart and the London University Senate are to be congratulated on the wise step they have taken, which will no doubt be in time productive of excellent results.

THE CALCUTTA MOSQUE INCIDENT.

The *Times* of the 17th inst. contains a brief message from Calcutta saying that trouble has arisen there between the Port Commissioners and local Moslems in connection with the demolition of part of a mosque and the alleged desecration of grave-yards in order to make room for an extension of the Kidderpur docks. We are also told that feeling has been running so high that an order for the cessation of the demolition work has been issued by the district magistrate. It is earnestly hoped by all Indian Moslems in London that there will be no repetition of the Cawnpore tragedy. We trust Lord Carmichael will not permit this undoubtedly grave question to develop any further and show the same degree of statesmanship on this occasion which was so strongly exhibited by the Viceroy at Cawnpore in an almost identical situation. Nothing succeeds so well as nipping an evil move in the bud and it will admittedly be to the advantage of both the authorities and the Moslem community if His Excellency the Governor would forthwith adopt suitable measures for the prevention of the subsequent disaster rather than to have eventually to proceed with remedial processes, however benign and reasonable they may be. The awful recollections of Cawnpore are much too recent to enable one to afford ignoring this fresh mosque incident, even at this great distance, and we are praying to be spared the repetition of that dreadful history.

INDIAN GOLFER AT OXFORD.

The final of the inter-college golf competition at Oxford University was decided this week over the course at Radley, when Trinity beat Balliol by 17 holes to 2. In the top match H. S. Malik, an Indian undergraduate, defeated W. F. C. McClure, the Oxford Captain, by 2 holes. Malik who played splendid golf, finished the round in 73. He has taken to the game fairly recently and is already an accomplished player. Before playing golf, he had made a reputation as a cricketer. His friends both at the 'Varsity and in London will follow his future career with very keen interest.

THE INDIAN UNION SOCIETY.

This Society, which had lately suspended its activities, has become fully alive again and every fortnight draws numerous gatherings to its meetings at the Emerson Club in Charing Cross. In the past it has had the distinction of entertaining some illustrious Indian personages like His Highness the Gakwar, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Sir Pheroz-shah Mehta, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, etc., while eminent people like Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. Edwyn Bevan, and the Berlin Correspondent of the *Times*, amongst others, have delivered addresses before its members from time to time, Mr. Bevan having also held the office of Hon. Treasurer to the Society. It owes its origin to the efforts of Mrs. P. L. Roy, whose personality is always a guarantee for the successful career of any undertaking with which she may associate herself. I believe she was its first president and her daughters have likewise held that office in the by-gone days. It is worked on thoroughly democratic and non-sectarian principles and extends its hospitality to distinguished Indians visiting this country, irrespective of creed or politics. The members of the Society had the unique honour of being invited by the Gakwar to a princely reception at the Piccadilly Hotel in the Coronation year, when, apart from His Highness himself, the Maharano and their daughter, the Maharajahs of Bikaner and Gwalior and Mr. Justice Nair of Madras were amongst those present. Mr. K. C. Tayabjee, who is now a solicitor in Bombay, was one of the most popular presidents the Society has had. As I have already mentioned, the Indian Union Society has had some lady presidents as well and so it can claim to have not only extended universal suffrage to all its members for voting purposes but to have also raised women to "Cabinet" rank and in fact to the high dignity of the "Woolsack." Surely this "equal" treatment of women by an Indian Society in the heart of London—in spite of the volumes written in English as to the treatment, that of a mere slave, meted out to Indian women by their wicked menfolk—cannot but claim the envy of poor Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends. Mrs. Roy and her daughters have secured the vote for the Indian women here and that too without smashing our windows or else adopting the hunger strike!

The Indian Union Society is certainly doing very useful work in London, but I am sure the Indian cause could be served more faithfully if the pioneers of the numerous Indian associations in London could manage to concentrate their energy, their interest and their attention upon one single institution, instead of dividing their labour, as they do now, in so many directions. Those responsible for the management of the various existing Bodies would be well advised to amalgamate the different Societies with the sole object of establishing a common and central organisation, which should receive the co-operation and support of every Indian in this metropolis. Apart from the division of labour—which is unavoidable under the existing conditions—the present system is

not fair either to the average Indian student, who, though perfectly willing to support any movement that concerns his country, is very often prevented, from the financial point of view, from associating himself with all the institutions that are being run to-day, and their number is very large indeed. The natural consequence is that on the whole the excellent cause underlying all these movements is bound to suffer. If, however, the numerous existing associations could be submerged into a single powerful organisation, the Indian interest and co-operation—at present widely scattered—could and would concentrate towards the proper establishment of such an institution on a solid foundation and its popularity and influence would be thus assured. The Indian Union Society, the London Indian Association and the Indian Social Club (to say nothing of the smaller sectarian or rather regional organisations, such as the Punjabee Society, the Beharee Association, the Burmese Society etc.) are at present, for instance, the leading Indian institutions in London, which have practically the same aims and objects in view, viz., the promotion of harmony and social intercourse between the Indians. It is obvious that those objects could be more easily attained if we had instead one common central body, which every Indian in London could join and which could really give him the opportunity for Social intercourse with his fellow-countrymen. Gradually such an institution would develop into a powerful organisation. It could serve as the nucleus of a great scheme, by means of which, when fully matured, every Indian here would become strongly saturated and infused with that unifying spirit—whether he be a Hindu or a Moslem; a Bengali or a Maratha; a Sikh or a Rajput; a Punjabee or a Madrassee—which is so essential for the social, moral and political advancement of our great and ancient country. Here is a splendid opportunity for Indian "statesmanship" in London. The matter undoubtedly deserves their most careful consideration.

SIR EDWARD GREY ON THE TURKISH PROBLEM.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert in moving his resolution in the House of Commons last Wednesday, concerning the British position in the Mediterranean, succeeded in introducing the Turkish question in the debate. In the course of an admirable speech, on which he was justly complimented by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert said that there had been a great deal of resentment among the Moslem subjects of the Crown in India because of injudicious utterances in this country, and because of the humiliation to which Indian Moslems had been treated in South Africa, and that feeling would be confirmed because England was associated in their minds with Europe's treatment of the Turkish islands in the Mediterranean. The islands that dominated the Dardanelles, through which a great portion of their food supply come, were to be left to Turkey and not given to Greece the obvious inference being that Europe had assumed that position because she did not want to run any risk in regard to her food supply. On the other hand, the islands that dominated Smyrna and Asia Minor, were to be taken from Turkey and given to Greece, the inference being that the risk which they repudiated for themselves they were ready to inflict upon Turkey. It could not be maintained that geographically these were Greek islands any more than it could be said that the Isle of Wight was a French island. In all this Balkan settlement Europe had taken practically our basis, and it had not been ethnological, but strategical and based on propinquity.

Sir Mark Sykes, who seconded the resolution, said there were two factors of intense importance as bearing upon the position in the Mediterranean. The first was the Entente with France and the second was the precarious position of the Ottoman Empire at the present time. The disappearance of Turkey must entail the disappearance even of the shadow of the Persian Empire. European frontier might then be established, in the face of which he could not see how this Empire would continue the Entente which was real and deep, but if it could be endangered, it was by the policy of the French financier in the Near East. That policy was to produce eventually the collapse of the Ottoman Empire which would be a frightful disaster to themselves. He entreated the Foreign Secretary to consider the financial position which was developing in the Ottoman Empire, and to strive to secure that the Triple Entente, sinking all territorial ambitions and all ideas of exploitation should adopt a policy of co-operation for the regeneration of that Empire.

Sir Edward Grey, after dealing with the question of the British position in the Mediterranean, said—"Now, to go into the questions of foreign policy, which were raised, there are one or two of them I must put aside, because I cannot very well bring them within the terms of the motion. It is a little difficult to get Persia into the four corners of the motion. (A laugh.)

China is still more remote, and I do not think I could establish the connexion of Sweden with the Mediterranean. I must, then, put them on one side, and concentrate on the one point, our policy in regard to the Mediterranean. Our policy with regard to Turkey now that the war is over is to use our diplomatic influence to see the

integrity of the Turkish dominions preserved. There is no financial boycott at present, and, of course, there has never been a financial boycott as far as we are concerned. The Government cannot financially boycott another country, for we do not control finances as they are controlled in some other countries. But the seconder of the resolution spoke of a very large loan to Turkey and undesirable conditions attached to it, and that is another matter. As far as we are concerned we cannot press financiers to lend money to Turkey. We never press them to lend money, because they would decide for themselves whether it was a good financial operation, and because we should incur responsibility if we did press them. If Turkey wants to borrow money among British financiers they must decide for themselves whether it is a financial operation in its commercial aspects in which they desire to engage.

TURKISH ASSURANCES.

But this I will say. We have had the most explicit assurances from the Turkish Government that they desire to put their own house in order, that they have no aggressive designs in the sense of ripping up the peace and engaging in a war of *revanche* in Europe. We believe that these assurances represent the real meaning and intention of the present Turkish Government, and therefore I will say at once that so far as we are concerned we see no political objection why people who wish to lend money to the Turkish Government at the present moment for commercial reasons should not do so. That, I think, disposes of the idea of a financial boycott.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert.—I never intended to suggest that England had boycotted Turkish finance.

Sir E. Grey.—I understood that, but the hon. member who seconded the motion referred to a very big loan which was not a British loan and that really did apply to the same quarter which the hon. member was speaking of when he used the words "financial boycott"

A REFORM SCHEME.

The Turkish Government are aware that reforms are necessary to preserve the integrity of Asiatic finance. I cannot go into details in regard to Armenia, but a reform scheme for Armenia has advanced to a stage at which I believe it has the consent of the European Powers, which is essential, as well as that of the Turkish Government. I trust that very soon it would take concrete shape, and when it takes concrete shape and I state to the House exactly what the reforms consist of, and which are the result of agreement between Turkey and the other Powers, I hope it will be borne in mind that it is much more important to have a scheme of reforms under which, say, the Turkish Government takes two European inspectors and employs them in the Armenian *vilayets*, and which has the goodwill of the Turkish Government, than it is to have a reform scheme which on paper looks much better, but has not got the goodwill of the Turkish Government.

A reform scheme which has not the goodwill of the Turkish Government is one which is only going to be operative in proportion to the force which is behind it, and the continuous pressure which is behind it not on the part of one or two Powers, but of all the Powers of Europe. The reform scheme which has been arranged between the Powers of Europe and the Turkish Government is a scheme which is really going to operate, and in this case I believe the scheme when it is produced will be found to be not only more satisfactory on paper than was expected, but that it will be one which has the goodwill of the Turkish Government. It is in that sense their scheme as well as the scheme of the European Powers, and it will be found that the present Turkish Government have realized how much they have lost in Europe by bad Government in Macedonia and in the territory which they have lost, and how essential it is that they should apply to their future government the lessons which have resulted from the adversity which has overtaken them. Therefore the scheme of reform will start with Turkish goodwill in the sense that it has not had before. I am glad to have an opportunity of explaining what has taken place in regard to the Aegean. There is nothing which Mohamedan feeling ought to take offence at in regard to the part we have played in the settlement which has taken place. The hon. member who moved the motion called attention very truly, and I am glad he did, to one or two things we have done to show that we are sensitive to Mohamedan feeling and have the natural sympathy which every one ought to have in this House with the legitimate sentiments and feelings of the vast number of Mohamedans who are the subjects of the Crown. The hon. member who moved the motion said that we alone protested, and made representations in regard to the treatment of the Mohamedan minorities. We certainly have done so, but I am not sure whether we are the only country which has done so on more than one occasion while the war was in progress. He also referred to the fact that we alone had made a grant of money to Albania for the relief of distress there. In that case I believe it is true that we alone have done so. (Hear, hear.)

THE QUESTION OF THE AEGEAN ISLANDS.

Then we come to the question of the Islands. I think the hon. member who moved the motion overlooked one point which we have had to bear in mind—the strategical effect which changes with regard

to the Aegean Islands might have on the Mediterranean. It is very germane to the terms of his motion to consider the strategical effect which changes in the Aegean Islands might have on the Mediterranean. We have borne that strategical effect in mind because all our influence has been used—and other Powers have agreed, and I think willingly—to get an agreement amongst the Powers that, whatever else may happen with regard to the Aegean Islands, none of those islands should be permanently occupied and maintained by the Powers. We did that precisely because we were alive to the strategical position in the Mediterranean and did not wish to see changes take place to affect that position adversely. But when we come to consider the settlement of the Islands, I think the settlement ought to be considered as a whole. The hon. member spoke as though the only thing involved was the giving of the island of Mitylene to Greece. That is not the only thing involved, nor is that the right way of stating what has taken place. It was not a question of handing these islands to Greece. It was a question of whether they should be taken away from Greece after she had taken the islands, of which the population was largely Christian. Certain districts of Epirus have been taken away from Greece and are in course of being given to Albania, which to a very large extent will be a Mohamedan State. I think Mohamedan feeling ought to be consulted, and what we have done has not shown any anti-Mohamedan bias. I am speaking, of course, of the settlement for which all the Powers are jointly responsible, and for which we have no more responsibility than any other Powers. In the case of the islands now in Italian occupation, which will be restored to Turkey under the conditions of the treaty between Italy and Turkey, the decision of the Powers was that they were to decide what the destination of those islands was to be, and they decided that they were to go to Turkey. That was not an anti-Mohamedan decision, but an essential part of the settlement. It has been decided that the Island of Tenedos, because of its strategical importance to Turkey, is not to remain with Greece, but to revert to Turkey again. That shows consideration for Turkish feeling. If, after all that, it has been decided that the islands of Mitylene and Chios are not to be taken from Greece, it is not fair to quote that as an instance of an anti-Mohamedan decision by the Powers without remembering that it is merely part of a decision which I have divided into four parts, of which two are positively favourable to Turkey and the third is in favour of Albania, where Mohamedan interests have notably to be considered. That ought to be taken into account.

MITYLENE AND CHIOS.

It is a great mistake to look at the question of these islands as though they were the only thing in the settlement and not to bear in mind that they are part of the settlement and should be considered in relation to other parts. The settlement as a whole does not show an anti-Mohamedan or anti-Turkish bias. The hon. member who moved the motion admitted that the islands of Mitylene and Chios are in the main Greek with regard to their inhabitants. That is a strong *prima facie* case for their being under Greek rule. But why did he urge that they should not be? He said they were strategically important to Turkey. They are strategically important to Turkey, and the Powers have laid down that the islands are to be neutralized and not fortified, that Greece is not to make use of them in a sense hostile to Turkey and is to take precautions to see that a nuisance is not caused to Turkey by smuggling. We have taken as much interest as anybody in seeing that these conditions should be imposed. It has been suggested that all sorts of trouble would ensue from the possession of these islands by Greece, and that they would involve a real menace and risk to Turkey. Positive stipulations were introduced which Greece has willingly accepted which ought to safeguard Turkey against any such use being made of these particular islands. If in future it turns out that the unfavourable prophecies which have been made with regard to the possession of these islands are likely to be realized, that they are being used as a centre of smuggling and political agitation, that they are being fortified and are likely to become a base hostile to Turkey, that they are being administered in a sense offensive to Turkish interests—not only is that foreign to our intention in being a party to this settlement, but stipulations have been introduced into the settlement to guard against it. I believe not only with regard to this Government but any future British Government, if these fears turn out to be true, our sympathy will be all on the side of whatever measures may be suggested to secure that the possession of these islands by Greece shall be one which not only ensures the welfare of the population, but which also ensures that they are not used in a sense offensive to Turkey. I trust that the parties to this settlement will see that the ill effects to Turkey which are prophesied are not realized, but that Turkey shall be protected against the consequences which the Powers did not intend to flow from the settlement at which they have arrived and against which they have taken precautions by stipulation. (Cheers.)

Mr. Herbert, in view of the statement of the Foreign Secretary, asked leave to withdraw his motion.

TETE À TETE



A few weeks ago we drew the attention of the Bengal Government to the growing anxiety amongst the Calcutta Mussalmans owing to the acquisition by the Calcutta Port authorities, with a view to extend the Kidderpore Docks, of a considerable plot of land on which 15 mosques and 12 grave-yards are situated. These mosques and grave-yards are in an imminent danger of being wiped out, unless the Government intervenes. We have refrained from publishing the numerous communications that we have been receiving on the subject, for we have naturally no desire to embarrass the authorities in a matter so intimately affecting the religious feelings of the Moslem community. We still hope that the Bengal Government would remove all causes of anxiety by settling the question without further delay. It should not, we think, be necessary to repeat too often that the preservation of mosques is to Mussalmans a supreme religious obligation. Wherever this question comes to be raised, be it at Cawnpore or elsewhere, Moslem feelings are bound to be deeply stirred. It is natural—no vicissitude of temper or outer circumstance can affect this one way or the other. It is time the force of this sentiment were fully recognised. We understand the Calcutta Mussalmans intend to wait on Lord Carmichael in deputation to lay the matter before him. We trust His Excellency will sympathetically consider the representation of the Mussalmans. We are surprised, by the way, at the silence of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League which appears to have done nothing in so important a matter, in spite of the loud patriotic pretensions of some of its members.

We publish elsewhere a letter sent to us from America, which invites prompt attention to the underlying policy of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill that was introduced in the United States Legislature sometime ago. Of all the Asiatics resident in the States, the Indians would assuredly be most adversely affected by this policy. They are weak in numbers; they lack active and powerful support of the British Government; and the humiliation to which they are subjected in the Colonies of their own Empire is bound to be taken up as the most crushing weapon against them. Indeed, the letter we publish to-day amply shows how the position assigned to Indians in Australia, Canada and South Africa is resulting on the position of Indians in the United States. The British Ambassador declined to help them unless he received instructions from the Foreign Office. We do not see what hope the Indian residents can have of protecting their rights and the honour of their country in such a situation. Has the British Imperialism no sense of duty in this respect? Is not the Empire powerful enough to protect its own citizens from insults and humiliation in foreign countries? It is a very anxious situation, yet British statesmanship seems hardly awake to the consequences of dallying with it.

If the organisers of the important Moslem Deputation that recently waited on Lord Hardinge had desired, among other things, to shut the mouths of their slanderers in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press, they have been remarkably successful. Their old and never-failing "friends," whose "advice" was lavished on them on the slightest provocation, seem to have received their plain and unvarnished talk in a chastened spirit, and, whether these "friends" have liked it or not, they have preferred to chew the end of remorse in silence. The Moslem Deputation has been studiously ignored by the Anglo-Indian papers, with one striking exception. Perhaps the event has given thoughts that are too deep and searching for complacent editorial paragraphs. Or it

may be, that the pens that were only yesterday dripping gall could not forthwith begin to overflow with milk and honey. But whether it is a shock of surprise, or the pang of remorse, or only a mild chagrin at the passing of a coveted opportunity to play the old game that is responsible for the conspiracy of silence, we would rather not inquire. The psychology of the Anglo-Indian Press is not easy to analyse—it is as shifty as the political weather of which it is so fine a barometer. But as we have already said, there is one great "friend" of the Mussalmans to whom the straight challenge of the representatives of the community has gone fearfully home. We have been rather amused to see the *Times of India*, which is so fond of lecturing the Mussalmans on sanity, trying madly to fit the cap on its head. It bitterly represents that the Mussalmans should have gone to the Viceroy to vindicate their loyalty, and in their reply to their calumniators it sees an "impassioned protestation" which was slightly suggestive of the refrain "we are all honourable men." It ascribes certain wild sayings to some Moslem journal and says that "other Mohamedan journals have also acquired a reputation for ill-balanced opinions" and screaming denunciations which cannot easily be lived down, or "ignored on account of any number of protesting deputations." Our contemporary is evidently too vain to forget itself and too haughtily sensitive to "ignore" things that it does not like, but it forgets that the huge bundle of memories that it may be carrying to nurse its hate or revenge is already upsetting its mental balance. The Mussalmans know well enough what their needs are and they are quite competent to provide for those needs, if only their "friends" would leave them in peace. They have only one feeling for the presumption of those who discover postulates for their conduct or solemnly hold forth on the virtue of sanity. It is really a curious logic that the *Times of India* and others of the same kidney have evolved in their campaign of malice and vilification against the Mussalmans. If the feelings of the Mussalmans of India are stirred by overwhelming misfortunes to Islam abroad or by some deep shock to their religious sentiments at home, they are dubbed sedition-mongers. If they desire to clear their character of the aspersions cast by their calumniators, they are said to be protesting their loyalty too much. Perhaps the *Times of India* and others of the tribe desire the Mussalmans to remain only as a perpetual text from which they might preach high political sermons according to the needs of the hour. All we wish to say is that the Mussalmans will hold on to the course that lies before them, undeterred by the threats and uninfluenced by the cajoleries of interested on-lookers, and we trust even the *Times of India* will live to learn it.

We have received a copy of the sad petition which was submitted some days ago to the district magistrate of Basti by 341 Mussalman residents of Mehnadpur, Bargadwa, Sawaiwar and some other villages situated within the jurisdiction of the police station Uska in the district. The petitioners state that since October, 1913, they have been molested and maltreated by a number of their Hindu fellow-subjects in every conceivable way "simply because we did not consent to give up the *qurbani* of cows "wholly and definitely on the occasion of the last Baqr'-Eed." They further state that their individual cries have not been successful in attracting the attention of the minor local authorities; and they have been driven in consequence to "approach you in a body with "the hope that you will be pleased to make a thorough and searching "inquiry, if need be, into our real and legitimate grievances with the "result that our future interests will be safeguarded and we will be "safe and free to return to our homes without any further danger to "our lives and property." The facts stated in the petition are as follows. Some days before the last Baqr'-Eed some of the Hindu residents of the villages named above sent for some of the petitioners and ordered them to abstain from sacrificing cows and buffalos and to substitute goats and sheep in their place. As the petitioners were unable to give any pledge to that effect, they were threatened with hints of damage to their lives and property. This aggressive attitude on the part of the Hindus is stated to have been the result of the preachings of some *bairagis* from Ajndhya. It was proclaimed by the Hindus by beat of drum that no one shall sacrifice cows and buffalos. "Subscription lists were opened to carry on "the propaganda of open hostility to the established laws and custom "of the country. Upon the heels of this war-cry followed some stray "acts of incendiarism the same evening, crops were destroyed in "some of the fields the morning following and the reign of terrorism "began in right earnest." The petitioners made a number of reports at the police station, but no serious notice was taken of them, "because no "lives had been lost and no very great damage to the crops could be "pointed out at one single spot." "We admit," say the petitioners, "that every effort would have been made to bring the culprit to "justice had we but lost a single life. But we proved cowards and "at this stage we prefer remaining so." The Hindus were in the meantime carrying on "an organised warfare" and were too astute

A Remarkable Petition.

to commit acts that might lead to bloodshed or a serious breach of the peace. The petitioners filed a number of complaints in the court of the sub-divisional officer of Bansi, but they failed to get any effectual remedy. They state that one of the officers, who inspected the locality, "after gauging the feelings of the opposite faction, only thought of pacifying them by trying to prevail upon one of us to definitely give up the *gurbani* of cows and in lieu to accept Rs. 50 from the Hindu zamindars, which offer was very respectfully rejected." The petitioners then respectfully call the attention of the district magistrate to their helpless condition, the fear of organised persecution and violence that drove them out of their homes and has been keeping them in a frightful state of misery and suspense for many months past. Failing to get a redress of their grievances elsewhere they now turn to the district magistrate to help them and afford them safety and protection from the aggressive hostility of their determined and powerful neighbours. They state that the serious *impasse* seems to have been reached "through the attitude of some of the petty officials responsible for order and good government." The petitioners assure the district magistrate that they have done all they could to settle the matter amicably and return quietly to their homes, but their efforts have sadly failed. They would not be allowed, it would seem, to settle down to their work in peace, unless they give up their rights and pledge themselves to abstain from performing a religious duty. The custom of sacrificing cows and buffaloes has obtained in these villages for some generations. The petitioners are poor and cannot afford to sacrifice goats or sheep. Being staunch Mussalmans they naturally consider *gurbani* as a sacred rite which they are bound to observe. They cannot renounce this right the free exercise of which has been guaranteed to them by the British rule. Should they, therefore, be allowed to suffer so long at the hands of fanatical oligues, when they have done nothing and mean to do nothing to offend the susceptibilities of the Hindus? They crave "the benevolent help and sympathy" of the district magistrate. "Our condition" they say, "speaks loudly of our necessity. We have left our homes with our women and children and are camping out in the open, out of the Uska police jurisdiction. This speaks for itself and we need not be more plain in language." They pray that (a) a committee consisting of an equal number of Hindus and Mussalmans and one European member be appointed to consider their grievances and make a report thereon and that (b) a thorough departmental inquiry be made into the affairs of the Uska police station and, if any officer is found undesirable, he should be transferred. We prefer to say nothing at this stage in regard to the sad and amazing story that this petition discloses. We wonder nothing should have been done to look into the condition of things even after hundreds of Mussalmans with their wives and children had left their homes long ago and have since been living out in the open. They are evidently afraid of coming to live within the Uska police jurisdiction? Do they fear being harassed by some police official or underlings? All these matters require a thorough, prompt and impartial inquiry. We have just received a communication from a correspondent who says that the district magistrate has rejected the petition. It is almost incredible to us to believe that the district magistrate would thus spurn away hundreds of poor, persecuted, hapless persons, whose distress is so great and who went to knock at his door for justice. We would await further details and information before we make our comments at length. But if it is true that the district magistrate has refused to ensure for the petitioners some tolerable conditions for their safety, we trust the local Government will promptly look into the matter and see that the poor Mussalmans of the villages, now wandering about in utter helplessness, get the official protection they seek and return to their homes without any risk to their lives and property.

Hindu-Moslem Entente. The Hindu-Moslem conference which Sir James Meston had called with a view to consider the best means of promoting harmony and goodwill between the two communities, met at Lucknow last week. Our special correspondent sends us the following telegraphic summary of its proceedings:—"Twelve Mussalmans and eleven Hindus attended. His Honour and the Chief Secretary were present. Pundit Bishan Narain Dar was absent. The following subjects were discussed: (1) Processions in religious festivals; (2) appointments in the public service; (3) the language question; (4) separate representation on local bodies; (5) cow-killing. There was a good deal of plain speaking on both sides. The meeting lasted from 11 a. m. to 7-30 p. m. It was suggested that joint-boards be appointed under collectors and commissioners. Objection was taken to boards being formed under official control. The non-official members present at the conference formed into a committee, with the Raja of Mahmudabad as chairman, to promote friendly relations between the two communities. The committee has power to add to its members. It is premature to judge of the results at this stage. All depends on the spirit and the manner in which the committee works. It is encouraging that the committee will not be under official control." It is satisfactory to note that the conference did not rush to hasty resolutions which would have been repudiated afterwards by the general Hindu or the Mussalman public. The

appointment of an independent non-official committee is a wise step, and if it sets to work earnestly and in the right spirit no one need despair of good results. The questions discussed at the conference form the crux of the matter, and they can only be settled amicably if the point of view of either side is examined impartially and receives its due weight. We trust both the Hindu and the Mussalman gentlemen on the committee realise that their business is not to wring concessions from each other, but to find a settlement that would be fair to both. Opinions should be freely invited and the work of the committee should proceed in a manner that would inspire general confidence. If the will is not wanting it should not be difficult to find the way. If the committee succeeds in its delicate and difficult task Sir James Meston would deserve the gratitude of both the communities in the Province for his initiative.

THE news of the unanimous election of the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy as President of the Bombay Corporation for the current year would be received with genuine pleasure by the large circle of his friends and admirers outside Bombay. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, in proposing Sir Fazulbhoy for the highest civic honour that it is in the gift of the most efficient, progressive and independent municipal corporation in India to bestow on any one of its members, paid a warm tribute to the ability and services of Sir Fazulbhoy and pointed out that "there was our gratifying feature, which he had just discovered about this office and it was that Sir Fazulbhoy became President 'at the same age at which he (Sir Pherozeshah) was first appointed 'to that post.' We earnestly hope that Sir Fazulbhoy's future career will realise the splendid promise of his early manhood. In reply to a recent address presented to him by the Mussalmans of Bombay in appreciation of his manifold services to the cause of communal education, Sir Fazulbhoy said: "You have overlooked my faults" and exaggerated the importance of what I have been able to achieve. "I am sure much yet remains to be done, and, with your kindness and co-operation, I hope to dedicate my services to the welfare and advancement of my community for the rest of my life." This is a noble resolve, and for a man of Sir Fazulbhoy's talents, leisure and position it is not difficult to realise. His community expects great things from him, and he would surely fulfil the promise of his manhood as well as the hopes of his friends, if his resolution is fixed and unshakable and his purpose is not suffered, through inevitable obstacles, difficulties and disappointments, to grow dim.

LORD HALDANE, in recently delivering the annual Orieighton lecture at University College, London, took as his theme "The Meaning of Truth in History." Sir Edward Grey, who presided, introduced the subject in a speech of great suggestiveness and lucidity. He himself fills an active and important role to-day in the sphere of international politics. Much of the raw material of a very engrossing department of contemporary history has in recent years borne more or less the impress, among others, of Sir Edward's personality. It had been suggested to him that he might explain how diplomatists by their inveterate habit of telling the truth in their own day, were doing all they could do to make the work of the future historian easier. In his opinion, however, the difficulty, so far as the diplomatist was concerned, "was not to tell the truth, but to get it believed when one had told it." It is an edifying commentary on the reputation of Diplomacy for a plain, straightforward habit of disburdening itself to the uninitiated. Any diplomatist worthy of his craft would, in fact, despise all free indulgence in this habit as professional incompetence. When a veil is partially withdrawn on rare occasions, it is often intended as a "blind" to send the pack of curiosity-hunters off their track. Whether the historian would find it easy to disentangle "truth" from the calculated "indiscretions" of Diplomacy as well as from its discreet reticences it is hard to tell. There can be no doubt, however, that the diplomatist is in a very special sense making history. The historian, that comes later to piece together the bewildering multitude of accomplished "facts" into some sort of organic relation, reads into them ideas, tendencies, and broad significance and makes the dry bones live again after his own inner image of the period and the epoch. The inner atmosphere in which the diplomatist plies his craft rarely reveals itself to the historian. He frequently misses the tone and the gesture of the age; no inward illumination can successfully light his path to the hidden springs of motives and character of the diplomatist; no effort can bring him into close and intimate touch with the real sources of the diplomatist's power and the tools with which he worked. The most successful historian—successful in the popular sense—is in reality an artist, i.e., he pursues his way through the recorded deeds and thoughts and hopes of men and selects his materials to give it a complete expression. The figures that crowd his canvas are his own creation. It is wholly beside the point to inquire if they reflect the past faithfully as in a mirror. The essential point is that both the mirror and the faculty of vision are the artist's own.

But even if the entire historical literature of the world were a merely richly-embroidered vesture, fashioned out of the records of the past, through which individuals gifted with strong literary instincts

Truth in History.

have tried to find self-expression, it would be difficult to dismiss it as a mass of unreality. For one thing, it has moulded our conception of the past and has thus become a living force in our estimate of the tendencies of the present and in our forecasts of the future. And the picture that it gives of the past is not wholly valueless. Even in a caricature one can visualise the real features by some effort of the imagination. And historical literature is not all a caricature. At its worst it is unmitigated falsehood, but in the hands of the best masters it has given several valuable glimpses of "the truth." The defect of the bias of personality, which even the best specimen of historical literature bears, is a human limitation that it is impossible to remove. History has its message, and it is not all profitless. According to Sir Edward Grey, two things should be sought in the study of history. One is some help in understanding the time in which we live ourselves. In our own age it is very difficult to see the wood from the trees. The historian can show us a past age stripped of all that was trivial, irrelevant or transitory in it and can bring out what the life of the period really was, what people thought really mattered, their point of view, their lasting and permanent work, the tendency of their age. This could help to save us from confusion and muddle and to make our own efforts some permanent contribution to the pattern and work which our own generation is doing and which would be recognised by future historians as distinctive. The other thing we get from history is the lesson to be learnt from the conduct of prominent and great individuals, the limitation in public work of character which was not supported by sufficient intellect, the failure even of the greatest intellect when it was not accompanied by sufficient qualities of character. Lord Haldane mainly discoursed on the standard of truth for the historian. He advanced the analogy of the artist who painted a portrait. Art in the highest sense has to disentangle the significance of the whole from its details and to reproduce it. The truth of the art is a truth that must be borne again of the artist's mind. No mere narration of details would give the whole that at once dominated those details, and yet did not exist apart from them. The work of the historian and the artist seems to be so far analogous; both are directed to finding the true expression of their subjects and neither is concerned with accidents of details that are fortuitous. But the former does not possess the freedom of the latter. If he uses as complete liberty as the artist claims, he is reckoned as belonging to quite a different profession—that of a writer of historical romance. The true historian must be exact and yet a lord over his details. He must not let his views on the whole be distorted by *a priori* conceptions that are abstract and inadequate to the riches of the facts of life. Lord Haldane thinks that the historian must be a man of art as well as of science. It may be possible to a certain degree to combine art and science in writing history, but a perfect combination is out of the question. Science cries for exactitude and generalisation at every step, and it would be the height of absurdity to imagine that any theory or principle can for a moment be framed to comprehend such an incommensurable thing as life. Social sciences are not simply imperfect, they can never be sure of their ground. As Lord Haldane himself observes, it is a mistake to suppose that statesmen are always conscious of the ends which they are accomplishing. It is not by the piecing together of mechanical fragments but by a process more akin to the development of life that societies grow and are changed. There is thus an inevitable element of what seems at first sight to be unreality in even the best work of historians.

LORD MORLEY'S range and power of thought in a bold, philosophical survey of history have been some of the most illuminating sources of wisdom to his generation. In his recent short volume,

Politics and History.

entitled *Notes on Politics and History*, he inquires in his own inimitable way if history can afford any valuable guidance in the conduct of politics. As an able reviewer says, he has in these *Notes* delivered himself of a searching criticism of contemporary civilisation. He is suggestive as well as elusive in propounding a number of questions with which he confronts the reader. The aspect of contemporary civilisation that has most strongly impressed itself on Lord Morley is its turbulent change. The student of public affairs cannot fail to remark to-day an enormous impetus to legislative innovation coupled with an impatience of legal restraint. "The whole trend of modern legislation," says Professor G. H. Morgan, "marks a progress from contract to status—the legal relations of parent and child, of husband and wife, of employer and workman, of doctor and patient, of landlord and tenant, are all undergoing a change in the direction of legislative regulation. Whether these changes keep pace with or outpace the development of individual character is an anxious and urgent question. In spite of this tendency to increase the functions of the State—perhaps because of it—there is everywhere what Lord Morley aptly calls a 'latter-

authority—civil commotion in Ulster, 'sympathetic' strikes in one or more of our great industrial towns, hints at revolution by our Conservative Party, and threats, and more than threats, of 'sex war' by the champions of Women's suffrage. Men are at once and the same time eager for legislation and impatient of law." Where, it may well be asked, are people to look for persuasion, if not for authority, in all this ferment of change? Lord Morley has faith and hope in the influence of educated opinion. The habit of loose-thinking and slipshod-reasoning has grown amid the conditions of life that have contributed to the general instability of mind, but he thinks the chief corrective for this is a re-examination by the universities of the foundations of political belief. And this leads us to the central question: What guidance can history give to the student of contemporary affairs and more particularly to the politician and the statesman? Nothing was more characteristic of the period about the middle of the nineteenth century than the zeal with which men set themselves to make history the handmaid of politics. As Professor Morgan says, "different historians at different times discovered an inexorable movement from status to contract, communism to individualism, aristocracy to democracy, authority to liberty, custom to law, myth to religion, religion to morality. Others again have seen in history the divine hegemony of a race or the apotheosis of a creed...It is of this appropriation of history to politics that Stubbs must surely have been thinking when he satirised the attempt of men to prove that 'all things would have been exactly as they are if everything had been diametrically opposite to what it was.' "What then do we mean by truth in history? If it means veracity, it is surely the primary business of the historian. But veracity is not the same thing as value which the philosopher has to find out and estimate. As a law of life history has its limits. The rules of conduct must be sought and found in the investigation of the content of one's own experience. "These are things," says Professor Morgan, "which each generation of men must work out for themselves; it may be with fear and trembling. History cannot perform for us the office of philosophy. It is not a criticism of life, though it may occasionally supply the materials for one. Even when we have advanced from the conception of the historian's object as 'What happened' to 'How or why it actually happened,' from the descriptive to the causal, we are still a long way from the imperious contemporary problem 'What ought to happen?'" Generalisations of history are not commands. If they are accepted as the "laws" of life social will and purpose will be paralysed and the human spirit would lose all energy and enterprise.

Man is his own star, and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man
Commands all time, all influence, all fate;
Nothing to him comes early or too late.

But if history is not a very reliable guide in the solution of contemporary problems, its value as an instrument of intellectual training and culture can not be ignored. It may not yield laws of life, but if wisely studied it can impart breadth of outlook, tolerance, sense of proportion to the mind of the student and may endow him with that steadiness of nerve which is so necessary in dealing with men and affairs. Lord Morley thinks that history "is very convenient to the politician—a plausible parallel makes him feel surer of his ground." And this is its greatest snare—it can not contradict us when we read our opinions into it. Stubbs was doubtful if history would make men wise, but he was sure it would make them sad. Some of its most profound students think that it can throw little light on the doubts and controversies of the hour and that man can never hope to divine the future by reading the past. It would perhaps be nearer the truth to say that man can never read the past fully and therefore correctly. And this is the real limitation that besets history as, indeed, all human knowledge. The horizons shut mercilessly behind us and before us, and the mind's eye can only range over a brief space through the intermittent light of fragmentary human experience, and cannot penetrate the immense darkness around. The light itself changes colours, and the eye is but a creature of the age. It is the sense of these stupendous fixities which brings Lord Morley to a pause and forces on him the question: Is there Progress? As Professor Morgan says, we all believe in Progress to-day, but do we achieve it? Have we any clear conception of what it means? "We are, as Anatole France reminds us, working upon the roaring loom of time even as the weavers who produce the Gobelin tapestry—we work without seeing the 'pictures which we weave.' There is much that can be said to show that the present age is an age of progress in the real sense of the word. There is a quickened social consciousness and a deeper appreciation of our mutual obligations. Education is growing liberal, speculation is becoming freer every day. Lord Morley, though expressing no definite opinion, seems to think that the achievements and efforts of contemporary civilisation are not all a delusion and a mistake. He sees around him "equity, candour, diligence, application, charity, disinterestedness for public ends, courage without presumption." He recites the tribute of Sophocles to the unconquerable mind of man. His message is one of hope

The Comrade.

Ulster and the Army.

II.

We concluded our first article on the subject published in the last issue by stating that the crisis of the officers' resignations with reference to the question, whether the Army could be forced to coerce Ulster, was averted, but it was averted only at the cost of a still greater crisis with reference to the question, whether the Army could ask for and obtain assurances from Government about the manner in which it would be employed by the Civil power. This question is indeed of the utmost importance, and the historian of the British Constitution would have to include this second Ulster crisis in his account of the position of the Army towards Parliamentary Government. It has involved the resignation of the Secretary of State for War and of two military officers holding important posts, such as Field-Marshal Sir John French, the Chief of the General Staff, and Lieutenant General Sir John Ewart. It all but involved the resignation of a statesman like Lord Morley and of General Sir Arthur Paget commanding the troops in Ireland. Even more significant is the direct assumption of the charge of the Army as the Secretary of State for War by the Prime Minister himself. In fact it is only by taking these grave and unusual steps that the Government has escaped a general resignation of the Cabinet following on the revolt of the Liberal back benches.

Before we can enter upon a discussion of essential the points in the controversy, it is necessary to ascertain what it was that the Government instructed Sir Arthur Paget to do and what he did, what it was that General Gough demanded and what he secured, how far the entire Cabinet was responsible for the action of Colonel Seely and Generals French and Ewart, and how much further these responsible authorities of the Army had gone. It is noteworthy that Sir Arthur Paget's instructions to officers were not included in the White Paper issued by the Government on the 25th of March, and Mr. Bonar Law in the Commons' debate insisted that everything turned on what General Paget said to the officers, and yet this Colonel Seely had refused to tell the house. However, now that Sir Arthur Paget has called at Downing Street and Mr. McKenna has communicated to the House of Commons the statement of Sir Arthur Paget to the Ministry, it is possible to see, even though it be dimly, what instructions Sir Arthur Paget had received from the Government and what communication he in his turn had made to the Irish officers. Mr. Winston Churchill told the House that regarding the new reinforcements sent to guard the depots, General Paget was consulted and was of opinion that it would cause intense excitement and a crisis. The Government did not view the matter so seriously, but consulted Mr. Birrell and acted on his advice. These movements and none other were approved by the Cabinet in principle, and the details were approved at a conference of Mr. Asquith, members of the Government, heads of the Army Council and Sir Arthur Paget. None of the Ministers believed that would lead to bloodshed, but General Paget took a most serious view. He was told that, if necessary, reinforcements should be sent from England. Regarding the possibility of disaffection among officers, General Paget was given two rules: *firstly*, officers ordered to support the civil power were not to be allowed to resign, but if they did not obey they were to be dismissed; *secondly*, indulgence might be shown to officers domiciled in Ulster. Mr. Churchill added that it was never intended that these rules, given to General Paget for guidance in case of emergency, should be put to the officers in the form of questions and that there was a misunderstanding on that point. According to Mr. McKenna's statement, Sir Arthur Paget had informed Mr. Asquith that the only question put to the Generals was, whether they were prepared to do their duty before any other consideration. It was not his intention that the Generals should put questions to the subordinates. He had also informed the Generals that officers whose homes were in Ulster might temporarily withdraw if operations became necessary. He requested the Generals to ascertain the number of officers thus withdrawing. Sir Arthur Paget was asked whether other officers would be allowed to resign. He replied that refusals of duty would result in dismissing.

There was evidently a bungling of the thing and, howsoever the misunderstanding arose, neither the Government nor Sir Arthur Paget can be congratulated on their management of the situation. But even if Sir Arthur Paget was responsible for this misunderstanding, the Government and the Army Council alone were responsible for the still more serious bungling when General Gough was called to the War Office and returned with written assurances in his pocket. In this connection too it is with the utmost difficulty that one is able to piece together the story of the transaction. We have already indicated in the article in our last issue that even the

Liberal papers were far from certain that General Gough had rejoined unconditionally, and that the *Times* had clearly asserted that General Gough had received a written assurance from the Government that the troops would not be used to coerce Ulster. It is true that when on the 23rd of March Mr. Asquith's statement was interrupted by a Unionist who asked: "Is General Gough reinstated?" Mr. Asquith had replied: "there is no question of reinstatement. He was never dismissed" and that when Mr. Bonar Law interposed: "his successor was actually mentioned," Mr. Asquith had replied "that was pending General Gough's explanation. He 'and all the officers concerned have now returned to their Brigade,'" and finally when the Unionists asked: "Unconditionally?" Mr. Asquith has replied: "Certainly." Nevertheless when Mr. Morrell had pointed out that the question whether or not General Gough had returned to Ireland on terms had not been answered and he asked Colonel Seely for an answer, Colonel Seely did not reply. Again, on the following day Mr. Amery, a Unionist, moved the reduction of the Army Estimates and declared that General Gough had refused to accept Colonel Seely's verbal assurances that neither he nor his troops would be used to coerce Ulster, and had got written assurance. In spite of this Colonel Seely deferred his statement until the following day much to the dissatisfaction of the Liberals, who expected an immediate explanation of the nature of the assurances given to Brigadier-General Gough and his comrades. The opinion in the Lobby was reported to be that the Government was threatened with a widespread revolt and that the Liberals were very angry at the Government's supposed yielding to the officers. On the 25th of March a White Paper was issued containing correspondence in relation to the events, but the summary cabled to this country did not explain the pointed issue whether General Gough had rejoined unconditionally or otherwise. On the same day Renter's telegram informed us on the authority of reports in the papers that the officers' interview at the War Office, evidently on the 22nd of March, was most stormy. Sir John French had criticised their action as meriting the severest punishment, but it is not without interest to know that it was a former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in India, Lord Roberts, whose intervention is reported to have restored a better feeling. Finally, a voluminous document, replete with legal technicalities was presented to them setting forth the conditions under which they would undertake to serve in Ulster. General Gough's reply, however inconsistent it may have been with his conduct at the Carragh camp, was very ingenious and showed him to be resourceful at least in diplomacy. He said we are plain soldiers and do not understand legal terms. So to the gentleman fully familiar with military discipline, but not worst in legal technicalities, a document of a less complicated nature was supplied which he signed. This is the first mention of something in writing, but as this document was signed by the officers and purported to set forth the conditions under which the officers would undertake to serve in Ulster, it could not have been the Cabinet document with the War Office additions which has formed the subject of so much controversy. To this Colonel Seely referred when announcing his resignation and said that it was signed by himself, Field-Marshal French and Lieutenant General Sir John Ewart and that it was a Cabinet document, but the signatories had inadvertently added the concluding paragraphs which gave the appearance that the officers had secured terms. The papers had subsequently published that Field-Marshal French and Lieutenant-General Sir John Ewart had reluctantly signed the paragraphs which were subsequently repudiated by the Government. Now we have the following Ministerial statement before us about this controversial document. We have already quoted what Colonel Seely had said about it. Mr. Asquith explained on the same date that the Cabinet had considered the letter to General Gough as contained in the White Paper with the exception of last two paragraphs. These, he said, were inadvertently added by Colonel Seely without the knowledge of the Cabinet. The Government, he declared, would never assent to the claims of officers to demand assurances from the Government. Sir Edward Grey said that when the Cabinet authorized the communication to General Gough the General's letter of the 23rd March was not before them. The paragraphs Colonel Seely had added were harmless enough in themselves, but the Cabinet was unable to endorse them because they appeared as an answer to General Gough, making conditions. The Government, said Sir Edward Grey, still maintained that General Gough had returned unconditionally. They stood by the first portion of their communication and were responsible for nothing else. Mr. Austin Chamberlain characterized Colonel Seely's resignation as a put-up job, and said that Colonel Seely had prepared the paragraphs, which the Government now repudiated, in consultation with Lord Morley and added that, if these Ministers remained, then the paper they had approved was binding on their colleagues. Mr. Churchill repudiated the statement and said that Lord Morley has never revised or examined the two paragraphs. Five days later Mr. Churchill asserted that when Colonel Seely's assurances were given the Cabinet knew nothing of General Gough's demand. The document drafted by Lieutenant-General Ewart came to the Cabinet too late to be read, but Mr. Asquith keeping the mind

of the Cabinet "cut it down accordingly, handed it to Colonel Seely and left the Cabinet." On the next day, however, Mr. Churchill stated that he had been betrayed into a mis-statement on the previous day and that the memorandum containing Brigadier-General Gough's demand was read to the Cabinet which declined to agree to them. From this it would appear that even Sir Edward Grey "was betrayed into a mis-statement" on the 25th of March, when he said that when the Cabinet authorized the communication to General Gough, the General's letter of 23rd was not before them. This is indeed an extraordinary betrayal, and one would very much like to know how it came about. As regards Lord Morley's snare in the transaction, his lordship himself stated that Colonel Seely had shown him the famous two paragraphs which did not appear to him to differ in substance from the views expressed by the Cabinet, and in answer to Lord Curzon's characteristic interjection, asking why, as Colonel Seely has resigned, Lord Morley was still Minister, he explained on the following day that he had not resigned, but that if Colonel Seely's first resignation had been accepted his would have followed. He has further explained that Colonel Seely's second resignation was on the entirely different point, that it might not appear that the Minister had made a bargain. Lord Morley himself never saw General Gough's letter. We confess these timid and hauling explanations, which require the repeated publication of *errata*, are more confusing than explanatory. The *Pioneer's* special correspondent has informed us that General Gough, after seeing Colonel Seely's added paragraphs and remarking that soldiers did not understand legal subtleties, asked in writing whether the document meant that he could tell the officers that they would not be used to force Home Rule on Ulster. Sir John French, he adds, attended and signed some form of assent. Versions vary from "this is so" to "I should read it so," the latter being the version Colonel Seely gave to the House of Commons. General Gough alone has the authentic copy. This is the record of a remarkably confused and complicated transaction that we have been able to piece together, and we cannot see how the conclusion can be avoided that the Cabinet and the War Office between them bungled the situation just as the Cabinet and the War Office and Sir Arthur Paget had bungled another situation a few days before.

The net result of this medley of instructions, resignations, misunderstandings, explanations, and corrections, is that the Liberal Government has shown firmness in the end and has laid it down by means of a new Army Order issued by the Army Council, including Sir John French and Sir John Ewart, that in the first place no officer should in future be questioned regarding his attitude in hypothetical contingencies; secondly, asking for assurances about orders which he might be required to obey was forbidden; and thirdly, he must obey lawful commands to safeguard public property, or support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty or in case of disturbances. But while we have given all the details of this bungling and the final result of the controversy, we have written to no purpose if we fail to impress our readers that, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, the gravest issue had arisen since the days of Stuarts. Representative Government was indeed at stake, and if Liberalism had flinched it would have declared that it was no longer fit to control a great Empire. Democracy is on its trial and on the courage and resolution of the friends of liberty depends the question whether the country shall remain free or be enslaved by military despotism. Mr. Asquith speaking at Newcastle Station used similar language when he said that they were living in searching times when fundamental principles were called in question and fortunes and great causes were at stake.

Let us examine a little how the "Party of Law and Order," the Party of the Constitution looks upon the matter. We have already quoted in our article in the last issue the opinions of some of the Tory papers and the tone and temper of them all. But if anything, the Tory statesmen are worse than the Tory Press. Mr. Bonar Law exulted over the discomfiture of the Government, because through the effort of his party "the Army was being destroyed before their eyes." He said nothing would save the Army now except a clear declaration that officers of the Navy and the Army would not be compelled to engage in civil war against their wish. Mr. Balfour, freed from the responsibility of the Leadership of the Opposition and enjoying the consolations of philosophy, golf and tennis, was even more irresponsible than Mr. Bonar Law. He was evidently pleased that General Gough had been dismissed because he did not want to fight against Ulster, and had been reinstated after still saying that he would not fight against Ulster. Speaking on another occasion he preached the doctrine of the optional obedience of the soldier. Some Tories even went so far as to suggest that the Army Annual Bill should be rejected by the House of Lords or so amended that the House of Commons could not possibly pass it as amended. If this were to come about, the entire Army would be disestablished, enlistment would cease, the Mutiny Act would be suspended and the payment of officers and soldiers would become ill-legal. The purpose of the Army Annual Act was, as every student of English History knows, to

prevent the King from keeping a standing Army without the sanction of the Commons. It carries on to this day the inherited instinct that a standing Army unsanctioned by Parliament is a menace to the liberties of the nation. The Editor of the *Westminster Gazette* has therefore appositely said that it would be the last stroke of irony that this provision should be twisted by the Lords into a means of restraining the Commons from using the forces of the Crown against a particular group of people who threatened a rebellion against Parliament. It appears that some members of the Constitutional Party, more hopeful than others, were somewhat puzzled by the possibility of a Nationalist's riot in Belfast if a General Election should come off in May and the Unionists should come back into power. So it was suggested that the Army Annual Bill be so amended that only one party, namely, the Party of Law and Order, should be able to play at the game of rebellion with impunity and not both the Liberals and the Unionists. Other still more fantastic suggestions were made and Mr. J. A. Spender is not very wide of the mark in saying that such a project could only be hatched in Bedlam at full noon. The fact is, the Tories occupied in their contest against the Liberals the vantage ground of the House of Lords, so that when they were in power all the Tory Bills moved on oiled casters, but when the Liberals were in power the Tory House of Lords could be effectively used for the purpose of Slaughter of Innocents in the case of Liberal Bills. The Tories far out-numbering Liberals in the Army and the Navy and the Civil Service, formed the party of lavish expenditure on the Services, while the Liberals had to push forward a programme of retrenchment when they came back into power. Mr. Lloyd George, however, hoisted them with their own petard by taxing the very classes that were perpetually clamouring for more money. But the Constitutional Party attempted to drive a coach-and-six through the Constitution by encroaching on the sole right of the Commons to make provisions for the British Exchequer. That attempt, however, failed, and the passage of the Parliament Bill into law pulled out the teeth and paired the claws of the Lords. Several appeals were made to the nation, but every General Election left power in the hands of a coalition of Liberals, Labourites and Nationalists. Beaten at the polls, the Party of Law and Order now seeks salvation in an open, unshamed rebellion, and after drilling volunteers for nearly a year it has now tried to seduce the Army from its loyalty to the Crown and to His Majesty's Government. It wants the Army to take up the battle which it has lost in Parliament and, although the Government pretends to believe that no officers had disobeyed orders and the solidarity of the Army had not been impaired, it is clear that the Tories had not counted in vain on the Tory tendencies of the officers belonging to what are now being called "the governing classes." The result is that the class war, which we fear cannot be averted for very long in Europe including England, appears less distant in that country now than it ever did before. Mr. John Ward, a Labour member, was lustily cheered by the Liberal back benches when he seconded a Unionist motion for the reduction of the Army Estimates, and particularly when he remarked that the question at issue was whether the people were to make laws absolutely without interference from either the King or the Army. Mr. Thomas, another Labour member, pointed out that if the new Unionist doctrine with reference to the Army were to stand, it would be the duty of the Railwaymen's Union to use £5,000 of their funds for the purchase of arms and ammunitions. "If you want to force my class to fight you 'to-morrow, we, Trade Unionists, will now consider establishing 'military organisations.'" The above passage, addressed to the Opposition, occurred in Mr. John Wards' speech in the House of Commons on the 21th March and was given prominence the next day by the Liberal papers, which described the speeches of Mr. Ward and Mr. Thomas as a turning-point in social history. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has not always been able recently to please his Party, but he was evidently in full accord with them on this occasion. He said that officers have prepared to shoot Trade Unionists, but they would not shoot in Ulster because of class bias. He advocated the granting of higher pay to officers which would allow democrats to take Commissions. The doctrine appears to Lord Haldane to be impracticable, and he said on the 30th of March that an attempt to democratise the Army would be attended with enormous difficulties. It would take probably fifteen years and entail enormous expenditure. But, added the Lord Chancellor, it would not even then equal the present splendid Service. These are remarks quite in keeping with the place in which they were uttered, namely, the House of Lords, and with the time when they were uttered, namely, when the Army needed a lot of patting on the back to keep it within the terms of fealty it had sworn. But a philosopher and military expert like Viscount Haldane could not have ignored the remarkable and rapid success achieved by the allied Island of Japan in democratising her army, and after all the fixing of a period of 15 years for the growth and development of a rival army is none too complimentary to "the present splendid Service." Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that, addressing a meeting of colliers in Cumberland, a

miner's agent said the time was ripe for the formation of a Trade Union Defence League ready to take up arms and fight to resist oppression from any source. At any rate, it is certain that in the face of what has happened it will be difficult for a Tory magistrate to imprison with any show of conscience another Tom Maun for asking the soldiers not to shoot workmen. We already hear that a syndicalist's "Don't shoot" demonstration was held in Trafalgar square to exhort soldiers not to fire on workers. We are told that there was no disturbance anywhere and we may safely presume that there were also no arrests.

Mr. Asquith in his great speech at Ladybank vindicated Parliamentary Government with firmness and dignity. He said that the Army had no place and no voice in framing their policy or moulding their own laws, and in his new post of the Secretary of State for War the Army would not hear of politics from him, and he expected in return to hear nothing of politics from the Army. Contrast this with Mr. Bonar Law's observation that "the least we in the 20th Century had right to ask was that when we were threatened with civil commotion, officers conscientiously objecting to that service should 'be permitted to resign retaining their pensions.'" Is not Mr. Asquith right in saying that these doctrines furnish a complete grammar of anarchy? He repeated that these new dogmas counter-signed by Tory leaders would be invoked whenever the spirit of lawlessness claimed to block the ordered machinery of self-governing society. We do not know whether this would be the case in self-governing societies alone, and we do not think Mr. Asquith would like thus to limit his remarks. For he said in the course of the same speech that the Tory doctrines set a precedent which was of an infinite number of applications, each more disastrous in its consequences than the one which went before it. It is true that Lord Hardinge has declared the rumours, alleged by the *Daily Telegraph* to be current in the Lobby of the House of Commons, to have no truth whatever in them, and we may take this negative evidence to indicate that at least His Excellency the Viceroy has not found it necessary to warn the Prime Minister that many officers of the Indian Army would resign, unless the Government made peace with the Army. But a Simla telegram says that it was well known last year that General Richardson, while he was organising the Ulster Volunteers, had assurances of sympathy and support from a number of officers in this county. It is indeed an excellent comment upon Tory tactics and Tory loyalty that, at the very moment when Indian Mussalmans should be indignantly repudiating the monstrous invention that attempts were made by them to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops, the Viceroy should have to issue such a press *Communique* and its force should be minimised by the publication of such a Simla telegram. However, there is no ill wind that blows nobody any good, and Indians must console themselves in these critical times with the admission of the British War Minister contained in a State document published in a White Paper that "the law clearly laid down that a soldier was entitled to obey an order to 'shoot only if it was reasonable under the circumstances,'" and that "if officers and men believed that they were called upon to take some 'outrageous action' . . . they would, in fact and in law, be 'justified in contemplating refusing to obey, had as might be the 'effect upon the discipline of the Army.'" We do not think we have many readers among the military, and for obvious reasons we give the Army in India a very wide berth. But we hope our contemporary, the *Fauj Akhbar*, is keeping its clientele well posted up in these matters.

The Honours.

We have reproduced in our last issue and in this the proceedings of the debate that took place some weeks ago in the House of Lords on the motion of the Earl of Selborne on the subject of honours, not because it is any concern of ours whether knightships, baronetries, baronies and other varieties of the British peerage are conferred on deserving persons or otherwise, but because many remarks of the speakers in the Lord's debate have a no inconsiderable application to Indian conditions, and we trust that those of our readers, who have come to regard us as the enemy of titles and title holders, would now understand that our banter is after all not so original as they thought and that our ideas on the subject of honours are shared by a good many titled persons in Great Britain as well.

In the well-known phrase of Macaulay, every schoolboy knows that unlike Great Britain there is no chance here of turning out the Government in power. Although from the very nature of the case Indian politicians may very often criticise the measures of the Government, they cannot hope to replace the Government and drive it out of power, leaving it to plough the sands of Opposition. In other words, there is no party system in India like that in Great Britain. That been so, there are no party funds in the British sense of the term, though the critics of Government here also need money for the purpose of public agitation and have to raise subscriptions. The Government, relying upon a permanent settlement of power upon itself and being composed of paid officials with the entire resources of the State at its disposal, has

no need of public agitation, but there are many indirect ways in which officials of Government use certain sections of the people as their instruments in pushing on a counter-agitation. Under these circumstances honours are not divided between the Indian Government and—if the term can be strained so far—the Indian Opposition. The Government is a fountain of all honour and, although there are no party funds in India, Government officials see to it that by hook or by crook those who act as their auxiliaries in countering popular agitation have honours easy.

Dealing with the traffic in honours, Lord Selborne said that it was a grievous scandal that a man whom no one would otherwise think of recommending for an honour is able to buy it just as he would a picture, and he feared that, unless the present tendency received a salutary check, the day would come when some one would offer to buy a Victoria Cross. He pointed out that every playgoer knows that this matter of the sale of honours is now openly scoffed at in the theatre and it is even flung across the floor of the House of Commons as a taunt from one member to another. Lord Milner, however, pointed out that in the literal sense of the word, of course, honours are not sold like butter or cheese. It may even be said that there is no honour, however flagrantly bestowed, which cannot often, or in fact always, be accounted for by some plausible reason besides the true one, and care is always taken to avoid suspicious juxtaposition of cause and effect. Nevertheless, as Lord Selborne said, it is believed that persons who have social ambitions, or whose wives have social ambitions, who have really no claim at all to receive an honour, believe that they can purchase if they go to the right place. In some cases it is believed that even where social ambition has never entered into the soul of the individual, temptation is thrown in his way and an honour is hawked to him. Lord Milner further pointed out that the bestowal of honours has a habit of synchronizing with periods when the Government of the day is in special need of funds. He invited attention to what he called there periodicity, the cyclical movements that seemed to affect them. There was a really imposing shower only when there were critical moments in the life of the Government. "The occurrence of these great 'showers of honours,'" said Lord Milner, "is almost always in the 'year before, or year of, or year after a General Election; and one is almost forced to the conclusion that there is some kind of mysterious relation between the two phenomena.'"

To do Lord Selborne justice, he did not exculpate his own party from the charge of bargaining in honours. He said, "both the 'great political parties have held office, the evil is a growth of our 'Party system, and both political parties are responsible for it.'" Lord Milner also frankly acknowledged it and said: "Both parties 'have something to atone for in their past conduct.'" Lord Crowe agreed with Lord Selborne that no question of party advantage, or party feeling ought to be involved in the matter. While denying that any of them wished to adopt a priggish or Pharisaic attitude, he assured the House on behalf of his party that none of them was disposed to minimise the gravity of the subject. Lord Selborne seemed to be deeply conscious of some of his most cynical friends who shrugged their shoulders and who said that it was prudery or pedantry to make a fuss over a matter which they did not regard as a serious evil. He himself considered it a scandal and an evil which among other things injuriously affected the prestige of the Crown and lowered the standard of public morality. He himself was fully convinced of the great value of a Constitutional Monarchy as a public institution. Any influence, therefore, which adversely affected the prestige of the Monarchy, the Crown, must be a great public evil. "Is it possible," Lord Selborne asked, "that this 'belief that honours which proceed from the Crown can be acquired 'by wealth, by whomsoever sold or howsoever got, can be prevalent 'and the prestige of the Crown not be affected?" As regards public morality, he was sure it did matter whether the hall-mark of honour was to be genius or noble life or position or public service, or whether it was to be simply wealth by whomsoever owned and however begotten. Lord Milner added that there was an even worse consequence of this "traffic in honours." By offering to party managers the opportunity of collecting enormous secret funds it helped to rivet the yoke of party upon the public men, to undermine independence alike in candidates and in members of Parliament and to submit Parliament and the nation to the uncontrolled and growing despotism of party machinery.

It is interesting incidentally to take note of the immense secret influence that wealth is acquiring in the conduct of public affairs. Lord Selborne, referring to the condition of some other countries, pointed out that those who have found the money for a party have eventually dictated its policy. "Men will dispute," said Lord Selborne, "to the crack of doom as to the respective merits of different 'forms of Governments, but I say without hesitation that the very 'worst fate that could befall a country is to be governed by an 'alliance of the caucuses and the plutocrat." There is danger, he reminded the Liberal peers, lest the real residuary legatees of that influence of which they were trying to deprive the hereditary peerage should be not the people, but the plutocracy.

CORRESPONDENCE



Indian Exclusion and America.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMRADE.

SIR,—The Asiatic Exclusion Bill is pending before the U. S. Congress at the present time. It aims at the permanent exclusion of all Asiatic labourers from the United States. As soon as our countrymen were apprised of the imminent danger, the California Chapter of the Hindustan Association of America appointed a committee to agitate the question. On February 1st, the Committee convened a meeting of the Hindus resident in and near San Francisco, at which it was decided that a delegation should proceed to Washington to make representations to the U. S. Government and Legislature. Saint Tara Singh, Honorary Secretary of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, Stockton (California), intimated that the Khalsa Diwan Society would be willing to defray the expenses. The Khalsa Diwan Society at a meeting held on February 3rd, appointed the following gentlemen as its delegates with full powers to act in the best interests of the country: Professor Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer on Political Science in the State University of Iowa, Dr. Bishen Singh, and Mr. Har Dayal.

The delegates arrived in Washington on Monday, February 9th. In the meantime, the passing of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill had been delayed chiefly on account of diplomatic negotiations with the Government of Japan.

The delegates were favourably received by the Press representatives of Washington. The leading morning and evening papers, the *Post*, the *Herald*, the *Star*, and the *Times*, published adequate and appreciative notices of the delegation and its mission. Professor Bose and Dr. Bishen Singh interviewed Hon. W. J. Bryan, Secretary of State, and Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour. They also called on the British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice, and asked him if he had taken any action with regard to this question, which affected the welfare of a large number of British subjects. Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice replied that he had not done anything, as he had no instructions from the British Government. The delegates asked him to present their case to the U. S. Government. He promised to communicate with the authorities in London, but declared himself unable to enter into further discussion of the matter with the delegates. Next morning his public reply to the delegation appeared in the *Washington Post* to the effect that the issues involved in the immigration of Hindus to other countries were too grave to admit of an attempt being made to settle them through the British Embassy in Washington. This evasive answer defined the attitude of the British Embassy at the outset. Through the courtesy of Representative Towne of Iowa, the delegates were introduced to Hon. J. L. Burnett, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, who allowed them a hearing before the Committee at its open meeting on Friday, February 13th. Professor Bose and Dr. Bishen Singh appeared before the Committee and formally presented a memorial on behalf of the Hindus resident in the United States. The sitting was opened by Professor Bose with an address, which lasted for one hour. He was subjected to a heavy fire of questions and objections, chiefly by the Congressman hailing from California, but he answered them all with persuasive skill and well-informed judgment, as he had mastered the facts and figures relative to the problem with much care and assiduity. An American lady also appeared before the Committee to testify in favour of the Hindus. The hearing was continued for nearly four hours on account of the

numerous questions asked and answered. Such an unusually long session indicated the importance that public opinion attached to the mission of the delegation, as even important bodies seldom get a hearing of more than one hour. The proceedings of the Committee will be published in the Congressional Record and thus made accessible to all the publicists and legislators of the United States. Even our opponents expressed their admiration for the skill with which the delegates presented and defended arguments against the alert critics and experts who support the Exclusion Bill. The *Evening Star* published the following summary of the proceedings:—

Arguments against immigration legislation to exclude Hindus from the United States were made before the House Immigration Committee to-day by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, a Hindu professor in the State University of Iowa. Dr. Bose urged that if the Hindu was to be excluded, a "gentlemen's agreement" be entered into between the United States and the British Indian Government to restrict the immigration. "There is no special legislation against Japanese immigration," said Dr. Bose. "Following the Chinese exclusion law, the Japanese Government was allowed to save its face by making a gentlemen's agreement to restrict immigration. A special law excluding Hindus would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. It is not necessary." Questioned by members of the committee, Dr. Bose said that several British colonies were making efforts to exclude the Hindu and declared that this question was one of the most important confronting the British Government. He said that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other colonies were endeavouring to exclude Hindus. We are a great class of British subjects," said Dr. Bose, "and are entitled to the rights of such a class. International complications may follow an attempt to exclude us."

"But the other colonies of Great Britain are already excluding the Hindus," said Chairman Burnett. "Yes, they are trying to," said Dr. Bose, "but the central government in England has not endorsed such action. If it does it will precipitate the fiercest revolution the world has ever known. The people of India are awakening, and if they are to remain a part of the British empire something must be done, some solution of this problem arrived at, which is more reasonable than any yet suggested." Dr. Bose contended that the Hindus are an Aryan people, entitled to naturalization in this country. In an interview with Hon. A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, it was represented that the wording of the Bill should at least be altered in order to avoid the juxtaposition of the "Hindu labourers" with "idiots, imbeciles," etc. As it stands, the Bill enumerates the classes of excluded persons in this fashion: "All Hindu labourers, idiots, imbeciles, paupers etc."

The delegates, Professor Bose and Mr. Bishen Singh, had the honor of an appointment for an interview with President Woodrow Wilson at 10-35 on Monday, February 16th, but the President's illness prevented him from receiving any visitors that morning. This unforeseen circumstance caused much disappointment to the delegates. The appointment was an honor for the entire Hindu nation.

The champions of Hindu exclusion point to the policy of British colonies as an unanswerable argument in their favour. On account of negotiations with the Japanese Government the general Asiatic Exclusion Bill will probably not be brought in again at this session of Congress. But some representatives from the Pacific Coast are so impatient that it is proposed to pass a Hindu Exclusion Bill without delay, while the question of Asiatic immigration in general is being discussed with the government of Japan. The delegates are fully conscious of their helplessness under the circumstances, as they cannot rely on the support of a powerful Government. Whatever the issue may be, the delegates have done their duty in making a formal and public protest against the Exclusion Bill on behalf of India even without the co-operation of the British Embassy and directly approaching the Government and Legislature of the United States as representatives of the Indian nation.

This brief report is issued for publication in the Home Press.

The Metropolitan Hotel,

Washington, D. C.

February, 17th 1914.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

BISHEN SINGH.



Honours.

We give below some other speeches made in the House of Lords on Lord Selborne's motion:—

Lord Willoughby de Broke's Speech.

DABBING IN THE SALE OF HONOURS.

Lord Willoughby de Broke did not know that a Royal Commission on this subject could result in much good because the only people who could be examined would be the party Whips on both sides and he imagined they would have at their disposal information which even a Royal Commission would have a difficulty in extracting. But let nobody think Lord Selborne had brought forward charges which were vague and could not be substantiated. Nobody knew that better than he did, for he had dabbled in the sale of honours himself. (Laughter.) He did not mean that he bought his own title. (Laughter.) That was conferred on his ancestor for the part he took in placing the Tudor dynasty on the Throne—a dynasty which furnished a line of monarchs who would have treated noble lords opposite in a very different way from that in which they were being treated by his present Majesty. (Laughter.) He would tell the circumstances of his attempt, and was not going to implicate anybody on his own side, although, even if he did, they had been out of office for so long that the Statute of Limitations ought to apply. (Laughter.) He wanted a large sum of money for an enterprise that could not entirely be dissociated from politics, but which he assured noble lords was entirely patriotic in its design. (Laughter.) He called on a gentleman and suggested that if he would give him the money he would use his influence with his party to secure for him not a peerage, but a baronetcy only. (Laughter.) He was not quite sure what the price of a baronetcy was—perhaps some noble lords opposite could inform him—but the price he asked was not excessive. (Laughter.) The very natural question was: "That is all very well, Lord Willoughby, but when are you going to deliver the goods?" (Laughter.) He certainly could not tell when the Unionist Party would get back to office, and said that he did not know, and he was not surprised when he was very politely shown to the door. (Laughter.)

THE OBJECT OF HONOURS.

With regard to the grounds on which a title or an honour should be given he had never been quite sure whether they ought to look on it as a reward for service done either to country or to party. Would it not be better to agree with Francis Bacon that it should be regarded as a vantage ground for rendering further service, and that particularly applied to the granting of a seat in that House. An honour was given to a man in order that he might have that distinction and authority among his fellow-men that enabled him better to perform his duties in the future. For that reason Mr. Curzon went to India and was made Lord Curzon, and Mr. Gladstone went to South Africa and was made Lord Gladstone. It was not the slightest use giving an honour to anybody unless it brought with it the enjoyment of power, the exercise of responsibility, and the discharge of duty, and that particularly applied to the hereditary peerage. They might think that they had brought it to the ground, but he did not believe that they would ever hear the last of it in this country. He was prepared for the present to go very far in the direction of getting a Second Chamber of some kind based on sufficient authority to correct and, if necessary, disagree effectively with the House of Commons. Whatever shape the reform might take, it would never have the same authority that was enjoyed till recently by the hereditary peerage, which would one day be recovered. Oliver Cromwell got rid of the hereditary peerage for a few short years, and reformers on both sides might try as much as they liked, but they would not be able to beat Oliver Cromwell at that game. (Laughter.) Any Constitution that they might agree to in the future was bound to be in the nature of an interim Constitution. How long was the Parliament Act going to last? Had it not very nearly tumbled to the ground already? Did it not stink?

CONSIDERATIONS OF EUGENICS.

If he were a Radical organizer he would try to select his peers from among those who, like Jorrocks, had no legitimate offspring (laughter), because not only did conversation frequently come to them after a few years or months, and sometimes in their minds even hours, but the son was almost a certainty, while the Radical grandson of a Radical peer was a phenomenon that they could not conceive. (Laughter.) To use the hereditary peerage, not from the point of view of the caucus, but of the nation, it should be selected on what were called eugenic principles. (Laughter.) He had seriously hoped that their lordships would not have laughed at that. A peer should be chosen on account of coming

from a sound stock and being himself sound. He did not care whether he was rich or poor, but he should come of a family that was patriotic and likely to continue in their posterity the same qualities that distinguished their ancestors. He would be a bold man who denied that the present grounds for granting a title were dictated more by the necessities of the caucus than the need of the nation. He was glad to hear the noble earl condemning so eloquently the terrible alliance between the caucus and plutocracy. The thing called democracy, of which they had had such an orgy in England for some years past, had one never-failing vice. It threw up a race of exploiters who were well described by Mr. Price Collier in his penetrating book, "England and the English," as politicians who lived by the people on the people for themselves. (Cheers.) That was the government from which they were suffering to-day, and would suffer from in a greater or less degree whichever party was in office.

LORD READING'S APPOINTMENT.

It was just as corrupt to extract a consideration out of a man by means of a direct vote as by means of the direct payment of a sum of money. If a great many of them had tried to get money in the same way that they tried to get votes they would have been sent to prison long ago. (Laughter.) He had meant to say this whether Lord Reading was in his place or not. He did not know him personally, but would Lord Crewe or anybody who was going to speak deny that when Lord Reading was placed at the head of the judicial system in the country and his Majesty was advised to make him a peer the recommendations were principally based on what they thought the convenience and credit of the party rather than what they thought was best for the credit of the nation? The one power which stood between the working classes and the plutocrat employers with whom they were engaged in what in many cases was a righteous warfare was the hereditary peerage as represented in that House. His advice to those engaged in this industrial struggle was that the best chance they had of defeating the plutocrats was to uphold the hereditary peerage and to see that it was recruited from those who had got some instinct, some tradition and who had been brought up in those honourable relations between employers and employed which had always prevailed in this country in the past.

Lord Ribblesdale's Speech.

Lord Ribblesdale said he did not mean to go into the question of party funds. He had had very little to do with them and had always expressed a profound reluctance to subscribe largely to them. (Laughter.) But, like the noble lord opposite, although he had not exactly dabbled in getting honours for people, he had been, he believed "approached" was the right word (laughter) from time to time when he was a Whip in that House. Only the other day he was called upon by a very honest foxhunter, who sent up a message to him with so much mystery that he thought he wanted to sell him a horse. (Laughter.) His visitor was not a man who kept in touch with current politics and he seemed to be under the impression that he was still Whip. He went down to see him, and it turned out that he had come on behalf of a friend of his.

The gentleman looked pregnant with thought, and, when he pressed him, he put the matter in a very blunt way—his friend would like to have a certain sort of honour. "What," he asked, "is the inducement?" "Oh," his visitor replied, "I think he would give a good deal of money." He asked, "What sort of figure?" (Laughter.) He indicated a figure, and he replied, "I don't know about that." After walking about the room a good deal he came back, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "I think he will go a bit better." (Laughter.) He then said to him, "That might be all right, but what about his political views?" He did not seem to have thought about that. "I don't know much about that," he said, "but I think it would be all right." With that he went away. (Laughter.)

A PERSONAL OPINION.

He was not in agreement with either the resolution or the amendment. Both Lord Selborne and Lord Charwood touched what the papers called a "high" note (laughter) in the argument which they put before the House, and at the end their accents reached a solemnity which reminded him of the lines,

Religion, blushing, veils her sacred fires,

And, unawares, Morality expires.

(Laughter.) He was afraid he belonged to the class of people which Lord Charwood very pleasantly alluded to as people who

seemed to think that the thing complained of must be, that it did not very much matter, that it had always gone on, and was very likely to go on, and that if it did not go on in one form it would go on in another. That was precisely his opinion. (Laughter.) He did not care very much about the resolution in the form Lord Selborne moved it, because, as far as he could make out, the effect of it would be absolutely nil. Even if they moved to resolve what Lord Selborne asked them to resolve, and even if they asked the House of Commons to move to resolve the same thing, he thought the effect of the transactions of both Houses would only be the expression of a pious and almost—he did not wish to say anything offensive—a slightly Pharisaical opinion.

Lord Charnwood was very enamoured of that well-known engine, a Royal Commission. His objection to a Royal Commission was that they either reported so much that it was impossible for a Government to do anything, or so little that it was not worth doing anything. (Laughter.) He had no doubt that a reference drawn on certain lines would be an extremely popular thing with the public, but he was reminded of what Mr. Justice Darling said the other day in another connexion when he told a jury that they ought to remember that public interest was not the same as public curiosity. There was very little doubt that if they had a Royal Commission, and if they had the Whips up, if any thing could be extracted from them it would very likely be of a kind which would be stimulating to their reading of the newspapers on that particular day. But he dared say that even under the guise of a Royal Commission very little would be extracted, and he thought there was very little to be gained by having a Royal Commission.

AN INTERESTING SYLLOGISM.

Was the giving of honours in this way such a terrible evil as all that? He would put it in this way. He had never been able to construct a syllogism, but he believed a syllogism could easily be constructed out of the following:—That, for good or evil, we in this country have for a long time lived under party government; that party government, of whichever side, requires large sums of money; that the more money there is the better the party government will be—that is, the machinery of party government will be more perfect. To that extent, therefore, he thought it was a good thing, as they must have party government, that it should be well endowed with funds.

The noble lord opposite was very angry with the caucus, but he was still more angry with plutocrats. Why was he so angry with plutocrats? He was not one of them himself, but he believed they were a very nice body of men. (Laughter.) At all events, he was reminded of Dr. Johnson's line:—

“Slow rises worth by poverty depressed.”

After all, if a man wanted to get on in this world, he was none the worse for having a little money, and, perhaps, able to persuade the party Whips that that money might be useful to the party chests. So, their lordships would see, he took the view that they were to some extent tilting at a windmill on which they would not make very much impression, and that there was a very great danger in any inquiry of this sort that their minds might be a little deflected by feelings which verged on those they associated with Mr. Pecksniff. They had heard that everything depended on enormous party funds, and that the great difficulty of the day was that every body wanted money. That, after all, had been the difficulty of every day. (Laughter.) And, as to things having become more expensive, everything had become more expensive, from their washing bill to a seat in Parliament. (Laughter.) He concluded with repeating that he did not care for either the resolution or the amendment, and that personally he thought the thing better left very much as it was.

THE TREND OF THE DEBATE.

Earl Beauchamp said that, while the Government offered no opposition to the motion, it seemed at present almost to call on the House of Commons to take effectual measures, whereas Lord Lansdowne thought that at present it would be sufficient if measures were taken by his Majesty's Government. He suggested the omission of the words “effectual measures should be taken.”

The Marquess of Salisbury said that there was nothing in the terms of the motion that threw the duty especially on the House of Commons or prescribed any particular measures. Steps must be taken by the Government or the Prime Minister or any other authority. It seemed significant that the suggestion should be made that they should pass a resolution but cut out the words that implied that effectual measures should be taken to carry it out.

The Marquess of Crewe said that the whole trend of the debate had been that they were unable to say that effectual measures could be taken.

The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

ALTHOUGH at first sight it might appear that there were no pressing reasons for the Moslem Deputation to the Viceroy on Wednesday, the important pronouncement made by Lord Hardinge with regard to the “unswerving loyalty” of the community towards the British Government fully justifies the action taken by the Moslem leaders. It cannot be denied that since the Balkan war the loyalty of the Indian Mohamedans has lain, so to speak, under a cloud among a section of people in England, owing chiefly to persistent misrepresentations of certain papers who saw, or pretended to see, something ominous in the openly expressed sympathy of the Indian Moslems for their co-religionists in Turkey. Some of the papers even went so far as to declare that the Indian leaders had deliberately set themselves to the task of inflaming religious passions, promoting racial antagonism, and vilifying the Christian religion with the view of expelling the British from India. But the deadliest traducer of all, the *National Review*, gave publicity to a statement from its writer on Indian affairs,—whose identity is well-known,—that attempts were made by Moslem politicians to tamper with the loyalty of Moslem troops,—a statement the outrageous falsehood of which we exposed at the time. But however such statements might be, there is no doubt that the campaign of calumny in England had its inevitable effect,—with the result that the work, ideas and aims of a great community of seventy million people, always noted for their affectionate regard for British rule have been for some time widely misrepresented to the British reading public. It was with this feeling uppermost in their minds that the Mohamedan representatives approached His Excellency. They told the Viceroy that they had no grievance to point out nor requests to make but they appealed to the head of the Indian Government for an expression of opinion that their loyalty and friendly feelings had in no sense been impaired by their equally genuine sympathy with the troubles of Moslem races in other parts of the world. And Lord Hardinge's response to this appeal was characteristic of His Excellency's statesmanlike breadth of vision. After referring to the aspersions cast on the Indian Mohamedans by certain English and foreign writers, His Excellency declared: “I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at the aspersions that have been cast upon you and your people as a whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community. Thus, once more has Lord Hardinge cast oil on the troubled waters of Indian life, thereby earning the gratitude of seventy millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects, who give indications in the new spirit which animates them of a great and fruitful future.

The address of the Moslem delegates and the Viceroy's reply raise an important question which it is necessary to examine briefly. What foundation is there for Indian Moslem criticisms of British Foreign policy and what may be their claims with regard to that? As to this, Indian Moslems have always been careful to repudiate any claim to dictate the foreign policy of the Empire, as it affects Moslem States. Indeed, they must recognise that such a claim would be preposterous. It would be an insult to their intelligence to assume that they expect British to undertake the impossible task of a protectorate of all Moslem nations, but it may well be a cause of pain to the Indian Mohamedans to find how often the influence of England has been used against the independence of Moslem States. How far she could have used her influence usefully, or even safely, to protect Tripoli or Morocco may be questioned; but it would be idle to assert that in other parts of the world British influence always assisted in a thoroughly sympathetic policy. In Turkey England did her utmost to prevent the Balkan War, but it certainly seemed at its close as if she were ready to intervene in order that Adrianople, against the wishes of the vast majority of its inhabitants, should be again taken from Turkey. Happily we have been spared that injustice; but, in judging the words of Indian Mohamedans, it should not be forgotten that in England there have been those who have not been ashamed to preach a crusade against the Turk and clamour for his spoliation; nor, on the other hand, must our Moslem fellow-subjects forget that, terrible as have been the sufferings in the Balkans, a general conflagration would have been far worse, and a European war would most probably have been in the end as little productive of a just settlement as has been the recent war in the Near East—*The Bombay Chronicle*.

Lord Morley's Latter-day Thoughts.

It may seem an impertinence to seek for a single central or connective thought in a discourse whose very title, “Notes on Politics

and History" (Macmillan), carries a disclaimer of singleness of purpose. There is, indeed, hardly one of the great secular issues regarding the meaning and method of history in its relation to human happenings that is not freshly re-set within the covers of this slender volume. What is the real part played by politics or the art of government in the wider stream of national life? How far can the Historic Method carry us towards a Science of History, and how far can such a science be a profitable feeder to practical statecraft? In the critical events of history how much does the reason or will of some "hero" or strong man prevail, and how far are these men the creatures or instruments of the spirit of the age? So with great thinkers and their books. How many of them rank with Grotius, Calvin, Rousseau, Adam Smith, and Paine, as actors in history, not mere commentators? Again, how profitably Lord Morley discourses of the general spirit of history as *Weltanschauung*, and the revolution wrought in man's entire outlook upon the universe by the acceptance of the evolutionary standpoint! Yet how slow is the world to reap the true fruits of the growing sense of inter-relation and of unity which should be the greatest contribution of historical science to the progress of humanity! For there has cut across this great cosmopolitan movement of the scientific spirit, with its manifold enlargements of human, world-wide intercourse, a new turbulent stream of Nationalism which for our time has actually weakened the wider "allegiance to humanity." What is, and shall be, the rightful place of the nation in the federal civilization of the future? Or turning once more to the substance of human history, how far can we find in it progress as a spontaneous force or a fixed historic law? Once more Lord Morley points out how recent and novel has been the idea of "progress," and what slight direct testimony history affords for the firm confidence which modern Western thought reposes in it. By what right, indeed, do or can we assign to the actual course of events the meritorious values conveyed in the term progress? The standard for such valuation cannot be got out of the study of history itself. Still less can "politics" be found amenable to any clear accepted ideal or standard of the good or humanely valuable. The spirit of Machiavel still powerfully pervades, if it does not dominate, the art of politics, and we find to-day a South African statesman repeating with absolute conviction the very language of the great Italian absolutist, "the State is Force." Lord Morley cites indeed Cavour's famous saying about "people like me who have more faith in ideas than in cannon for mending the lot of humanity," but he does not care to dogmatize upon the exact extent to which even the most enlightened State can dispense with Force. He prefers to leave the issue in the shape of the qualitative questions, "What sort of State, what sort of Force?" realizing that the dilemma for humanity ultimately springs from a too abrupt and finally unphilosophic severance of physical and moral motives.

But throughout the discussion of all these matters there seems to run what is perhaps not so much a single thread of argument as a single attitude or temper. It is the mature criticism of the practical politician upon the theory of politics, of one who has helped to make history upon the making process. To some readers, the sceptical and opportunist notes will sound overstressed. All the great questions he raises and leaves open. He owns no strict allegiance to the science of history or to a reasoned art of politics. Though quite polite to the historical method, he sets far stricter limits upon its powers and achievements than arm-chair historians would easily admit. "Political science suffers from the same defect as political economy in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. There is a strange rarefaction in its atmosphere. The abstract political man wears the same artificial character as the abstract man of the economist." It is by such false abstraction that history is made to seem to repeat itself, a process essential to the strictly scientific method. Historical parallels are commonly appraised too high; they are more often misleading than illuminating. "In truth, say what we will of the unity of history and the identity in the elements of human nature, the general body of two political cases is never exactly the same. Nations are not the same, their ideals are widely apart, their standing aims and pre-occupations are different." Hence it is the case that "History's direct lessons are few, its specific morals rare." Nor is the weakness of scientific history confined to the tendency to "fake" laws and principles by unwarranted abstraction. The study of history can never be assimilated to that of the natural sciences. For the subject-matter is too recalcitrant. Modern historians have, indeed, sternly set their faces against the partisanship and the sentimentalism of the older style of history. "To-day, taste and fashion have for a season turned away from the imposing tapestries of the literary historian, in favour of the drab serge of research among diplomatic archives, parish registers, private monuments, and everything else so long as it is not in print." Certain sorts of truth are doubtless attain-

able in this way, but can we get "the truth" about a character or an episode? "Bismarck, reading a book of superior calibre, once came upon a portrait of an eminent person he had known well. Such a man as is described here, he cried, never existed; and he went on in graphic strokes to paint the sitter as he had actually found him. 'It is not in diplomatic materials, but in their life of every-day that you come to know men.' So does a singularly good judge warn us of the perils of archival research." And, indeed, it is evident that in the selection, rejection, and utilization of the most reliable of first-hand materials, there is infinite scope for the personal bias of the historian. In a word, the reconstruction of the past, even to the simplest of its scenes or actions, must always be an art in which the personal tastes and proclivities of the artist play an immeasurable part. By conscientious self-restraint and patient balancing of evidences, the scientific historian may do much to release himself from the sophistication of a Macaulay or a Froude, but, if he is to interpret or make intelligible the past, he can only do so by imposing an order and a valuation which spring ultimately from the depths of his own personality.

If this is true of written history, still more is it true of living politics. The notion that even the most thoughtful statesman works out his policies or forms his judgment by nice balancing of "pros" and "cons" or cold calculations, cannot be seriously maintained. "Improvisation has far more to do in politics than historians or other people think." "Both contemporaries and historians, more often than they suppose, miss a vital point because they do not know the intuitive instinct that often goes farther in the statesman's mind than deliberate analysis or argument." This of course, does not signify that historical information and reasoning from facts count for little, but that such knowledge and the scientific principles it may yield are only handmaids to the art of politics. In other words, genius for politics consists more in a fine tact or feeling than in an exact weighing of the evidence. "For myself at least," Lord Morley again quotes Bismarck, "I have often noticed that my will had decided before my thinking was finished."

If this is applicable to the political actions which are submitted most clearly to the judgment of individual statesmen, how much more will it hold of the part contributed by public opinion, popular movements, or party projects to the work of making history? Lord Morley pleads for patience with those who express such bitter disappointment with the working of democracy.

"Popular government, or any other for that matter, is no chronometer, with delicate apparatus of springs, wheels, balances, and escapements. It is a rough, heavy bulk of machinery that we must get to work as we best can. It goes by rude force and weight of needs, greedy interests, and stubborn prejudice; it cannot be adjusted in an instant, or it may be a generation, to spin and weave new material into a well-finished cloth."

We think that here Lord Morley does somewhat scanty justice to the capacities of popular Government. No writer has commented more incisively upon the uses and abuses of metaphor in politics. Political discussion cannot, indeed, be conducted without frequent recourse to metaphor. But a great deal depends upon whether metaphors are drawn from the organic or the inorganic world. When Burke was the advocate of constitutional freedom and reform, the constitution was a tree; when he became the fanatical enemy of change, it was an edifice or a machine. The issue is a truly vital one, the difference between a structure containing no inner energy of growth and no power of self adjustment and one that is, however slowly and imperfectly, responsive to the new needs of the time and the larger and more complex work it is required to do. No doubt there is an element of the merely mechanical in the instruments of popular Government, as in every institution. But the hope and efficacy of democracy depend upon the vital energies which can direct and improve these instruments so as to secure more of an organic and a spiritual character from the structure and the operations of a "body politic."—*The Nation*.

The Colour Question.

THE following address was delivered by Mr. Jela! Shah before the National Union of Clerks in London:—
Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before I proceed with my address, I feel that I owe you an explanation for my appearance before you to-night. Owing to the inability of Mr. East to deliver his address on the "Colour Question," as had been previously arranged—which I am sure is

a matter of very great regret to all of us—your energetic Secretary. Mr. Goldwater, came to me the other day on what, to all intents and purposes, appeared to me at least to be a perfectly peaceful mission. I was certainly aware that this subject was down for your deliberations this evening and at a moment of thoughtlessness on my part, Mr. Goldwater had already extracted a solemn pledge from me to take my humble part in your proceedings of to-night and that piece of business had been transacted, if my memory serves me right, as long ago as last summer, almost directly after my return from my holidays in the country. I am not going to give you the details of the exact procedure adopted by your Secretary in gently breaking the sad news of Mr. East's inability to keep his engagement to-night, as well as the soft yet strongly persuasive manner in which he desired me instead to accept the responsibility of delivering an address on this undoubtedly important question myself. Suffice it to say that Mr. Goldwater on the occasion of his recent visit to me came, talked and conquered, and in brief I could not help falling a miserable victim to his magnetic personal influence; and here I am.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I make no apology in counting upon the indulgence of the meeting in attempting to place before you the salient points arising from the subject under discussion, a subject, I need hardly remind you, not determined upon by myself, but all the same, a subject which is obviously of vital interest to me and my fellow countrymen. The lack of time before me, under the unavoidable circumstances with which you are now familiar, has certainly prevented me from devoting the necessary attention and study to the subject, which it undoubtedly deserved; but my task this evening will no doubt be made easy if you, ladies and gentlemen, with your usual courtesy, would bear in mind, as I earnestly trust you will, that I am to-night only acting the poor substitute's part and not by any means discharging the duties of a lecturer, who has the subject his own.

Turning now, ladies and gentlemen, to the subject of my address, I must frankly admit that, by including the "Colour-Question" in the list of your sessional programme, your Union has shown that lofty and thorough grasp of high ideals, that insight of affairs in general, and that broad-minded awakening to facts concerning the community at large, that are of absolute necessity, if you are going to look beyond your immediate environments and if you are going to attach any importance to the educational aspect of your work. The "Colour-Question"—to me personally the very term is revolting, for which perhaps my religious and professional training, which happily recognises no colour, creed or caste, is mainly responsible—the "Colour-Question," I am giving it the name it has received in ordinary usage, is as you will readily understand, a very wide and elastic expression, if we are going to divide the entire population of the globe into the two sections as is usually done; persons of colour and I suppose persons of no colour or anemic individuals, (laughter) European and non-European races; orientals and occidentals; Easterns and Westerns; though, of course, it must be remembered that the term—Colour Question—deals with a much larger area than that indicated by some of these geographical designations.

Now the question we are about to discuss has been gradually though steadily becoming prominent amongst the public of this and other countries. It has been engaging the serious attention of what is usually called the white peoples. On the whole very divergent but none the less strong views are held by different schools of thought concerning the relations of the white races with those who are conventionally called coloured races. Some people in Europe and America are unfortunately so heavily saturated with their inborn prejudice against us that they would never miss an opportunity for showing their condemnation and hatred towards their coloured fellow creatures. They are utterly devoid of reasoning and common-sense. They have been brought up in the school of colour-prejudice and nothing in the world would for one moment induce them to consider the subject from a higher plane and to approach it in a purely unprejudiced and disinterested spirit. With this class of people, of course, it is perfectly useless to discuss, as nothing, however sound and reasonable, would succeed in shaking off their hereditary and traditional views on the matter. Another section of the so-called white population will "tolerate" us, but will not conceal the fact that they are all the same, fully conscious of their superiority over the whole coloured population. These are the more sentimental class of the community and though they are prepared to go to the narrow length of toleration in their relation with us, they are certainly not ready to proceed a single step further in that direction. Even their sentimentality, which has created a certain amount of fellowship and fellow-feeling in their conscience, has a well-defined limit. On coming down a step further we meet with a school of thought, which on humanitarian grounds considers all men as equal and which is therefore ready to treat the coloured races on the same level as the whites, showing no distinction whatsoever in its conception of humanity at large. This doctrine,

however, so noble and so great in theory, I am sorry to say, is not always followed in practice and consequently a considerable number of this "humanitarian" Society are really so theoretically, though it is only fair to admit that an overwhelming majority of them do certainly observe not only the letter but the very spirit of their fundamental doctrine. Yet another portion of the white races is guided in its behaviour towards us entirely by political considerations. If diplomacy dictates a more sympathetic policy, they are immediately changed into "friends" and "well-wishers," but their true colours are alas! only too transparently veiled by their political garb of apparent friendship, which deceives nobody but themselves. There is still another creed which as a class is favourably disposed towards their coloured colleagues. I refer to the professional, literary and scientific bodies. Any individual of whatever caste, colour or creed, distinguished in any branch of science, arts or literature, is honoured by them and respected and though, generally speaking, such is the case, we certainly from time to time meet with cases in which even in this enlightened circle, the golden rule has not been followed.

So ladies and gentlemen, you will at once realise the difficulty one has to face in dealing with the abstract problem embodied in the term, Colour-Question. As I have tried to remind you, there are numerous channels through which we could tackle this problem, everyone of them from a different point of view. I cannot possibly handle the subject with anything like justice, were I to enter minutely into a detailed discussion under all those various headings, which I have placed before you, as the time before us will not permit. But, if you would allow me, I intend to treat the subject mainly from the two standpoints of, firstly, what I may call "education" and secondly, of "politics." As regards the other aspects of the question, perhaps, I may be pardoned if I were to dwell upon the subject in general terms.

Now let us consider the situation with "education" as our basis. Let education, civilisation and intellectual attainment be the bed-rock of our discussion for the moment. It is the very key-note of the whole problem and it undoubtedly is our strongest case. Comparing the two artificial divisions of mankind—divisions, let it not be lost sight of, as I have always held, merely and solely for the sake of argument—I frankly admit we have not reached that pinnacle of civilisation that has been arrived at in the West, if we are to attribute to "civilisation" the Conventional Significance with which it is associated in Europe. I need not again remind you that I am speaking of the entire white race as a whole, as contrasted with the entire body of coloured races. The critic who travels all over the huge Continents of Asia and Africa and for purposes of criticism just selects some of the savage races in those parts of the world to help him in his arguments against us, is guilty of bad sportsmanship. To judge the entire coloured race for instance, by the low degree of civilisation and education that undoubtedly prevails amongst the aborigines of India or the pagan races in the heart of Africa would be similar to presenting the barbarous inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula or even the rebel tribes of the United States as typical representatives of the Continent of Europe and the New World. That would be an absurd and an impossible position to adopt, though even in that case, I am not sure if our "representatives" would not hold their own against such "representatives" of the white races, as I have just mentioned. No, let not the critic forget that if the white population contains in its ranks such great nations as the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, the Russians and the Latin races, we can also boast, and I think rightly boast of our Indian, Persian, Egyptian, Japanese and Chinese elements, who, if unfortunately have by force of circumstances fallen back to-day from the front rank of education and civilisation have, as is only a matter of history, in the past played a great and noble part in the field of Science and Learning. It is not my duty on this occasion to inflict upon you a lecture on ancient history but, you will pardon me. I hope if, in passing, I may just draw your attention to the deep debt of gratitude Europe owes to-day to some of the great nations of the East. Is it not a well-known fact of history that the Moorish occupation of Spain was immediately followed by the Universal extension of various branches of Arts, Science, and Learning in which the Arabs excelled and which was not excelled without its influence towards the moral, Social and intellectual uplifting of Europe as a whole?

Need I similarly remind you of the extraordinary impetus that was afforded to the assimilation of knowledge in the Continent of Europe by the great works that had already been accomplished in Egypt? Do you not associate the fundamental origin of the Science of Astronomy and Mathematics, and particularly that of Algebra, with the ancient Egyptians? And are you not aware of the immense Share the ancient Arabs could claim in the advancement of Science in general and Chemistry and Medicine in particular? I am not making these statements without authority. They are recognised and established facts.

China could boast of an age of civilisation and progress, when nothing but darkness reigned in the West. India was a land of

intellectual and industrial activity at a time when Europe was labouring under a deep spell of ignorance and barbarism. Hindustan was leading the way in philosophy, when the rest of the world was undergoing an extraordinary transformation in the struggle for her very existence.

Let me now briefly deal with Persia. Can we possibly forget the heroic role this ancient kingdom has taken in the educational and political history of the world? The Persian Empire of old had spread a network of civilisation within its boundaries, which, even during those primitive days, was indeed remarkable. Persian literature and Persian poetry have always been awarded the place of honour in the code of the world's literature and I am sure our famous poet, Omar Khayyam whose "Rubaiyats" have been made immortal by Fitzgerald's excellent English translation of them, is not altogether unfamiliar with most of you in this hall to night. The Omar Khayyam Society of London to day is a living monument to his extraordinary intellect and philosophical genius. The critic may again tell us that he is fully aware of all these qualities that have been attributed to the various Asiatic nations and that he admits their respective shares towards the civilisation of the world at large; but that all what I have stated are things of the past. Can the so-called coloured races show us to-day the same standard of educational attainment and intellectual achievements? Or are they now also gifted with the same degree of civilisation as compared to the white races, that has been their distinguishing feature in the past? I confess that would be a reasonable attitude for our opponents to take up. It is unfortunately true that taking us as a whole, we have certainly failed to keep up the brilliant record of our forefathers. I shall attempt in a few minutes to explain to you the reasons for our descent in the ever-changing ladder of intellectual and educational superiority, though I am not prepared to admit that we have for a single moment ceased to be what you may perhaps call a "civilised community." But in the meantime, I shall be failing in my duty if I were not to place before you, what I think significant fact, that even in accordance with Western ideals and Western sentiments, individually we have not moved even a hair's breadth backwards from the progressive path of education and culture in the various fields of learning. Even to-day in India we can rightly boast of a Rabindranath Tagore, whose literary fame has travelled all over the world, and whose eminence in the field of literature was only the other day acknowledged by the award of the coveted Nobel Prize. (Cheers.) The student of literature will come across numerous writers of both prose and poetry at this very moment in India, whose talent and worth will favourably stand the most critical comparison with their contemporaries in the West. Modern India has not been backward in holding her own even at the English Universities. The Chancellors' Medal at Cambridge in English literature was only last year awarded to an Indian, which speaks for itself, and the Senior Wranglership has likewise repeatedly fallen to Indian Mathematicians of renown, to say nothing of the numerous scholarships and exhibitions that are being daily won by Indian undergraduates, in competitive examinations, at both Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in the various provincial Universities in Great Britain. In legal and medical education, we have shown the same proficiency in this country, as is well-known to those who are in close touch with these two learned professions. There is no honour list in any British University which members of the so-called coloured race have not adorned, and I feel a natural pride in making that statement. The science of medicine even to-day claims several Asiatics amongst its most brilliant workers. A distinguished Indian physician from Bombay occupied the honoured position of Vice-President at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association, held in London a few years ago, and the International Congress of Medicine, which sat in this great Metropolis last summer, was attended by several Asiatic delegates of European reputation, who took no mean part in the deliberations of that august assembly. Medical literature abounds to-day in the valuable researches of Japanese, Indian and other Oriental scientists who have left their mark in the history of tropical medicine. Even the celebrated Ehrlich, whose name will go down to posterity as the discoverer of "606" or Salvarsan, the present day remedy for one of the most dreadful ailments we know of, had a Japanese physician, Hatar as his right hand man in his research laboratory in Germany, and has with characteristic courtesy prevailing in this noble profession associated the latter's name with his own as a co-benefactor to the suffering humanity.

The Land of the Rising Sun in the far East has likewise contributed its share to the world's literature and poetry, and the superb poetry of Yone Noguchi has rendered his name a household word in England. Similarly we find Utamaro, the celebrated painter of Japan, holding a position unique even in the famous rank of the great masters of the present age.

I have, as no doubt you will understand, been obliged to just refer to a few cases only, in my attempt to remind the meeting that even to-day we are not by any means wanting in men, whose culture and intellect would certainly entitle them to respect and admiration,

not only in the East, but in Europe and America as well. I trust I have succeeded in driving home to you the fact that judging us individually and personally, there is certainly no widespread intellectual decay and educational degeneration amongst us in the East—as is held in certain quarters in this country—and that, comparing the Orientals with people of the Occident, there is still as much individual knowledge and as much intellectual refinement amongst the inhabitants of Asia and Africa as we find amongst those of the Western world. (Hear, hear.)

Now let me turn back for a moment to the comparatively lower grade of national education that exists amongst the States, inhabited by the so-called coloured races. I think you will find my reasons for this condition of affairs satisfactory, if you are in any way acquainted with the contemporary history of those dealing with lands. Again I find it necessary to make it clear that we are the coloured races as a whole; and as a matter of fact, with the time at our disposal, it would be impossible to discuss the matter in detail. Now I need not remind you that the various nationalities in the huge continents of Asia and Africa, for purposes of discussion, must be sub-divided into two main groups: those who are independent and those who are directly or indirectly under foreign control. Let us take, in the first instance, the case of the independent Asiatic States, which, alas! are only too few. In this group, at the present moment Japan is pre-eminent amongst others, not only in the material progress of the country but also as regards her freedom from European influence. It is true this ancient country, as a result of the misgovernment and despotism of her rulers, had sunk very low in the scale of national education and national culture, but the extraordinary changes, almost miraculous it seems to me, that have been brought about in that marvellous island kingdom in the Pacific during the last 40 years have been instrumental in at once placing the Japanese amongst the leading nations of the world. (Hear, hear.) During those 40 years, which after all is not a very long period for a national movement of reform to be undertaken with adequate success, the Japanese determined to safeguard their national interests and passionately bent on seeing their house put in order, have, as you will and must admit, achieved what might perhaps go down in history as its most brilliant chapter of the past century. I am the last person to deny that almost equally remarkable events have occurred in Europe during the 19th century, e.g., in France, Germany and elsewhere; but the exceptional conditions that exist in Asia, which make it so hard, if not actually impossible, for Oriental nations to progress, surrounded, as they are, by the ever-vigilant eyes of crafty European diplomacy, that is traditionally hostile to Asiatic progress and territorial expansion, you will at once realise the true greatness of this stupendous wave of Japanese reformation. So, I am sure you will bear me out in my statement that national advancement and national education in a really independent Asiatic country are on the same level as they exist in most, if not all, the Western countries.

Now let me deal with the second group, mainly those states in Asia which are directly or indirectly under foreign control and foreign supervision. I am not going here to discuss the merits or disadvantages of European annexation of Asiatic States, on which I certainly hold very strong views, but which must not influence us when we are considering the existing conditions in the East as they are at present actually situated. In other words, we must approach the question calmly and dispassionately, if we are going to endeavour to reach the solution of the problem. Now, when we carefully survey this group of cases, we are driven to the only conclusion that we can possibly arrive at. It is a mere question of cause and effect. Foreign control and alien rule have always exercised a restraining influence over national evolution and national advancement. Even with the best intentions, they naturally retard the progress of education best suited for the foreign-governed country. The spread of education, under each condition, mainly proceeds through the medium of the foreign language, and in consequence the national language, the mother tongue of the people, gradually loses its original significance and its reality. Public business is necessarily carried on in the foreign language, if not immediately on annexation or conquest, not very long afterwards. Could there be a more forcible check on the national progress of subdued communities imagined? Is it then surprising that national education in such cases becomes arrested? This state of affairs is not explainable only in Asia but is, as you know, equally noticeable in some of the smaller States of Europe under foreign yoke, such as Finland, Poland, etc. So I maintain that what we find in such Asiatic countries, where unhappily the freedom, independence and integrity of the States are either completely lost or to a great extent interfered with, is the effect of those causes which I have, I hope and trust, in no obscure language tried to place before you.

If the standard of education and the degree of civilisation amongst various nationalities are to be the lines upon which we

are to judge such communities, after what I have ventured to explain to you, I hold that you cannot condemn the so-called coloured races as in any way inferior to the white population. An educated and a civilised man, whether he is of the East or of the West, must be treated and dealt with as such in any enlightened community. On the other hand, it is obvious that lack of education and want of culture or refinement, whether in an Oriental or Occidental, for, believe me, one is only too frequently brought in contact with such individuals in Europe as well, should certainly be the governing factors in our estimation of people. So, if this is to be the law of communion between man and man, I am sure you will agree with me when I say that we must once and for all do away with that disgraceful relic of past barbarity, which is involved in the term "Colour-Question," itself symbolic of an uncivilised age. The "Colour-Question", I am now speaking to the English members of the audience, is of vital importance to you, as great Britain's wide interests in Asia and Africa render the subject of what I may term momentous consequences, if this delicate matter is handled carelessly and wantonly. You will, I hope, forgive me if I candidly tell you to-night that during my now, somewhat long stay in this country, nothing has surprised or indeed pained me more than the wide and universal ignorance, which unhappily prevails in England, even amongst those who ought to be better informed, concerning the conditions and the destinies of millions of Asiatic and African peoples, who owe allegiance to the king. The average Englishman, and even the average politician for the matter of that, is only too ready, I admit, through want of information to show his indifference towards the great problems in the East, which are daily presenting themselves for solution. He can unfortunately seldom shake off his prejudices and his sinister views and look upon this truly Imperial question in a truly Imperial fashion. He seems to forget that the sacred heritage which has been handed down to him by his forefathers is too serious a problem to be ridiculed and played with. The varied constituents who go to form this mighty Empire, he overlooks, are with him fellow-subjects of the same king, and as such, fellow-citizens of the same realm. I am not an alarmist by nature, but I must warn you of the great disasters which must necessarily follow if people of Great Britain would not open their eyes to these facts. With them, at any rate, there is no earthly excuse for the retention of the term "Colour-Question." May I, with deference, remind them that the British Empire does not consist of the 40 million souls in these islands only? There are no less than 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects in India itself, who are as self-respecting and as enlightened a community as any that is this day contributing to the glory, good name and honour of the British Empire. They are, need I draw your attention to it, originally of the same stock of mankind from which the British race itself has sprung, *viz.* the Aryans. They are fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects of the same Empire and as such they rightly and justly demand the same freedom and the same privileges that are the birth-right of every British subject—privileges that have been definitely and clearly promised to them by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in her memorable Proclamation of 1858 and twice since confirmed with equal preciseness by similar proclamations of the late King and His present Majesty. Can a stronger case be conceived or a more cogent reasoning imagined, when your fellow-citizens in that great Dependency of the Crown desire, and I think do so with justice, that the ridiculous colour bar, which has unhappily so sharply divided them from their fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire, should be forthwith abolished? If England takes pride in her Indian Empire, and if the British Crown boasts of its millions of Indian subjects, is it not only fair that India should take its proper part in the vast family, that has helped to make the Empire what it is to-day? Nelson's famous words—England expects every man to do his duty—were not merely meant for Trafalgar. They are applicable to-day with even greater force. Every Englishman, who has an atom of patriotism still in him, must do his duty to his fellow-subjects, to say nothing of sentimental and humanitarian grounds, which likewise warrant his sympathy, good-will and confidence towards his fellow-creatures. We are often told that India is the brightest jewel of the British Crown. If that is so, why then all this turmoil and fury about the Colour-Question? It is simply monstrous to think that, in spite of the long and intimate association that has existed between this country and India, we still find such strong colour prejudice amongst the people of Great Britain. They are over-anxious to reap the fruits of their Indian Dependency but they are reluctant to acknowledge the sterling worth of their Indian fellow-subjects. They are ready to enjoy the full benefits of their Indian investments but, no, they are unwilling to open their heart and conscience towards their Indian benefactors. They are always prepared to sing the praise of their Indian fellow-citizens, but they are both to convince them of the reality and honesty of their purpose. In theory, we find them fully conscious of the common tie that so strongly binds them together with their Indian compatriots, but in actual practice they are guilty of the most wicked disregard for the great and sacred laws of fellow-citizenship.

It is a deplorable scene indeed. The results and the consequences of this extraordinary attitude of mind may be still more deplorable. The reaction bound to follow, which heaven forbid, will be the outcome of their own folly. The responsibility will lay on their own shoulders. Even now it is not too late to prevent that awful catastrophe. Let every Englishman rise to the occasion and let him follow the traditional ideals of his race. Let the past be forgiven and forgotten and let them set themselves seriously to the task that lies before them. If he extends his hand of genuine fellowship to his fellow-subjects—and I assure you, that would be the only possible solution of the problem—he is bound to meet with that generous and hearty response, characteristic of the East. I make bold to say that the Englishman with any colour prejudice is a danger to the safety and well-being of this mighty Empire.

The Empire, so jealous of her own honour, cannot afford to let such an unpardonable offence be meted out to a great section of her citizens. Colour-prejudice cannot and must not prevail in England. The sooner the so-called Colour-Question evaporates, the better for every one of you, for England and for the whole Empire. (Cheers.) The era of peace and tranquillity and the dawn of brightness and progress will gleam over the over-sea possessions of the Empire only if and when this root-evil is completely and thoroughly eradicated. When colour-prejudice is dead and buried, then and only then could the Empire be embodied under the common flag as a strong crystallised mass of living territory, over which one could truly say the Sun would never set. Until then, it is divided and scattered into a multitude of discontented units, which would do no credit to the Empire itself nor to the great and varied parts of which it is composed. Apart from this consideration, so vital in itself, you must not lose sight of the fact that England is to-day in political alliance with a great Asiatic country, which is as keenly sensitive and as justly proud of her own racial traditions as you are of your own in this country, and that significant fact must certainly weigh in your general out-look, when you proceed to seriously consider the subject under discussion.

You will, I hope, forgive me in having taken so much of your precious time, but I trust I have succeeded in showing that all what we see in the East to-day is nothing but the essential effects of all those causes that I have just enumerated. But apart from our political lethargy, brought about, as I have already said, entirely by the force of circumstances, I emphatically maintain that morally, intellectually and socially we are to-day, as individuals, situated on the same level as the people of Europe.

I have yet to come across a European who has had the occasion to closely study the character, temperament and characteristics of Asiatics—whether individually or as a whole—and who, mind you, has judged us impartially and fairly, who would not confess the truth of that statement. I am the first to admit there are numerous examples amongst us, who would bring nothing but disgrace on their own community, just as there are similar instances amongst yourselves who would equally dishonour the good name of your own community. Do not judge the so-called coloured races by a handful of individuals that you may have possibly known yourselves, or of whom you may have heard. Neither do we deceive ourselves by judging, say the people of this country, by Tom, Dick, Harry and Jones.

Compare our best men with the best amongst yourselves and you could then realise how little there is to choose between them. On the other hand you may contrast the worst amongst us with the most detestable section of your own community and I assure you the difference will not be very great, indeed. (Cheers.)

If we are going to sit in judgment on the merits or drawbacks of any community, that will be the only possible method before us for collecting reliable and trustworthy evidence.

Approaching the question with an unbiased mind, I submit, you will not thus fail to immediately and definitely discard this wicked doctrine, which underlies the term Colour-Question, and which has been the root-cause of so much unpleasantness and hatred in the past. You will thereby feel the satisfaction of having contributed your own share towards the promotion of that universal peace, harmony and concord, which should be the earnest aim and object of every thinking man and thinking woman. This emancipation of the human spirit in the West from the thralldom of the rusting traditions of old world be secured only if you are prepared to recognise your duties and your obligations between man and man, irrespective of colour, caste or creed.

If you are ready to take that noble and honourable part in the sacred cause of humanity at large, then—

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
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An abstract of review by the *Comrade*:—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent: Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **الكلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

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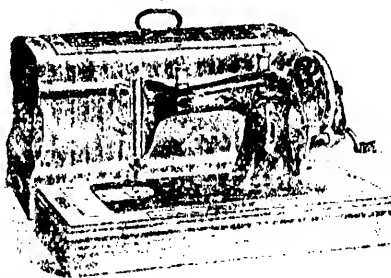
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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster

London, April 12.

Colonel Seely, speaking at Draycott, said there had been grave danger of bloodshed in Ireland through hot headed persons seizing arms in isolated depots. Hence this moving of troops to Ulster. His orders were punctually and implicitly obeyed but Conservative newspapers went mad on the subject. Colonel Seely, denied that there had been a plot to butcher Ulstermen, many, including the majority of officers and men of the army, apparently believed. Moreover, the belief of many Liberals that there was a plot in the Army to disobey, and to shatter Home Rule, was groundless. His determination simply was to safeguard Government property, and it was never intended to employ the Army to crush political opposition. Thereby, the great principle for which their forefathers had fought had been upheld.

The Civil Service Commission.

London, April 10.

The report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service will be published shortly. The *Daily Telegraph* understands that it will contain drastic proposals, including a complete discontinuance of patronage.

THE FOURTH REPORT ISSUED.

London, April 14.

The Fourth report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service has been issued. It deals with the home Civil Service

and recommends closer co-ordination of the educational systems and the Civil Service examinations and also greater facilities for progress from primary to secondary schools and Universities. When a person is appointed through patronage to a high administrative position, a statement of his qualifications *et cetera* must be laid before Parliament. Various similar regulations are proposed, restricting patronage in professional and technical appointments.

Turkey

Constantinople, April 15.

The Vali of Mosul reports fighting at Barzan between Turkish troops and rebel Kurds under Sheikh Abdul Selah. The Kurds lost heavily, the casualties including eight Chiefs. They fled and are being pursued by the troops.

Turkish Loan.

London, April 10.

Agreements in connection with a big Turkish loan and other financial facilities, also regarding Turkish concessions to French groups have been initialled in Paris.

Constantinople, April 18.

A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* says that according to the Bill ratifying provisional loan agreements, recently initialled in Paris, the loan amounts to 85,400,000 pounds Turkish.

Turkey and Egypt.

London, April 9.

The Mussalman world in Egypt is greatly perturbed over the unconfirmed report that the Egyptian Officer Aziz Ali who organised the Arab resistance in Cyrenaica has been sentenced to death in Constantinople. The charges have not been published but it is stated that he was charged with mismanagement of Government funds at Tripoli. The *Times* in an editorial says that if a judicial murder has been perpetrated, relations between Turkey and Egypt will be seriously affected and probably not only between Turkey and

Tripoli.

London, April 11.

The Italian garrison at Magusal Tripoli repulsed an attack by six hundred tribesmen killing and wounding a hundred. The Italians had nine casualties.

London, April 10.

According to a telegram to the *Times* from Teheran, brigands have attacked and looted a gendarmerie convoy between Sultanabad and Kum. Major Moeller was wounded.

Bitlis.

Constantinople, April 8.

A telegram from Bitlis reports that all is quiet and that troops have arrived there.

Albania.

Durazzo, April 9.

It appears that the Albanian Government has mastered the situation at Korytza and that the insurgents have surrendered. The movement is regarded as suppressed.

Vienna, April 9.

The reply of the Triple Entente to the Greek note regarding Albania and the Aegean Islands has been handed to Count Berchtold. The Entente proposes to use its influence to secure that the rights and wishes of the Epirotes shall be respected in Albania and demands guarantees for the rights of the Mohammedans in the Islands, ceded to Greece.

London, April 11.

The *Times* in a special article describing the situation in Northern Albania says that while everything is at present quiet, conditions do not inspire confidence for a peaceful future. The paper pays a tribute to the restraining influence of Colonel Phillips commanding the international garrison at Skutari in averting the tribute and counselling patience to restless tribes who object to the incorporation with Montenegro but says that the trouble is inevitable unless the frontier is altered.

Durazzo, April 15.

Preparations for the equipment of the Militia are proceeding actively and will be completed in a few weeks. Then, if necessary, the Prince will march southward at the head of his troops and will take forcible possession of territory assigned to Albania by the Powers.

Epirotes' Revolt.

Athens, April 12.

Albanians occupied villages between Premoti and Leskoviki. They were attacked by Epirotes and compelled to withdraw with heavy loss.

Athens, April 14.

The programme of Albanian concessions to the Epirotes includes a sort of local self-government with scholastic and religious autonomy on condition that the Epirotes make immediate submission.

London, 14th April.

Athens: The programme of the Albanian concessions to the Epirotes includes a sort of local self-government with scholastic and religious autonomy, on condition that the Epirotes make immediate submission.

Hedjaz Railway.

Bombay, April 13.

An interesting report has come to hand regarding Turkish activities in Arabia. He says the Turks are said to be determined to extend the Hedjaz Railway from Medina to Mecca. A party of Turkish engineers and surveyors are reported to have arrived at Medina for the purpose of making fresh preliminary investigations in connection with the project. It is reported, however, that the Bedonins who have hitherto monopolised the pilgrim traffic between Medina and Mecca are opposed to the scheme and are threatening to give trouble and are said to have sworn that they will not allow the line to reach Mecca. It is already rumoured that the tribe of Hurb have raided Jeddah and lifted some cattle and camels.

Writing on the situation in the Hedjaz the Mecca correspondent of the Cairo Arabic paper the *Al Makattum* says:—"The Vali Wahib Bey, a brother of Essad Pasha, who defended Jannina in the recent war, is trying to recruit young Arabs for Turkish army in spite of the fact that the people of the Hedjaz are already exempted from military service. He is also attempting to introduce changes into the administration and to start various innovations. Many Hedjaz notables of the Vilayet have sent telegrams to Constantinople demanding the dismissal of Wahib Bey. The Sheriff of Mecca has also intervened in the question in consequence of some sanguinary encounters taking place between the Turkish troops and the Arabs. There is an unconfirmed rumour that an attempt has been made upon the Vali's life.

Afghanistan.

Allahabad, April 15.

The *Pioneer's* frontier correspondent states that on reaching Kabul the Amir issued orders for the Governor of Kandahar to send to Kabul two Raisis from each tribe as he intends to raise volunteer regiments from the tribesmen, under officers to be selected from their respective tribe.

Constantinople, April 15.

The sentence of death passed on the Egyptian officer Aziz Ali has been commuted to one of fifteen years' imprisonment.

The German Emperor.

Bukharest, April 13.

The German Emperor will shortly pay a visit to the King of Rumania. In diplomatic circles it is declared that the object of the visit is to strengthen the relations between Rumania and the Triple Alliance in view of recent Russian efforts to obtain influence with Rumania.

Our London Letter.

London, Mar. 27.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

THE political crisis arising from the resignation of General Gough and the officers of the Cavalry Brigade in Ireland has been exclusively engaging the serious attention of the country and Parliament during the past few days. Nobody seems for the moment inclined to discuss the question of Ulster or the Home Rule Bill. The Army problem is the sole topic of comment and it has eclipsed all other important political matters. The debates in the House of Commons have surpassed anything that I can remember in the way of heat and party feeling. Not even at the height of the Veto Bill or the Insurance Bill controversy was the House ever so excited and so uncontrollable as it has been these days. "Scenes" are of frequent occurrences and disorders and interruptions follow as a matter of course. The most violent unparliamentary language and expressions are being constantly thrown across the table and the speaker's position is a most unenviable one for the moment. I have never before seen hon. members so fully determined to take advantage of the least provocative. Even a challenge for a duel has been flung to an Irish member by a Unionist. Only two days ago, the First Lord of the Admiralty was "reluctantly and with respect" obliged to withdraw the expression "hellish" in obedience to the chair. Mr. Winston Churchill was certainly provoked by a question from Mr. Amery, which, as the Speaker remarked, ought not to have been put. Mr. Amery had asked whether the First Lord hoped there would be bloodshed and disorder in Ulster so that he may use the Navy to put down the revolt. The Speaker was immediately on his feet. The hon. member had no right to put a question of that sort and he would not allow it. But, all the same, Mr. Churchill rose soon after. "Since the question has been put," he proceeded angrily, "With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I would like to say that I repudiate that hellish insinuation." The Opposition was instantly in an uproar. Even Mr. Lowther, who had risen to intervene, could not be heard for a few minutes. He was at last understood to say that he hoped the right hon. gentlemen would see his way to withdraw the term "hellish," which was quite unparliamentary. He quite appreciated the feelings which had prompted the First Lord to show his temper, but he really could not allow an unparliamentary expression to go on record. "I have been in this House for 14 years," retorted Mr. Churchill gravely, "and have never been requested to withdraw anything I have said before. If you rule it so, Sir, I beg, with respect, to withdraw the epithet "hellish." This is after all a small incident in the House, but it serves to indicate the kind of feeling and the party spirit which is to-day surrounding hon. members in all quarters.

Brigadier-General Gough and his officers had resigned their Commissions rather than to lead their men against the Ulster Protestants. They were summoned to the War Office and, as a result of negotiations between them and the Army Council, have been, for the time being at any rate, satisfied and accordingly reinstated in their former ranks. Though the public was given to understand by the Brigadier that he had received a written assurance from Col. Seely and Sir John French to the effect that he and his officers would never be called upon to act against Ulster in order to force upon them the Home Rule Bill, the officers had hardly returned to the Curragh camp in Ireland, when the ministerial statements in both Houses of Parliament disclosed the extraordinary fact that such assurance had not been given to General Gough on the responsibility of the entire Cabinet, but on that of the Secretary of State for War alone, that it was therefore inoperative, and further that Colonel Seely, for having thus misled the Prime Minister and his colleagues, had resigned his office and that, still further, Mr. Asquith had refused to accept his resignation. The Cabinet had approved of the following reply being sent to General Gough, when Sir Arthur Paget, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, had informed the War Minister that the Brigadier and most of the officers of the Cavalry Brigade had decided to send in their papers of resignation, if they were ordered to proceed to Ulster. The document, which was initialled by Colonel Seely, Sir John French, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and Sir J. S. Ewart, the Adjutant-General, proceeds thus:—"You are authorised by the Army Council to inform the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade that the Army Council are satisfied that the incident which has arisen in regard to their resignations has been due to a misunderstanding. It is the duty of all soldiers to obey lawful commands given to them through the proper channel by the Army Council, either for the protection of public property and the support of the Civil Power in the event of disturbances or for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants. This is the only point it was intended to put to the officers in the questions of the General Officer Commanding, and the Army Council have been glad to learn from you that there never has been and never will be in the Brigade any question of disobeying such lawful orders."

As mentioned before, the above text was approved by the Cabinet, but, through an "error of judgment," the War Minister, who was not present during the whole sitting of the Cabinet Council when the draft of the above document was under discussion, added the following lines to the official reply sent to General Gough: "His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order and to support the Civil Power in the ordinary execution of its duty. But they have no intention whatever of taking advantage of this right to crush political opposition to the policy or principles of the Home Rule Bill." The inclusion of this additional statement to the official reply, of course, would at once serve a death-blow to the Government and it would clearly indicate their submission to the Army demands—which could never be tolerated by the country as a whole. For some reason or another, Lord Morley has admitted a sort of "half-share" in the responsibility with Colonel Seely for these additional clauses in the document, but he never tendered his resignation to the Prime Minister on that account; whereas the War Minister's reason for so doing was the fact of his having unconsciously committed his colleagues in the Cabinet to a statement, which they had never approved of. There are all sorts of rumours in the air to-day—that Sir John French and Sir J. S. Ewart have also resigned, that the War Minister and the Colonial Secretary are exchanging places, etc. The Premier is making an important statement in the House to-night and until the official announcements are made, one cannot, of course, rely upon such rumours.

In certain quarters, both Liberal and Labour, it is being freely hinted that the King has used his influence in favour of the Army demands in this crisis. Mr. John Ward, the Labour member, who sits on the Liberal Bench, was the first to give expression to this view. During a fiery speech in the House the other day, he emphatically declared, amid loud Ministerial cheers, which were renewed again and again, that the question was whether the people through their representatives in Parliament were to make the law without interference from the King or the Army. This view, it must be frankly admitted, is generally shared by the rank and file of the Liberal Party. No more convincing demonstration in favour of this view could be witnessed than the spontaneous scene that occurred in the Smoking Room of the National Liberal Club the other day, when the deliberate remarks of a member—"three cheers for John Ward for saying what we all think"—were received by an outburst of cheering and applause that could not possibly render its meaning and significance at all doubtful. The Commons debate has at all events disposed of the mischievous rumours relating to the King. It is not, however, the least of the services of Mr. John Ward's memorable speech on Tuesday that it has brought these rumours to the floor of the House and settled them finally. The Prime Minister's unequivocal assurance that the King has throughout this trying ordeal acted in strict accordance with constitutional practice—that is, entirely and exclusively on the advice of his ministers—will give universal satisfaction.

What effect the Government's official withdrawal of Colonel Seely's additional clauses in the reply to General Gough will have as to the future attitude of the Brigadier and his officers is yet to be seen, but it is certain that the matter will not be allowed to rest where it is.

The Government for obvious reasons cannot afford to submit to the demands and the dictates of the Army. That would at once break up the very fundamental principles of Parliamentary Government. The Army has obeyed in the past, and must obey in the future, the orders of its constituted authorities, whether the Liberal or the Conservative Party is in office. Nothing but disaster and ruination will overcome the British nation, if the Army were to take sides in politics. The soldier's duty is to obey his superior officers, whether he happens to be a Private or a General. It is not for him to argue one way or the other. The Army is maintained by the nation as a whole—not by the Conservatives or the Liberals exclusively. If General Gough's example is allowed to go unpunished, it will no doubt serve as a most mischievous precedent. Mr. Asquith must deal with this problem firmly and promptly and in any steps that he may take to establish the lawful and constitutional rights of Parliament he can depend on the entire and unwavering co-operation of all thinking men and women, irrespective of any political creed or party, who believe in the formula—"Government of the people by the people."

RECEPTION AT THE PERSIAN LEGATION.

The Persian Minister held a Reception at the Imperial Legation last Saturday, the 21st inst. on the occasion of *Nawroze* or the Persian New Year. A very large gathering, which included the prominent members of the Persian colony in London, had responded to His Excellency's invitation, among those present being His Excellency Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, the Argentine Minister and Mme. Dominguez, the Greek Minister and

Mme. Gennadius, the Norwegian Minister and Mme. Vogt, the Rumanian Minister and Mme. Mian, the Portuguese Minister, the Bulgarian Minister, the Serbian Minister, the Siamese Minister and Mr. Archer, the Spanish Minister, M. Tomanowsky, Sir Arthur and Lady Clementine Walsh, Lord and Lady Lamington, Col. C. E. Yate, M. P., and Mrs. Yate, Sir Alfred Newton, Lady Owen-Mackenzie, General Jardine Hallows, Mrs. Moud, Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., Sir Henry Dalziel, M. P., Sir John Rolleston, M. P., Mr. and Mrs. Amcer Ali, Dr. Rutherford, Sir Joseph Walton, M. P., Lady Harcourt Smith, Sir Thomas and Lady Barclay, Sir Thomas Jackson, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Hugh and Lady Barnes, Colonel and Mrs. Sykes, the Hon. Harry Lawson, M. P., General Beresford Lovett, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, M. P., Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Colonel Rundall, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M. P., Dr. Chapple, M. P., Mrs. Alwyn Parker, Mr. Percy Armytage, Mr. R. F. Sylge, and Mr. and Mrs. Greenway.

THE AGA KHAN.

His Highness the Aga Khan has arrived in Europe and is at present in Monte Carlo. His Highness, I understand, is contemplating a visit to East Africa in the immediate future and is not likely to be in England for some months, possibly till the beginning of the autumn. This, of course, is the Aga Khan's present arrangement, which he will certainly carry out, unless anything unforeseen may occur, which might possibly necessitate a change in his programme. So far as one can judge now, it is unlikely that His Highness will be able to preside at the annual meeting of the London Moslem League in the summer, which will be keenly regretted by the Indian Moslems here. His presidential address last year, in which he gave such splendid and sound advice to the young Indian Moslems, stands as the distinguishing feature of that memorable occasion. The London Moslem League's Annual Meetings, unless relieved by the presence and the eloquence of some distinguished Moslem from India, such as His Highness himself or a few others, who have honestly and faithfully served the community—and that too, let it be at once said, without the least personal interest or selfish motive—are very dreary and dismal proceedings. One or two "friends" of Indian Moslems—almost invariably drawn from the ranks of the retired Anglo-Indian community—are generally put up to act the "adviser," and we meet, on such occasions, with the old old story again. The speeches of individuals like Sir John Somebody, K. C. I. E., or Mr. Thomas Something, C. I. E., do not now-a-days appeal to the bulk of Indian Moslems in London, particularly to the younger generation.

As I have mentioned in one of my recent letters to you, Mr. Amcer Ali has an excellent opportunity before him, if he would only take advantage of it. Let "bye-gones be bye-gones" and let him seriously rise to the occasion and he is sure to find the young Moslems perfectly willing, and in fact only too anxious, to extend to him their respectful co-operation and their humble recognition of his position, for which his eminent literary services to Islam in the past have rendered him so highly qualified.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR DEAD TURKISH AVIATORS.

After the usual *Juma-Namaz* last Friday at Lindsey Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, a short memorial service was held for the repose of the souls of the three Turkish aviators, who have recently lost their lives during a flight across Turkey to Egypt. The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din of Woking Mosque and Kazi Hareddin Effendi, who is attached to the Ottoman Embassy, officiated. The service, which was intensely impressive, was attended by a large congregation.

THE PROPOSED WOMEN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE AT DELHI.

The announcement in the Press, which has appeared through Reuter's Agency, of the laying of the foundation-stone of the proposed Women's Medical College at Delhi by Lady Hardinge, is heartily welcomed here by the Indian colony. This institution will undoubtedly provide what has been a long-felt want in India and is certain to facilitate the conditions for the proper study of medical science by Indian women to an unparalleled degree. It is true the existing medical colleges in India have been open to lady-students as well, but the fact remains that, under the present conditions, there are numerous intelligent and industrious young women, who, though anxious to qualify themselves as doctors, have not been tempted to join such institutions. The new scheme, under which the future lady medics will be able to pursue their studies and investigations in a medical school exclusively reserved to themselves will in time produce excellent results.

A country like India is particularly in need of capable lady-doctors. The handful of European and Indian lady-doctors who are to-day so nobly attending to the sufferings and agonies of the women in that vast Continent are hardly sufficient and the supply is hopelessly out of proportion to the large demand throughout the country. No sensible Indian can have anything but admiration for

the small army of European lady-doctors in India to-day, whose devotion and attachment to their patients, rich or poor, and whose professional efficiency and scientific attainments have rightly earned them the universal esteem and regard of their Indian sisters. But it will not be ungenerous or disrespectful by any means if one has to lay it down as an axiom that the conditions and the circumstances prevailing in India require the discharge of these heroic and sacred duties, mainly at any rate, through the medium of the noble daughters of the soil themselves: just as one keenly feels now-a-days the great necessity for the wider recognition by the Government of the sterling worth and professional eminence of the numerous Indian medical men, with the best and the highest British qualifications, who could bring nothing but honour and fame to the teaching staff of any hospital in the country, but whose merits are entirely overlooked in favour of English surgeons, mostly from the ranks of the I. M. S., which Service is to-day practically enjoying the sole monopoly for all the "prize" appointments on the various hospital staffs in India. I hope to write shortly a special article for the *Comrade* on this all-important question and so I am not entering into it in this letter, but am only contenting myself with the problem of female medical education in India. Already there are some Indian lady-doctors in practice, who possess the best medical qualifications, degrees and diplomas that the English Universities and Examining Boards could give. It may perhaps be interesting to recall that the very first lady member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, after that highest surgical Body in Great Britain had permitted women to offer themselves as candidates for its various examinations only three years ago, was a Parsee lady. I do not for one moment insinuate that there are no European lady-doctors in India with good qualifications, but I am perfectly confident of the existence of Indian lady-doctors to-day with at least equal, if not higher, qualifications. Such Indian lady-doctors will be offered a new avenue for serving their sisters and their country, if they are appointed as teachers in their respective special subjects in the Delhi Medical School, when fully matured. No doubt, at the beginning it may not be possible to fill all the appointments by Indian lady-doctors, and it will be necessary to engage suitable European lady-doctors from England or perhaps from the existing hospitals for women in India, which are, at least as far as the higher grades of appointments go, entirely conducted by European lady-doctors. But, even at the beginning, those responsible for the proposed Delhi Medical College would be well advised to make an appropriate number of Indian appointments on its staff. It is perhaps premature to discuss these points now, but the matter, even at this early stage, is well worth considering.

A great move has thus been made in the field of female progress and female enlightenment in India. The question of the medical training and medical education of Indian women is of vital importance to the country as a whole. The problem goes to the very root of the progress, welfare, health and well-being of the community at large. There are at this moment thousands of Indian women perishing for want of medical care and medical attention. They are ready to sacrifice their very lives rather than seek the advice and assistance of medical "men;" and we know there are not sufficient medical "women" to alleviate their sufferings and, if possible, to save them from certain death and disaster. They are hopelessly ignorant of the most elementary principles of Eugenics and are equally in the dark as to the sacred duties and responsibilities of motherhood. What an appalling mortality in child birth prevails in the country!

In spite of the various excellent lying-in institutions in India, it is a fact, and a very deplorable fact indeed, that there are hundreds of women there who daily discharge the perilous functions of matrimony in their own homes, amidst the most unfavourable surroundings that could be possibly imagined, rather than take advantage of the comfort, safety and luxuries of science that would be at their disposal in such hospitals. Is it, therefore, surprising that statistics show such a dreadful mortality amongst Indian women on such occasions? The so-called midwives, who in most cases attend them, know nothing, not even the rudimentary essentials, of the science and art of obstetrics and the abominable ignorance of such midwives of the fundamental laws of antiseptic surgery—the very thought of which would make Lister shudder in his grave—is responsible for the vast sacrifice of so many precious and dear lives. There are scores of other instances and other afflictions peculiar to women which are so cruelly allowed to proceed to their fatal terminations for the mere want of timely gynaecological assistance. All these calamities are chiefly due to the great lack of Indian lady-doctors in the country.

The proposed Medical College for women, as I have said before, supplies a long-felt want, and the institution will have the best wishes of all those who have the true interest of India at heart for its success and welfare.



TETE À TETE



We desire to inform the subscribers to the Ottoman Treasury Bonds that the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris has been authorised by the Ottoman Government to pay the first instalment of the capital (one-fifth) and also the interest for first year on the Treasury Bonds which were in the first instance directly or indirectly purchased through this Bank. The coupons of those Bonds purchased from other banks may also be sent to this Bank for collection. The coupon to be cut is the one on the right hand side of the Bonds (No. 1) and both the coupons for interest and redemption should be sent together. We had received numerous letters from subscribers asking us to state what procedure they should adopt in case they did not desire to get the interest. We have now been informed, in reply to our inquiry, by the Acting Ottoman Consul General at Bombay that those subscribers who are not willing to draw interest on the Bonds, while sending the Bonds for payment, may write on the Coupon of interest: "Interest is not required and left for the benefit of the Ottoman Treasury."

An Associated Press message from Bombay states that the deputation to England from the Indian National Congress, consisting of Messrs. Mazharul Haque, Sachchidananda Sinha, Krishnashahay Samarth, S. Iyer, S. B. Sarma, and Mohamed Ali Jinnah left Bombay by the mail steamer on the 18th. instant. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu will not, however, leave for another fortnight. Mr. Jinnah interviewed about the object of the visit stated that the deputation would place themselves in the hands of Sir William Wedderburn, who was making all arrangements for them. The most important question to be dealt with was the reform of the Secretary of State's Council, as it appeared that the idea was to change the character of the Council from a consultative to an administrative one. Other questions included the Press Act and separation of judicial and executive functions. "We propose," said Mr. Jinnah, to put our views on behalf of the people of India before the Secretary of State for India if possible, and before the members of Parliament in support of the demand which was made at the Congress last session as well as at the meeting of the All-India Moslem League. We trust the people of India will back us up by holding public meetings and passing resolutions as soon as the Bill is before the country." The questions that the deputation will have to deal with have been most seriously engaging the attention of the Indian public for some time past, and each of them formed the subject of important resolutions at the last sessions of both the Congress and the All-India Moslem League. We trust the deputation will do its work thoroughly and will receive full and unanimous public support from this country. The Bill for the reorganisation of the India Council has not yet been introduced in Parliament, but in view of the anticipated changes in the constitution and powers of the Council it is bound to be an important measure, and the Indian public opinion should be on the watch to prevent it from becoming a reactionary one.

We are glad to learn from Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahib that his missionary efforts in England are daily growing in fruitfulness. His regular series of lectures on Islam in the Mosque at Woking every Friday attract large audiences who evince great interest in the religion of Islam and earnestly follow the discourses in which the Khwaja Sahib expounds its spirit and doctrines. This "invasion" of Islam has produced anxiety and alarm in the

The Preaching of Islam.

Christian missionary camp, as is evident from the two extracts from the English papers which are reproduced elsewhere. It is not without its significance that the Christian missionary should have begun to recollect his duty nearer home only after a Mussalman missionary has appeared on the scene to preach his simple message of faith in a Christian land. The difficulties of the Khwaja Sahib's mission are obvious enough, but he is gradually overcoming them by his courage, patience and noble zeal for his faith, and the success that he has already achieved is in every way solid and full of abundant promise. We learn that two more Englishmen have embraced Islam a few weeks ago through the Khwaja Sahib's efforts. Their original names were Edward Woodward and Albert Smith (dental surgeon), and they have been given the Islamic names of Mohamed and Abdul Qadir respectively. It is of the utmost importance to organise regular and adequate financial help in India in order that the scope of the Moslem missionary effort may expand according to its growing needs in England. More funds are needed as well as more competent and devoted workers to help Khwaja Kunal-ud-Din Sahib in his great and arduous undertaking. In his long communication published in *Hamdard*, the Khwaja Sahib explains the nature of the work he has to do, the difficulties that he has to face and the type of the workers he needs to help him at this stage. He points out with special emphasis that the missionaries that may be sent out from India to share his labours must be staid, experienced men of mature age. Young men with imperfect training and little control over the impulses of youth would probably involve the whole missionary effort in disaster. He rightly advises the Delhi committee that has selected a youngman like Anis Ahmad for the purpose to leave him first of all to gain experience in India and prepare himself by self-discipline for missionary work before he goes out to preach Islam in foreign countries. Intellectual training is only a part, and by no means the most important part, of the missionary's equipment. It is the living example of a well-ordered, clean and noble life that wins converts to a new faith.

We noted last week how the majority of the Anglo-Indian papers have tried to belittle the importance of the Moslem Deputation to the Viceroy by the simple method of "ignoring" it. Nothing more decent or honest could apparently be expected from the amiable gentlemen who had taken a hand in the innocent game of mud-splashing and scandal-mongering. We were curious to know how the matter would be treated by the arch-instigator of the campaign of "under against the Mussalmans and creator of the "Indian Peril," the *Times*. We searched through the copies of the *Times* received by the last mail to find any reference to the Moslem Deputation, and it was only after a long search that we came accidentally across a few lines thrust away inconspicuously in a corner without any headline, which seem to have been taken from the Reuter's message on the subject. This is how the public in England is served by one of the loudest custodians of Imperial interests. Surely the Deputation's Address to the Viceroy and His Excellency's reply deserve at least as much space as the *Times* devoted to "selections" from the correspondence between the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan. No Mussalman can forget the part played by the *Times* in creating the fog of suspicion and mistrust about the attitude of his community, and it was due to its own journalistic sense of duty and fairplay to make some reparation to those whom it had tried to injure by its wicked libels. But fair dealing is not a part of the game in which the *Times* and its numerous henchmen are engaged for the glory and prestige of the Empire. Only a future historian will be able to measure accurately the harm done to true Imperial interests by the type of journalism which flourishes by pandering to the vanity of dominant cliques, by exalting expediency at the sacrifice of truth, by setting class against class and by denouncing whole communities in unmeasured terms if they show the least desire to claim a fair and decent treatment in the councils of the Empire. The suppression of the truth is not less wicked at times than the active propagation of falsehood, and if the *Times* has not hesitated to preach falsehood occasionally, it is not unoften that it has deliberately suppressed the truth. We think the *Times* is not unaware that there is a law of contempt in British India, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than if it brought a charge of defamation against us in the court of the District Magistrate of Delhi.

The trial by the military court at Constantinople of Aziz Bey, the Egyptian officer in the Turkish army, on certain grave charges has created some amount of sensation—thanks to the chivalrous efforts of certain disinterested English on-lookers in Egypt and the very chivalrous *Times*. From the gushing narratives of the correspondents of some English newspapers—the inevitable Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* is, of course, in the front rank of this gallant band—it would seem as if the whole of Egypt were seething with ferment and the entire Arab world were in revolt on account of the monstrous decision of the

Turkish authorities to try according to the law an officer accused of corruption, dishonesty and insubordination. This mischievous agitation seems to have been working to set design. First of all came the shrieking little paragraphs from "our own correspondents" in Egypt and elsewhere who discovered the growing excitement and indignation amongst the Egyptians and the Arabs, whose love for Aziz Ali Bey, we were assured, verged on infatuation. Then came the deliberate assertions that the trial would be a farce, that Aziz Bey was innocent, that the charges framed against him were vague and false and that he was to be got rid of in that way because he had incurred the jealousy of Enver Pasha on account of the great fame and popularity he had acquired amongst the Arabs by his heroic deeds in Cyrenaica. Last of all came that grave and ominous portent in the political sky, a leading article in the *Times*, bristling with all the dread phrasology that it can command so well when it is trying to exaggerate or create an international crisis. It felt a sudden sympathy for the Egyptians and made the fate of Aziz Bey its special concern. It drew attention to the deplorable impression that would be produced "throughout the Arab world were sentence of death, whether executed or not, to be passed upon this gallant officer, whose chief offence seems to be that he served the cause of his fellow Arabs too devotedly, and thus acquired a prestige that gave offence in influential Young Turkish and Pan-Islamic quarters." One fails to see why the prestige of Aziz Bey should have given offence in influential "Young Turkish and Pan-Islamic quarters." The Young Turks have often been denounced by the *Times* itself as "Pan-Islamites" and the "Pan-Islamism" of the *Times* imagination has always appeared to us to be some sinister attempt to organise the entire Mussalman races of the world into some militant confederacy against Europe or Christendom. But this is a mere inconsistency that can hardly touch the invulnerable honour of the *Times*. It snited its object just at present to play the Arabs and the Egyptians against the Turks and the case of Aziz Bey was fastened upon as lending itself magnificently for the purpose. It went on to say that the passionate interest taken at Cairo and in other Arab centres "in what must be termed his persecution by the Young Turkish authorities indicates the nature of the feelings that would be aroused should harm befall him." Gathering up all its solemnity at this point it continued: "Great Britain is responsible for the maintenance of order in Egypt, and cannot therefore remain indifferent to any untoward incident that would stir Egyptian feeling." It admitted that Aziz Ali is not technically an Egyptian. He is, as a matter of fact, of Circassian descent domiciled in Cyrenaica. It also admitted that he "is a Turkish officer and is subject to Turkish military discipline." One should have thought after this that the fate of Aziz Ali would be of no concern to the British Government or even the *Times*. But, no; the *Times* discovered a warm and sympathetic corner in its heart for the Mussalmans and would not see them treated fairly. Turkey might yet be an independent sovereign State, and Aziz Ali an Ottoman subject and amenable only to the laws of the Ottoman Empire, but the *Times* in its excessive love for the Egyptians and the Arabs and the Mussalmans in general would have little patience for the Turk, his independence, his sovereignty or his laws. "Great Britain, who is responsible for the good and just government of so many millions of Mussalmans, is in duty bound to see that no legitimate means of preserving Aziz Ali from 'accident' of any kind is left untried." And it wound up with a solemn exhortation to the Ottoman Government "to appreciate the importance of our position, and take it fully into account in their dealings with Aziz Ali Bey." It would be hard to find in journalistic banalities anything to match the mockery of it all. The *Times* in its role as a friend of the Mussalmans is often a sight for the gods. We need not recall the circumstances, still fresh in the memory of the Indian Mussalmans, how the *Times* had sympathised with them in their recent troubles. Its love for the Egyptians and the Arabs is also an old passion, the full measure of which was tasted by them just after the memorable affair at Denshawai. We have full admiration for the services of Aziz Bey in Cyrenaica and we regret as much as any of his admirers that he should have been found guilty of serious crimes. But the Turkish Ministers are not a pack of fiends who are bent on hunting to death all patriots and devoted servants of the Ottoman Empire. They know their business and their duty, and can well afford to treat the vile attacks and insolence of the *Times* and their other traducers with the contempt that they deserve. The men in power at the Sublime Porte to-day are not of the pliant and feeble stuff of which Kiamil was made. The *Times* is very well aware of this, and hence its subtle efforts to sow difficulties in their path by cleverly playing on the alleged susceptibilities of the Egyptians and the Arabs. We doubt, however, if the patriotic and intelligent Egyptians can be easily made its catspaws and its dupes.

In the course of a letter received with the last mail, Mr. J. H. Polak, whose son's great services in the cause of Indians in South Africa are so well-known, writes to us: "The last news from South Africa by cable seems to be much more satisfactory and

"I have hopes that a permanent settlement, in accordance with the wishes of the leaders of the Indian community there, will soon be

arrived at. Of course one cannot expect to get all they ask for, but "I believe that the principal points have been conceded." Writing about the proposal of Mr. Frank O'Donnell to establish an India House in London, Mr. Polak says: "The idea of Mr. Frank O'Donnell, re a 'grand India' House in London—non-sectarian, non-political, not 'under the influence of the India Office or of any other official body'—managed by a joint body, partly on the lines of a club and somewhat on the lines of the Colonial Institute and Society of Arts combined—is a splendid one. You ought to be able to collect the funds in India, say £150,000, within a month, if you try personally. It could also be a sort of Indian Chamber of Commerce in London. I should be pleased to act on its executive and make it a huge success. India does not advertise itself sufficiently in England." We invite the attention of our readers once more to the suggestion of Mr. O'Donnell and we think a discussion of the scheme and its details by our readers would be appreciated by Messrs. O'Donnell and Polak.

MR. SYED ABUL AZIZ, Barrister-at-Law, Bankipore, writes to us:—

Indian Students in England.

"There are very few Indian problems which are more pressing and important than the question of Indian students in England. But it is not easy to get the apathetic Indian public interested in a subject which is neither sensational nor sectarian. Matters of real importance are apt to get obscured and shelved when the country is so easily plunged in a ferment either about Cawnpore affair, Ajodhya riot, special electorate or election to various Boards and Councils, which mostly occupy the anxious thoughts of our politicians. It is, however, a matter of satisfaction to me that a section of the Press and a few public spirited men have from time to time taken notice of the Indian students in England. The news that an unofficial committee is being formed under the presidency of Lord Haldane for bringing young Indians into intimate touch with the better sides of English life will be received with great gratification by all those who take interest in the education of the Indians. But none can welcome this announcement with greater delight than I do, for during my residence in England, which terminated over a year ago I had the occasion to discuss at some length in the Press the question of Indian students in England. In dealing with the situation which called for serious consideration, I urged the necessity of some such unofficial movement as the one on foot which will minimise the evils of the official Bureau at 21, Cromwell Road. As one who has endeavoured within his small powers and opportunities to remove misunderstanding and promote friendship between the English and the Indians, I feel constrained to remark regretfully that the bitterness of feelings and disagreeable experiences of the Indian students have largely grown since the creation of the central Bureau, whose method of operation, with all its good intentions, has resulted only in subverting the object which thoughtful Indians and Englishmen alike have at heart. Any genuine desire to help Indians in making the best of their stay in England is bound to be appreciated by them. The hospitable treatment which Indian students are likely to receive at the hands of some eminent and magnanimous men who are forming the Committee will bear fruits that will be enjoyed both by Indians and Englishmen. I trust the students will realize their sense of duty and responsibilities and will avail themselves of every opportunity to enhance their social status, to advance their intellectual attainments and to improve their physical fitness." It would not be without interest to peruse the following sentence in a letter addressed to India by an "Indian Resident in London." He says: "I have occasion to see a good many Indian students in town, and am in a position to say that the majority of the students look upon this and similar other attempts of organised patronage as charity, which no self-respecting Indian would think of accepting. Although the Committee is said to be unofficial, and, as it were, spontaneous, yet the names of many officials, and others connected with the Cromwell Road organisation, are to be found in the list of the members of the Committee. This point has not passed unnoticed." For our part, we are not inclined to agree with the view that the "Hospitality" Committee regards the social assistance it proposes to give to Indian students in England in the light of "charity", and there is such a thing as super-sensitiveness. As for "21, Cromwell Road", we do not think it right to pass an adverse judgment without further enquiry, though we have no hesitation in saying that it is in very bad odour with Indian students who suspect it of espionage. Many have dubbed it "the Thana." But the "Hospitality" Committee need not be involved in the same odium and we await with interest the result of this new and welcome experiment. Its membership, though somewhat mixed, gives promise of excellent results and, to point out only a few names, who could distrust a Committee which includes men like Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Herbert Roberts, M. P., Mr. Edwyn Rowan, Mr. Howell, Mr. Herbert Burrows, and, last but not least, Mr. H. G. Wells. We wish the Committee every success.

The Comrade.

Aligarh Old Boys.

SINCE 1907, when the Aligarh Old Boys' Association for the first time secured a constitution, every recurring annual re-union used to be attended with a crisis of no little importance to the College and to the Association; for the forces which had succeeded in securing a constitution for the Association after a hard struggle had still to contend with those who were anxious to keep the Association within "manageable" proportions from the point of view of the reactionary that mistrusts the multitude. Luckily, however, the Old Boys' Association had a franchise that was the despair of the reactionary. Unlike the Trustees of the Aligarh College, whose numbers are limited and who become members of the Board by co-option, every Old Boy of Aligarh could become a member of the Association by contributing one per cent. of his income. The reactionaries aimed at killing all interest in the Association on the part of its present and prospective members, so that they could always remain in office and use it as a tool in furtherance of their own designs and in thwarting the efforts of those who held different opinions. On the other hand, those that desired to see the Old Boys take a deeper interest in the affairs of their *Alma Mater* and a correspondingly larger share in the administration of its affairs worked hard to increase the membership of the Association. For many years one saw the strange spectacle of the office-bearers of the Associations doing less than nothing to increase the number of its members and yet reluctantly offering the tribute of well-deserved praise on this score to those whose influence in the Association they heartily desired to diminish.

But even though the Association became "unmanageable" in size, its office-bearers continued to "manage" it, because most of its members were scattered over a vast area, and when they met together once a year at Aligarh, they were no match for a powerful clique that controlled resident members. These latter were for the most part in the service of the College, and thus in awe of the Association's office-bearers who also happened to be Trustees possessing enormous power on the Board of their employers. The non-residents, however, could not be easily canvassed by any party, and when they came to Aligarh their votes could be easily divided. Naturally, they were averse to the making of parties within the ranks of a brotherhood, and a certain excess of "conscience" supplied the place of party discipline. The result was, however, intolerable, and a Reform League was founded with a view to canvass the members and secure a solid vote in the Annual Meeting of the Association based on the views of the majority of the members of the League. In other words, a new party was created with a view to crush the party feeling created by an existing clique.

This homeopathic treatment succeeded in effecting a cure in a remarkably short space of time. Those who established the Reform League had always had logic and ethics on their side; but logic and ethics do not always prevail in such contests, and, therefore, "brute force" prevailed. By organising their forces on party lines, they added "brute force" also to their stock of ethics and logic. Their opponents soon gave up the game as lost, and one by one fell away and ceased to take any interest in the Association. The result is that among the resident Old Boys also, the remnants of the old clique cannot secure a majority, and the Association is at last free to work without party machinery. Those that honestly apprehended a permanent split among the Old Boys through the establishment of the Reform League are now satisfied that they were wrong to think so, for the Reform League has quietly disappeared after the breakdown of the old clique. This has synchronised with a period of unprecedented prosperity for the Association. For the first time its membership reached four figures and its income reached five last year. The Report of that year was a record of great progress, but even more significant was the tone and temper of the meeting in which it was presented by the new Honorary Secretary. The proceedings were characterised by a camaraderie which was wholly unlike the party spirit of the previous years, and the perfect unanimity that prevailed was shown by the easy passage of a new set of rules and the voting of so large a sum as Rs. 25,000 for the construction of the Old Boys' Lodge which was first decided upon in 1907.

When the Old Boys met once more this year, the atmosphere was to some extent charged with electricity. This looked something like a return of the old clique days and needs some explanation. Last year a new element, then only imperfectly understood, was introduced in the annual meeting. An Old Boy had proposed that Sir Theodore Morison should be received in a fitting manner by the Association a few days later when he intended to revisit the College. There was nothing strange in honouring a former Principal, though many members of the Association frankly mistrusted the attitude of Sir Theodore towards the College, and almost all disapproved of his share in the decisions

of the Secretary of State with regard to the Muslim University. But signs were not wanting to show that the honouring of Sir Theodore Morison was intended by some of those who had at first suggested it not as the honouring of a former Principal, but of a present member of the India Council. When this event came off, the suspicions entertained at first began to be confirmed, and more recently they have been proved to the hilt. Whatever one thought of the old clique one had to admit that its motive-power was to be found among a section of the Old Boys themselves. But the new element that has begun to make itself felt seems to receive its mandate from the outside. Last December, on the occasion of the Annual Sessions of the Educational Conference and the Muslim League, there was a remarkably large attendance of Old Boys, and the mandatories asserted themselves with a degree of self-confidence that was alarming. They insisted on the Honorary Secretary's renunciation of his connection with the "Servants of the Ka'aba Society" and threatened to go on a strike if their demands were not accepted. This stiffened the attitude of the Honorary Secretary who had been contemplating a resignation of his office in the Association itself, and he now announced the intention of continuing in office for the full term. This resolve was assisted by the confidence which an overwhelming majority of the Old Boys then present at Agra appeared to repose in him.

Shortly after this a special meeting of the Trustees of the College was held at Aligarh in which an unfortunate resolution relating to the Old Boys' Association was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large number of Old Boys who took part in the deliberation as Trustees. We dealt with this matter at the time and need not refer to it in great detail. The old rules of the Association made it possible for a student expelled by the authorities of the College to be admitted as a member of the Association if a majority of the members voted in his favour. This rule appeared to be too harsh in one respect and too lenient in another. To treat every expulsion as a disability seemed unnecessary, and it was, therefore, decided that only such expulsions should make an Old Boy ineligible for membership as involved, in the opinion of the authorities of the College, a degree of moral turpitude. But naturally no disability could constitute a perpetual bar. Nevertheless, it was decided that if a majority of two-thirds, instead of an ordinary majority as under the old rules, voted in his favour, an Old Boy who had been expelled from the College could be admitted as member of the Association. Of course if the bar was removed by College authorities themselves, there was nothing more to be said about the matter. As a further restriction it was decided that the question of such an Old Boy's admission could not be raised in the Annual Meeting merely on his application as under the old rules, but required the recommendation of the Central Standing Committee as a condition precedent. These rules were drafted by a Sub-Committee of which the College Proctor was an approving member. The draft had been circulated in February, 1913, fully a month before the Annual Meeting of the Old Boys. It was discussed very fully in the Meeting and passed in a slightly modified form without a dissentient voice. One would have thought that this had given an ample opportunity to all concerned to raise such objections as occurred to them. But in Aligarh it is not unoften the unexpected that happens. After the rule in question had been unanimously passed, the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees raised an objection, based, as we believe, on an objection taken by the Principal of the College to the presence of Mr. Ghulam Husain, Sub-Editor of the *Comrade*, at the Old Boy's Annual Meeting and Dinner for which he was at Aligarh for a few hours last year. The Honorary Secretary of the Trustees moved them to pass a resolution to the effect that no student of the College expelled by the authorities should ever be admitted as a member of the Old Boys' Association except with the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary and the Principal of the College. It is an irony of fate that neither he nor his predecessors in office should have taken an objection to the old rule which was obviously more lenient, but that he should have objected to a more stringent measure. But it was still more surprising that a few Old Boys themselves as Trustees voted on this occasion with the Honorary Secretary after having voted before as Old Boys in favour of the rule to which objection was now taken. But it is absolutely inexplicable how the Proctor of the College could sign a Circular Letter condemning in a violent manner those who stood by the new rule after having himself assisted in drafting it.

As we have already stated, the resolution of the Trustees was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large majority of the Old Boys present on the occasion on which it was discussed. One of them who represented the Old Boys' Association, gave notice of a motion for the Annual Meeting of the Association, that in view of the foregoing considerations, the Trustees should be informed most respectfully that, as at present advised, the Association did not see its way to amend the rule in question in the manner suggested in their resolution. The letter accompanying this resolution explained at length all the circumstances of the

case, and not even the most captious critic could detect in the letter or the resolution itself any indication of a want of respect for the Trustees or their resolutions. Nevertheless, two of the resident Trustees and half a dozen employees of the College who were Old Boys, including the Proctor, circulated a violently partisan letter in condemnation of the motion, its mover and its supporters, and, in fact, of the Association as a whole. What object was meant to be served by this denunciation is more than we can say, for even if the motion had been rejected, the rule to which the Trustees had objected could not have been amended this year, for the simple reason that the authors of the Circular Letter had not taken the trouble to give notice of any amendment.

These two matters then were expected to be the storm-centres in this year's re-union of the Old Boys, the position of the Honorary Secretary of the Association and the question of admitting such Old Boys as members who had been "sent down" in their College careers. But those who were not content with watching the surface and could also discern things lying deeper were not troubled by any grave apprehensions, and their optimism was fully justified by the sequel. Two stray resolutions, sent in by a non-resident Old Boy who had heard of the Honorary Secretary's intention of resigning this year, but had not heard of his subsequent resolve, proposing a vote of confidence in him and requesting him to continue in office for the full term, although superfluous from the Honorary Secretary's point of view, provided an ample opportunity for all those mandatories who had threatened a strike three months previously at Agra if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce his connection with the Servants of the Ka'aba Society. A prominent spokesman of the tribe was present on the occasion, but, after the trial of strength at Agra, appeared to be no more than an exploded volcano, and when it came to voting even he refrained from opposing these resolutions. Of the written votes only eight had been received against the two motions, and one may have a sigh of relief that very probably one would hear nothing of a strike of mandatories for sometime to come if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce the habit of offering prayers five times a day, or did not shave off his beard.

As regards the question of membership, the mover had had occasion to learn that the Honorary Secretary of the College was evidently labouring under a misunderstanding with regard to its motive and purpose. The Old Boys only meant to make it clear that their Association was an independent body which could not surrender into other hands, no matter how capable, its discretion as regards admitting Old Boys to its membership, and that it disapproved of the doctrine of Eternal Damnation. So long as these two points were placed beyond pale of controversy and doubt, not only in theory but also in practice, no one desired to disagree with the Trustees. Out of deference, therefore, to the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees, the mover of the resolution suggested an amendment that a deputation consisting of Mr. Justice Rafiq, the Hon. Syed Riza Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali should wait on the Trustees and explain the reasons why they could not make the admission of any Old Boy to their membership dependent on the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary of the College and the Principal, and to express the readiness of the Association to give their earnest consideration to every proposal of the Trustees and to meet them more than half way so long as it could be done without prejudice to the independence of the Association. This proposal was unanimously accepted, and the only dissentient was one who suggested a different *personnel* for the deputation. But he was very fully answered when his own name was suggested for membership of the deputation by another pseudo-dissentient amidst loud laughter and his own louder protests.

This was the end of all the apprehensions of a "split" of which false prophets have not yet ceased to talk in spite of repeated experience during the last six months. We have every hope that the Trustees would realize the insurmountable difficulties in the way of the Association's acceptance of their resolution of last January, and they would reconsider the matter and leave things undisturbed so long as necessity does not force an amendment of the existing rule on the Association itself. One thing, however, was made fully clear during the discussion on this question. Not a single dissentient voice was raised when members of the Association were pointedly asked whether they desired the Association to continue as an absolutely independent body or were prepared to accept, at least in practice, any modification of this absolute independence. We, therefore, trust no occasion will arise in future when this universal verdict would become a subject of dispute. The Old Boys of Oxford and Cambridge constitute the ultimate authority of the University, and the time is not far distant when the Aligarh Old Boys would occupy the same position at Aligarh. The independence of their Association must, therefore, be respected, and we have every reason to believe that the Trustees will always respect this if only the remnant of a once powerful clique among the Old Boys themselves would not carry its jealousies into the deliberations of the Board of Trustees.

Unfortunately a very destructive tendency was shown by a member or two of this clique during the two days' sittings of the Associa-

Men. Incredible as it may appear, it was actually moved that, although the full interval provided for by the rules between the issue of the agenda and the receipt of written votes was allowed by the Honorary Secretary, by curtailing the time allotted to him under the rules for recording these votes, the Annual Meeting should not take place on the dates fixed, simply because the agenda was issued to a few members a day or two later than the due date through default of the press, in spite of the fact that nobody had complained of it and many Old Boys had come to Aligarh for the Meeting from every corner of India. A no less absurd objection was raised, and with less justification even of a technical character, that as the Honorary Secretary, in the capacity of an ordinary member of the Association, had not proposed more than one Old Boy's name for every seat on the Muslim University Association allotted to the representatives of the Old Boys' Association, the Association should not be represented on that body till another meeting had taken place. This was proposed simply because the objector would have preferred to see more members of his own type elected and had not taken the trouble to nominate them for election in spite of a sufficiently long notice. When the objector was asked to state what section of the rules had been contravened he gave up the quest after wasting a good deal of the Meeting's time. Nevertheless, he was more persistent than this suggests, for what he could not do in person he asked a legal representative of his to do for him. This gentleman wasted some more time, but finally the President ruled the objection out of order. These are matters far too trivial to discuss in these columns, but we are compelled to refer to them because the objections were taken by no less a person than Dr. Zia Uddin who has recently officiated for a long time as the Principal of the Aligarh College, and no doubt regards himself as an exemplar of discipline.

But it would be extremely unjust to the Association if all this should lead any one to believe that the Annual Meeting of this important body concerned itself only with squabbles about the Servants of the Ka'ba Society and admission of expelled students as Old Boys, or frivolous objections of the character we have mentioned. As a matter of fact only a couple of members were responsible for most of these things, and the Association was in no mood to agree with them or even take them seriously. On the first day a very interesting ceremony was performed by the President, Mr. Syed Zain-ud-Din, when he opened the first storey of the Old Boys' Lodge. The building contains two spacious reception rooms, four suites of bed-dressing- and bathrooms and four bijou hexagonal rooms in the turrets on the four sides, besides a large hall or corridor in the centre of the building which would later on have a staircase leading to the top storey with similar reception rooms and suites of living rooms. The place is neatly furnished and is sure to attract a constant stream of Old Boys who were often prevented from visiting their *Alma Mater* on account of lack of accommodation near the College for such guests. The Honorary Secretary gave a short history of the scheme of the Old Boys' Lodge and tried to remove some peculiar notions which were entertained in certain quarters as regards the objects for which the Lodge was proposed to be built. He assured every well-wisher of the College and particularly his colleagues, the Trustees, that no one considered the traditions of Aligarh more sacred than the Old Boys, who were at once a conservative and a progressive element in the body-politic at Aligarh. The President replied in a most feeling speech in the course of which he said that they who had lived in their College careers in the boarding houses near by, and had had the time of their life in those glorious days, now felt as if after the vicissitudes and wanderings of their worldly careers they had once more been admitted into such a boarding house to revive old memories and associations. But he reminded the Old Boys that discipline used to be rather lax in their old boarding houses in those glorious days, but the discipline of their new boarding house would be far more stringent. They were expected to provide examples for their younger brothers, in fact, in many cases for their own sons, now studying in the College, and he felt he could give to the Trustees, of whom he is one, and to the world at large, the assurance that the Old Boys would never belie the best expectations that could be formed of them.

A notable resolution passed after a protracted discussion of the details has authorized the expenditure of Rs. 4,000 a year on two scholarships to be offered by the Association to members of the Indian staff, one in the College and one in the School, for proceeding to Europe for at least six months to study the system of education. The amount of the scholarship is obviously too small to provide for all the expenditure that a member of the School or College staff would have to incur even in a six months' trip to Europe. Similarly, the minimum period is obviously insufficient for a very close study of different systems. But it is hoped that the scholarship would be a handsome contribution towards the expenses of such a trip, and even 20 or 22 weeks judiciously employed according to a carefully prepared scheme would give to an Indian graduate already employed in teaching considerable insight and a

much wider out-look than he possessed before. We trust the experiment will prove successful, and, in any case, the Association would be able to judge within a few years whether it would be more profitable to increase quality at the expense of quantity, unless of course it could afford to do both.

In this manner the Association has more than doubled its contribution to the College, for hitherto it had been paying only Rs. 3,600 a year for the Science Chair, and would now contribute Rs. 8,320 a year, paying, in addition to the old contribution, Rs. 4,000 a year for the new scholarships and Rs. 720 for two engineering scholarships for Roorkee which existed merely on paper before. We hope and believe that, for their part, the Trustees of the College would also increase the representation of the Old Boys on the Board of Trustees from 5 to 15. It would be a graceful acknowledgment of the assistance rendered by the Association if the Honorary Secretary to the Trustees himself proposed the suggested increase in the next Annual Meeting. It must be remembered that the Association would have made a much larger contribution to the funds of the College if it had not had to provide so large a sum as Rs. 35,000 for the Old Boys' Lodge and a fairly large sum for the preparation of an exhaustive Directory of the Old Boys. But this expenditure in non-recurring, and the Directory would enable the Association to double its membership and income before many years. The Budget Estimate of the Association is now nearly Rs. 28,000, though this amount includes a large aggregate of contributions for the Old Boys' Lodge. But it may safely be hoped that in the following year the net contribution of the Association to the College would not fall much short of Rs. 12,000 a year. The progress hitherto achieved is, we hope, only an earnest of better things in the future.

But it is not in money alone that the Old Boys can, and do contribute their mite to the College. Mr. Said Mohamed Khan has this year been elected a Trustee for five years on behalf of the Association in the place of Mr. Mohamed Faiq who was elected last year at a bye-election. We hope the presence of the new Trustee on the Board would be no less valuable than the monetary contribution that synchronises with his election, and we trust Mr. Mohamed Faiq will once more become a Trustee very soon, and be enabled to continue the good work that he has hitherto been doing. It was a very difficult choice between the two, and our only regret is that both candidates could not become Trustees this year.

Honours.

II.

We hope we have made it sufficiently clear in our first article on the subject that both the great Parties in British politics are conscious of the questionable uses to which the power of recommending persons for honours to the Crown is sometimes made to lend itself. The debate in the Lords was no doubt initiated by the motion of a Conservative leader, and the speeches of some of the Tory peers struck a very solemn note and were steeped in deep emotion in parts. There was, however, on the whole no desire in the House to make the discussion a part of the usual party game. Lord Crewe, who spoke on behalf of the Government, did not deny that the evil existed. He adopted the defensive tone only when he came to deal with the remark of Lord Milner "about no fewer than 63 barons which the present Government, in their eight years of office, have created—about one-sixth of the total number of barons in this House, although it has existed for more than two hundred years." Lord Crewe could not help seeing in this statement an implication that "some of those peerages were connected with party funds." He thought, however, that there had been a tendency to exaggerate the position as it now existed and that there had been some attempt to indicate that public life was becoming less pure and honourable than it was and that, as the poet said, "we are worse than our grand-fathers, and our children are likely to be worse than ourselves." He launched into a long argument to show that their past political history was not a quite clean and honourable record in this respect. He recalled the time when boroughs and votes were bought by the dozen and referred to the famous case of Lord North who bought boroughs for a particular election at the price of £2,500 per seat. He reminded Lord Milner that between 1784 and 1801 Mr. Pitt made 140 creations or promotions in the peerage, mainly English. He did not think Lord Milner would say that a great many of those titles now honourably borne by their descendants were given on account of anything which in strict sense could be called service to the State. "There is no object in raking up stories," said Lord Crewe, "which tell hardly upon our forbears, but it is necessary to mention these facts in order to show that when an almost portentous tone is adopted in relation to what is considered to be the corruption of to-day, we ought to remember that at a

"matter of fact we are living in an infinitely clearer atmosphere in this respect than ever existed before the Reform Bill."

The root of the evil, as was generally recognised by the speakers on either side, is the Party system, and the Party Whip is "the villain of the piece." But, as the *Saturday Review* aptly says, he is only "villain on necessity; all that he is evil is by a divine or rather diabolic thrusting on." He is certainly not more depraved than other people. Money furnishes the chief sinews of war in party politics. For the smooth working of the elaborate party organisations of to-day immense funds are necessary. A vast and mobile electorate has to be wooed and won over to party causes, and a huge and expensive propaganda has to be kept going on from year's end to year's end. Large contributions to party funds are, therefore, welcome to party Whips, and in most cases the rich contributors have got to be "rewarded" for their services. The election expenditure has also enormously grown and vast sums are paid in salaries and expenses to the agents of the electioneering organisations. As Lord Charnwood said, a large and flourishing political industry has come into existence. "Was the education of the electorate," he asked, "really effectively promoted by gentlemen who preached political views for hire?" While he expressed a high regard for some of these gentlemen, yet, according to him, their ranks included some who would as readily preach on the other side as on the one. Lord Selborne characterised this greed of all political parties for money as "the clay foot of Democracy." The question of money was mixed up with all they called popular movements, which could not be worked by either Party without any large sums placed by wealthy partisans at their disposal. He instanced the Land Campaign recently organised by Mr. Lloyd George. "Am I to be told," he asked "if his (Mr. George's) organisation is financed by the mites of Liberal widows, or by a kind of Peter's pence of the Liberal Party?" Democracy has got to be educated and, above all, a huge machinery must be set in motion to bring the last man to the poll, and for these purposes both the Parties are forced to cry out more and more for money.

When an honour is "sold," the Whip takes good care to see that the transaction does not appear as an open bargain. The thing is not done in that way. Nor is the party chief freely let into the secrets of the Whip. As the *Saturday Review* says, there is an elaborate etiquette studiously framed to keep the chief of an administration in virgin ignorance of such matters. "The right-hand of the Prime Minister may have some shrewd suspicion of what the left hand of the chief Whip is doing. But officially all this business is a mystery to him. He takes it for granted that there is some good reason why the fountain of honour should flow on the overgrown grocer, the bloated tobaccoist, the lord of many tea-shops, or the aspiring provincial mayor." It is as well understood, says the *Spectator*, that the Prime Minister must never hear anything about the unpleasant side of the Whip's business as it is that a fine lady must never hear specially unsavoury domestic details about the sewers, the disposal of "soil" and so forth from the house-keeper, the estate mason, or the gardener.

Under the British Party system it is inevitable that Party services should be rewarded. When this is so, how is it possible to maintain that large contributions to Party funds are not Party services? The wealthy contributor not only gets a coveted distinction, but is beginning to have an important say in the conduct of public affairs. According to the *Spectator*, not only are honours now, in effect, sometimes sold for large contributions, but there is a tendency for policies also to be purchased by subscriptions. It illustrates this tendency by recalling an episode in the career of Cecil Rhodes who "not only induced the Irish Party by a large subscription to declare their policy in the way which he desired—there was no secret about that matter—but bargained privately with Mr. Schnadhorst, the Liberal wirepuller, for an undertaking that the Liberal Government would not make the evacuation of Egypt part of their policy. Mr. Rhodes was then specially intent on his Cape-to-Cairo Railway."

Lord Milner's speech was almost sombre in its gravity, and he deplored in a bitter ironic vein that he was not able like some of the noble lords to add to the gaiety of nations on that occasion. The rebuke was specially meant for Lord Ribblesdale who seemed to think that the thing complained of must be, that it did not very much matter, that it had always gone on, and was very likely to go on, and that if it did not go on in one form it would go on in another. Lord Ribblesdale derided Lord Selborne's motion which, even if it were carried in both Houses, would in his opinion signify nothing beyond an expression of a pious and a slightly Pharisaical opinion. He ridiculed Lord Charnwood's suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission. His objection to a Royal Commission was that they either reported so much that it was impossible for a Government to do anything, or so little that it was not worth doing anything. He doubted if the giving of honours was such a terrible evil. He put his standpoint in the following sentences out of which, he believed, a syllogism could be constructed:—

"That for good or evil, we in this country have for a long time lived under Party government; that Party government, of which ever side, requires large sums of money; that more money there is the better the Party government would be—that is, the machinery of Party government would be perfect. To that extent, therefore, he thought it was a good thing, as they must have Party government, that it should be well endowed with funds." He went on regaling the House with a mixture of chaff and cynicism and concluded with something like the airy assurance of the man who thought everything was the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Lord Ribblesdale's reckless optimism was matched by the frank and cheery banter of Lord Willoughby de Broke, who declared, to the infinite amusement of many of the noble lords and the dismay of not a few, that he had dabbled in the sale of honours himself. He described the circumstances of an attempt of his in this manner: "He wanted a large sum of money for an enterprise that could not entirely be dissociated from politics, but which he assured noble lords was entirely patriotic in its design. He called on a gentleman and suggested that if he would give him the money he would use his influence with his Party to secure for him not a peerage, but a baronetcy only. He was not quite sure what the price of a baronetcy was—perhaps the noble lords opposite could inform him—but the price he asked was not excessive. The very natural question was: 'That is all very well, Lord Willoughby, but when are you going to deliver the goods?' He certainly could not tell when the Unionist Party would get back to office, and said that he did not know, and he was not surprised when he was politely 'shown to the door.'"

The speeches of some of the noble lords were really those that added to the gaiety of nations. They ridiculed the attempts of over-virtuous people to reform the methods with which honours were sought by wealthy supporters of the party or showered by party leaders. The transactions were not after all of such a scandalous character as to furnish texts for solemn sermons to the moralist. The net result of the debate was a general approval of a pious resolution that things should be better than they are, though none seemed to be sure how this desirable end could be achieved. Many hoped that the force of public opinion would prove the best corrective.

Although India has, as we have said, no Party System and therefore no Party funds, popular opinion is daily growing in force against the manner in which most of the honours are bestowed in this country. The force of public opinion in England cannot be ignored by the government in office, for it depends for its tenure of power directly on the vote of the electorate. In India there exists no salutary check of this character to control the will of the Executive. The Government of India may exalt whomsoever it lists and may disregard public opinion without the least apprehension that the day of reckoning would ever come. We do not, of course, suggest that Indian Government sets itself to deliberately flout public opinion. Its standards have, however, grown to be such that they rarely furnish it with a reliable guide to pick the right persons, outside the official hierarchy, for reward and distinction. Being a Government that enjoys, so to speak, a perpetuity of tenure, its first consideration naturally is to reward its own servants for the faithful performance of their duties. It is also natural that the vast, non-official body of educated Indian opinion, which is concerned with watching independently and criticising the acts and measures of the administration, should not be treated by the official classes with frank and cordial approval. A tacit rivalry of aim, standpoint and interest has sprung up between the two. Here we have an ample scope for the existence of an even bitter and unrelenting partisanship without the open device of the Party System. No government in the world has ever openly declared that it did not exist for the people, and as far as government acts and measure require public justification, popular opinion must occasionally act as a moral force. But public opinion can to a certain degree be influenced by a State patronage of particular types of views and opinions. And here-in lies the temptation of a government circumstanced as the Government of India. That Indian Government honestly regards its own point of view and its own estimate of things in general as the best and the truest is quite beside the point. The main fact is that it usually rewards men who habitually think and feel like its own officials, or such delightfully free and simple persons who have resigned their consciences into the keeping of the officials within their reach, and have never done any thinking on their own account. Men of real merit, of intellectual eminence and moral distinction, who have done and are doing real service to their fellow men, usually stand apart from this group, and are consequently neglected. There is no wonder if the honours bestowed by the sovereign are losing their real value in the eyes of the public. The Indian Honours' List is studied as a curious human document. The values that it sets on individual merit in many cases excite the wonder and strain the credulity of the uninitiated. We are prepared to play the part of Lord Selborne and Lord Milner in India, but would some honest, cold-blooded cynic among the officials play the part of Lord Ribblesdale and Lord Willoughby de Broke?



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As long a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

WHEN, on the 6th of January last, the HON. MR. GUP, still under the stimulus of the New Year's resolutions, resumed his seat among the gods that leisurely contemplate the dull debate and hesitating, half-hearted conflicts of mere men below, and refreshed a worn-out and tired world with his banter three weeks later, little did he think that he would once more provoke mirth by recounting the affairs of the 9th of January on the 18th of—April! But the claims of loyalty as proclaimed in the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi, and of disloyalty as proclaimed equally loudly in another Lodge last week, had to be satisfied, and the appreciation of greatness in debate, whether it be of SUREN or of FREE-LANCE, had to take a back seat. The balance-sheet of servility and sedition having been prepared and duly audited, the HON. MR. GUP returns gladly to the suavity of those columns which is equidistant from sedition and servility.

BOOTLAIR SARKIS was in the Chair and commenced the proceedings of the day with a message of mourning. Reuter had brought the sad news of the sudden demise of Sir John Molesworth Macpherson who was busy in England in consolidating the statutes of India. Council knew him well in the familiar title of "Mac," and had bid him good-bye at Simla on the last day of the autumn session on September 22nd, 1911. H. E. had expressed his regret at the retirement of MAC and pronounced a eulogy couched in the warmest of terms. Thereafter non-officials had entertained him at a farewell luncheon at which had reigned all the sweet-sadness of farewell. How sad to recall now the HON. MR. GUP's remarks about the last piece of work done by MAC. "When the Lunacy Bill," wrote he on the occasion, "was chaperoned into the Council by SANDOW II, 'he looked knowingly at Sir Guy, who in his turn passed on that knowing look with a still more omniscient gesture with the thumb to the 'non-officials. This was the last of the Bills to be drafted by MAC 'in his career of 34 years, an appropriate *coup de grace* 'deservedly commended by SANDOW II. Could picture MAC 'tenderly nursing the last of his legislative babies, the pet child 'of his old age, a piece of perfect creation to the production of which 'ambitious service under eight Viceroys of various temperatures and 'nine Law Members of sundry complexions must have contributed 'largely. And after years of secret toil and loving patience, what 'a pleasure was his to hear those words of eulogy from a connoisseur 'of lunacy, and to feel that so long as a lunatic breathed the air of 'this glorious Empire, the name of MAC would be remembered 'with gratitude and his memory kept green in all lunatic asylums!"

Alas, poor Mac is no more; he is now beyond the jurisdiction of jokes and Lunacy Bills, debates in Council and divisions, having died in harness a sudden death which all who knew him must deeply mourn. BOOTLAIR SARKIS's tribute to his memory was eloquent of the esteem and affection in which MAC was held by all the Councillors. CHERRY CHITNIS, *doyen* of non-official Councillors, also associated himself on their behalf with the sentiments to which BOOTLAIR SARKIS had given expression.

KHUSH-HAL asked ten out of a total of a dozen of questions chiefly arising out of his recent study of the views of ancient Commissions the reports of which had long since been buried under the dust that accumulates in official pigeon-holes. As usual, while the other official members vouchsafed half a dozen words, more or less, in reply, the RAILWAY SLEEPER brought wagon-loads of information in reply to KHUSH-HAL's questions. The successor of dear MADGE, equally valiant, reminded NO-MORE-KAY of MADGE's Own Regiment of Black and White, but could secure no definite information. The LION OF BAGANAPALLE offered a suggestion about the non-official representation of Cantonment stations in Legislative Councils and was met with a *non possumus* in reply. Where the Army rules there can be no Parliament!

The NEW SAGE moved for the reference of the Destructive Insects and Pests Bill to a Select Committee. Wonder why Government did not nominate as an expert the well-known MR. KEATING, whose advice would have been invaluable in the Select Committee. Hope the select Committee at least would sprinkle a good deal of MR. KEATING's powder on their persons and their report before they returned to the Council with the latter. As it is, there are too many parasites in the Council. SANDOW III moved for the reference of the Motor Cars Bill to a Select Committee in which the place of honour was given to the HON. SHIKARI, also known amongst his friends as *Ticca-garri*. At last the *Leader* has found a use for this sporting member. After WORTHY MEYER had asked for and obtained leave to introduce the Local Authorities Loans Bill, legislative business was over and the real business of the day commenced.

SUREN, mighty with the pen and mightier with the tongue, moved that the pledges given about the Press Act in 1910 by his worthy fellow-countryman, the predecessor of the MOSLEM DOWAGRA, should be redeemed, and that *bête noir* of the Calcutta Police, the High Court of Fort William in Bengal, be given an effective jurisdiction in cases of forfeiture under the various sections of the Act. SUREN disavowed all desire to revive ancient memories of four years ago, but felt it necessary to remind the Council that the Press Bill was passed amid some opposition in this Council and a terrible lot more in the country. Reference to the proceedings of the debate showed how the non-officials had fought against odds on the question of giving to the Press Bill a place among the permanent statutes of the land; but the opinion of the people had not commended itself to the official majority. The Act had now been in operation for four years and SUREN was in a position to judge of its character. SUREN evidently inclined to spell "operation" as "oppression." How it had worked, what were its defects and how they can be remedied, seemed to SUREN pertinent questions, although they may appear to SANDOW III impertinent questioning of Home Department authority. SUREN therefore moved the resolution which he described as the "irreducible minimum." This description even more than literally true, for you can't reduce the length and breadth of a point, and SUREN's resolution had even lesser dimensions than a point in Geometry—for it was wholly pointless. The pledges of 1910 led nowhere, and even the extension of the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court could have blown nobody

any good so long as the section defining the offences under the Act remained an unreduced maximum.

Listening to SUREN addressing an English audience, who could think that butter could melt in his mouth? He commenced his attack with compliments so sweet that it was a wonder how the Government could avoid a complete surrender. He regarded the acceptance of his irreducible minimum as the first definite step towards the final annulment of the Act. That the Act was bound to be repealed sooner or later—sooner, hoped SUREN, than later—was as clear as the noon-day sun. But SUREN did not say whether he referred to the noon-day sun of Bengal, which dries up a bureaucrat, if it does not give him brain-fever, or to the dim and pale fugitive that seldom shows its face through the veil of clouds and the solid London pea-souper in SANDOW III's native land. The Act, argued SUREN, was inconsistent with the great traditions of British Rule and those (*ahem!*) noble principles of government which are incarnated in British administration. Having said this, SUREN looked round towards the avatars of noble principles sitting around him. There was the god of Learning, the male version of Sarasvati, enthroned in H. E.'s chair. There was NO-MORE-KAY that could equally pass for Vishnu, the Protector, and Shiva, the Destroyer. There was the MORMON DOWAGER, British by adoption if not by birth, representing the deity that devises laws. There was the NEW SAGE, officiating as the god of fecundity of the soil in ancient mythology and the reaper of bumper harvests even in times of famine which is peculiar to modern conditions. Again, there were the ADMINISTRATIVE ORPHAN, god of Commerce, WORTHY MEYER, god of the Golden Treasury, and SANDOW III, god almighty of everything. SUREN scanned their faces but found no consolation. Still hopeful of the fruits of flattery he went on to say that no concession to popular freedom had been made by the British Government in India which had ever been withdrawn. He cited the example of the Jury Notification which was cancelled, and the Vernacular Press Act which was repealed, and hoped so it would be with this Act in the fullness of time. The Government of India, standing at the head of the nation (*Not, we hope, with a fire-chambered revolver*) becoming every day more and more Nationalistic (*Beware of bombs!*) in its views by the breadth and liberality of its policy, ought, in the opinion of SUREN, to show us the way.

Tired of all this climbing, SUREN came down to the customary level and pitched into the police. The Act had given very large powers to the police. The Magistrate is the police, and the police is of the variety known not as the *Sipahi* but as *Siyahi*, or more correctly as the C.I.D. SUREN then flourished a document that he held in his hand as the proof of the Government's guilt. It was a statement giving the names of newspapers which were called upon to find security and consequently ceased publication. He informed the Council that of these 17, only 3 were Hindu papers, and the remaining 14 were all Muslim, another instance of the gross partiality of Government towards the "favourite wife," and a recognition not only of the numerical strength of the Mussalmans but also of their political importance and the services they had rendered to the Empire as the "gate-keepers" of India. Indirectly, of course, it may also have been a recognition of the "dynamic force" of the community as exhibited by means of an explosive Press!

SUREN particularly referred to the case of the *Ahli-Hadis* of Amritsar which had replied to certain strictures which had appeared in a missionary organ reflecting upon the Mohamedan faith. The newspaper was asked to furnish a security, but no notice had till then been taken of the book in which the strictures upon Mohamedan faith had been published. Little did SUREN know that the book which tempted the *Ahli-Hadis* to tempt the Magistrate to call for security had similarly tempted the *Badr* of Qadian, to tempt another District Magistrate to believe that Christians in India would be brought into hatred and contempt because the *Badr* had reproduced an article, twice published before in other journals since the Act came into being, stating that the Virgin Mary was a hermaphrodite, and that the Immaculate Conception was the result of natural causes. Verily the Press Act is a capital instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy, for when the laws in England against blasphemy were being severely attacked by Christians themselves, it was necessary in a heathen land, where every prospect pleases and only man is vile, to demand securities and confiscate them together with the presses if newspapers did not express full faith—in miracles. One may be sure after this that the famous verdict of a philosopher that miracles do not happen nowadays would be proved to be false, and more miracles would happen in India in the 20th century through the instrumentality of the Press Act than all those which are reputed to have happened before. Indeed the Press Act itself is the most marvellous miracle, and its administration the perfection of "holding the balance even."

SUREN cited the instance of another newspaper, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, which was guilty of high treason for protesting against the removal of a Mosque and speaking of a Lieutenant-Governor in terms only applicable to men. For this offence the security of Rs. 2,000 had been forfeited and another of Rs. 10,000 demanded. And while SUREN was referring

to this case, another Lieutenant-Governor was contemplating the forfeiture of the second security also together with the entire press for high treason against—Piccadilly! Curious thing this Press Act, and curious results flow therefrom. As it happens, discourteous and disrespectful remarks about a Lieutenant-Governor cost an Indian editor Rs. 2,000, but discourteous and disrespectful remarks about the fair and fragile things that flit about Piccadilly after dark cost him just ten times as much.

The next reference of SUREN related to the Cawnpore *Herald*, which had published some two years ago "A Dramatic Scene." The D. S. P. called upon the proprietress of the paper and wanted to know the writer's name. On declining to do so she was taken to task for the impropriety of permitting her newspaper to be the means of criticism directed against the police and the municipality, two corporations which in Cawnpore at least are not only above criticism but may well be regarded as also above law. The *dénouement* of "A Dramatic Scene" was the demand of security from the good lady who was guilty of high treason against *Chowkidars* and *Chungi*.

After quoting figures furnished by his hon. friend, the Home Secretary (*Who said SUREN was hostile to British Rule?*), SUREN came to an authoritative expression of opinion. He refrained from referring to the popular verdict, for that might not have commended itself to "gentlemen on the other side of the House"; but the leader of His Majesty's Opposition cited the authority of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bengal when delivering judgment in the *Comrade* case. This, SUREN felt sure, was "an authority of unquestioned weight whose pronouncement would command the implicit acquiescence of all members, be they official or non-officials." And while SUREN rolled out this sentence in his sonorous voice, the testimony of the ears of the audience was considerably affected by the testimony of their eyes which detected an unusual protuberance on the left side of his face, not altogether unlike the frequent phenomenon which one notices in a schoolboy speaking with his tongue in his cheek. And here he read out a passage from the famous judgment showing the all-comprehensive character of section 4 of the Act within whose wide-spread net, as the Chief Justice had prophesied with unerring prescience, would come an attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others. India may now easily explain her intellectual poverty, for, said the Chief Justice, much that is regarded as standard literature could undoubtedly be caught. So no more standard literature for India, and the publishers of the thousand and one "Hundred Best Books" may console themselves by joining the "Indian Press Defence League" of the Editor who paid twenty thousand in damages for casting doubts on the chastity of Piccadilly.

After this came more quotations from the judgment, more arguments in its support and more insistence on the unredeemed pledges of the former Law Member, followed by a worthy peroration. SUREN argued that a sensible improvement in the situation had already taken place and a change for the better had been generally admitted in the tone and temper of the press. In making the appeal for a substantial modification of the Act, if not its repeal, SUREN said, he did not speak only as a member of the Council, but as "one with whom journalism had been the cherished vocation of his life." Over the heads of his audience he flashed the "Sword of Damocles," then talked of "the great organ for the ventilation of popular grievances", and, of course, of the "safety-valve of the State." Nor was a reference to the time-honoured distinction (*Who said "without a difference"?*) between liberty and licence omitted. And last of all, SUREN promised the Government that if it was good it would proclaim to the world "the unalterable determination of the Government to redeem its pledged word and to make justice to the aggrieved party the key-note of its policy."

Hardly had he resumed his seat after this little *bonne bouche* of complimentary oratory, when up rose the gallant FREE-LANCE, foremost in the files of Punjab loyalty. FREE-LANCE does not beat about the bush. He does not conceal his hostility to anything under the cloak of meaningless compliments. He throws no chaff to the bird, but puts out his hand straight to catch it without the aid of net or snare. The gallant FREE-LANCE has no faith in flanking movements but charges direct, going straight for the enemy and directing his weapon towards the breast of his foe with unerring aim. So, just as he let not a moment slip between the speech of SUREN and his own, he did not let a word pass his lips that did not declare his aim and purpose. "Sir, I am 'the greatest enemy of the seditious Press!' was a declaration as direct and sudden as the question of Mr. BROADBENT to NORA, in *John Bull's Other Island*, within two minutes of meeting her: "Will you be my wife?" But FREE-LANCE did not content himself merely with this declaration of war. He added: "Had I had the power I 'would have never allowed this resolution to be moved and discussed 'here to-day.'" After this the Council wondered why FREE-LANCE stopped at that, and did not say: "Had I had the power I would

"have brought SUREN's head on a charger. Had I had the power I would have shot down every non-official member of the Council except the representatives of the (*ahem!*) people from the Punjab, a few landlords and my unfailing co-voter from Burma, and given all their votes to official members. Had I had the power I would have poisoned every member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services except such as had taken an oath to vote an increase of salaries to members of the Civil Service and to close its doors to my fellow-countrymen. Had I had the power I would have abolished the High Court of Calcutta, in fact all Law Courts except the Chief Court of Lahore, which is, strictly speaking, as you all know, not a Law Court at all. Had I had the power I would have abolished education and doubled the expenditure on the Army. Had I had the power I would have destroyed Oawnpore and given to Mr. Tyler all the powers of the King in Parliament and even of Sir Edward Carson. Had I had the power I would have annexed Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and every other Muslim country and compelled their rulers to pass votes of thanks to Sir Edward Grey as their greatest benefactor. Had I had the power I would have suppressed every newspaper except the *Pioneer*, and that I would have published as the Government *Gazette*. Finally, had I had the power, I would have killed the Hon. Ma. Gur and drunk a full hog'shead of his seditious blood." The Council lost the opportunity of hearing this characteristic speech and had to content itself merely with the pious hope that had the FREE-LANCE had the power—he would have asked to move a counter-resolution for making the Press Act still more stringent.

Three days ago, on SUREN's motion relating to education, FREE-LANCE, disdaining such restraints as relevancy imposes, had already attacked those who wanted to persuade the Government to modify the Press Act. So proud was he of this feat that he reminded the Council of it and even boasted that last year too, "when there were no signs of this resolution being discussed here," he had emphasised in the course of his Budget speech the necessity of making the Press laws more effective. FREE-LANCE had been born on horse-back and hoped to die also on horse-back, though no one need discuss the question "When?" The horse's bare back was to him even more secure a seat than the one which he occupied in the Council through the kindness of the Government. He did not even need a bridle wherewith to control the most mettlesome charger of the Shahpere breed. But even the horsemanship of the valiant Captain of the Tiwana Lancers was unequal to the demands made by an "unbridled Press" which the FREE-LANCE declared on oath, with the utmost modesty and self-effacement, to be "the greatest curse of India." Never, said the gallant Captain, was a more appropriate and more useful Act passed in the Council; and before the Council could recall similar praise of other Acts, FREE-LANCE himself came out with the exceptions that proved the rule, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act.

But it is the Seditious Press which, according to FREE-LANCE, "lies at the root of the other two." "It is papers or other seditious pamphlets which poison unsteady persons." Now if that be true, what consummation is more devoutly to be wished than the poisoning of unsteady persons? No one with any decency would like to poison so steady a person as FREE-LANCE, specially when he is coming from the Tiwana Regimental Mess in the small hours of the morning.

FREE-LANCE reminded the Council that there was not a single discussion on the subject in which he did not take part, because he felt that "if such propaganda are not crushed with a strong hand serious danger would result in the future." And what hand could be stronger than his. There are only two hands that really matter, the hand that holds the Tiwana lance kills the Press, and then the hand that rocks the cradle can peacefully rule the world. He warned the Council that "if anything happens then on a very big scale the peace-loving subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor would be the real sufferers and the irresponsible small set of sedition-mongers would gain money by setting the house of the poor on fire and witnessing the blaze from afar." A new way of gaining money this, by setting the house of the poor on fire and witnessing the blaze from afar. One would have thought the incendiary would set the house of the wealthy Tiwapa, the "Protector of the Poor", on fire, and instead of witnessing the blaze from afar would help himself at close quarters with the salvage. (*Please don't arrest me for arson in the office of a newspaper on the strength of this!*)

FREE-LANCE cited the confession of a political prisoner in Montgomery Jail that "his mind was upset by reading articles in newspapers and pamphlets", and believed the story, because the confession was made "when he was in prison and as the whole thing was over he had no motive for saying anything but truth." What a wonderful reformatory our jails must be, and how all those who suspect Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains of frequent departures from the truth must long for the power to send them to Montgomery Jail so that they may have "no motive for saying anything but truth." With absolute mathematical precision, FREE-LANCE said

we could safely hold the Press responsible for 97 per cent. of crimes of this nature. But if this is true, who can safely be held responsible for the remaining 3 per cent.? Again, if Montgomery Jail had among its denizens the editor of a seditious paper, and he were asked to confess, when "he had no motive for saying anything but truth," would he not say that "his mind was upset" by the vagaries of the Punjab bureaucrats, Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains? Could we not then safely hold this holy alliance responsible for 97 per cent. of writings of this nature?

FREE-LANCE and his *confrères* of the martial classes of the Punjab "cannot tolerate any weakness in the Press", as if the Press that required the strong hand of a Tiwana to crush it could be called weak. But let us not bother with the sound, when we get sense enough and to spare in the speech of FREE-LANCE. Well, intolerant of weakness or strength, he would not allow "fire to be lit near a tank of petroleum which may be in the house we reside in." But what a house to live in for the head of the Tiwans! One may have suspected a fair-sized distillery in a Tiwana bedroom, but—a petroleum tank?

FREE-LANCE recalled the fact that the Punjab L. G. had "specially remarked about the mischief caused by presses of a certain class." Now nobody can call this a sweeping condemnation, for only "presses of a certain class" were attacked. The tailors and outfitters have something to be thankful for, because it is possible that trouser presses were not contemplated at the time when this condemnation was pronounced. Although the Punjab Government had determined to put a stop to such presses, very little was done "in view of the leniency of the Press Act as it is in the present form." Really it was tremendous hard lines on the L.G.'s, for the Press Act only permitted the confiscation of the Press and the security deposited and did not permit "our worthy Lieutenant-Governor" to bury the editor alive, throw the publisher into boiling pitch and crush the printer in a sugar-cane mill. Besides, "it hardly stands to reason that the Local Government should have to decide upon specific offending words or articles etc., as laid down in the resolution, which are seditious." What stands to reason is that Local Governments should at least be granted the powers of God Almighty who can read the unuttered thoughts of mankind. What a pity the gallant Tiwana was not born in the spacious days of the Inquisition. The Scarlet Woman had evidently absconded with the clothes of FREE-LANCE while he was bathing, and anticipated him by some four or five centuries.

Nevertheless the gallant Tiwana had not done so badly without his clothes. People could rob him of his vesture, but not rob him of his voice, and, as he said, he had been advocating the cause "ever since I had voice." We have it on the authority of an affidavit of the nurse of FREE-LANCE that the infant Tiwana's first howl after his birth was a protest against the leniency of Press laws, and the second sounded something like "Rule Britannia!" He has since spoken in various Councils "as strongly as words could permit me." Oh for the tyranny of words! Did not Hamlet exclaim "Words! words! words!" Did not FREE-LANCE himself just now declaim against the restriction of "specific offending words" imposed upon Lieutenant-Governors? What is a word except an articulate sound or combination of sounds by custom expressing an idea or ideas? Why should sounds be articulate and why should they be bound to express an idea or ideas? How easy would it have been for FREE-LANCE to have uttered sounds without bothering about the custom of expressing an idea or ideas, or, failing that, to have spoken strongly without the use of words. After all, as the Latin proverb says, "a word to the wise". Now, I ask you, what had Tiwana done to be saddled with words? Nevertheless, would feel certain that, words permitting, he would speak with the utmost strength on this question, for he is a real friend of India and cannot expose "the poor peace-loving population, the lambs of India to the attacks of the wolves of the Press" (*Who said, "Wolfe Wolf?"*)

Before resuming his seat FREE-LANCE recalled the fierce fight that had raged a year ago round the Conspiracy Bill when "the whole Council, official and non-official, were on one side, while the Hon. mover of to-day, with one faithful follower, (and here MADRAS-CHUTNEY-PICKLE-ACHAR blushed modestly) adhered like heroes to fight to the last when the position was really untenable." How unlike was that scene to the one in which the gallant Tiwana so valiantly figures, like god, always on the side of the bigger battalions! But the last act of FREE-LANCE was really the *coup de grace*, for he abolished the judiciary altogether with the most logical conclusion, that abashed even Aristotle, that "the High Court is no doubt a big court, but at the same time the Lieutenant-Governor of a province is not an ordinary authority, and as he knows about the executive as well as the other side, I think he ought to be the highest authority in the province." The "other side" was delicious. Long live the Tiwana, FREE-LANCE!

Confirmation at Woking

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND THE MOHAMEDANS.

THE Bishop of Winchester administered the rite of Confirmation to about seventy-five candidates at Christ Church, Woking, on Wednesday evening, in the presence of a good congregation. The robed clergy in attendance were the Revs. E. R. Price Devereux (Vicar of Christ Church), Norman Pares, R.D. (Vicar of Horsell), G. W. Grundy (Chobham), C. A. Hamilton (Pyrford), H. R. Bates and T. S. Porterfield (Christ Church parish), while the Rev. Cyril Wilson, of Woking was in attendance upon the Bishop and carried the crozier. The Churchwardens (Messrs. Bingemann and Collins) were also in the procession, bearing their wands of office.

The candidates came from Woking, about 50; Chobham 14, Pyrford 8, and Horsell 3. The hymns sung during the service were "Soldiers of Christ arise," "Come, Holy Ghost," "Thine for ever," and "O Jesus I have promised," Mr. W. D. Boseley, Mus. Bac., presiding at the organ.

In his address to the candidates after the laying-on of hands, the Bishop, in speaking of the difficulties they would have to contend with in life, said he wanted them to be not merely good men and women, but also Christian men and women. Since he was last in Woking he understood there had been started amongst them a movement of the Mohamedan religion. That was rather a difficult thing for Christian people to know how to consider, but he wanted them to look upon the good side. They must evidently behave with charity and courtesy, but they could not help entirely refusing it as a religion, although it helped them to understand what the truth of their own religion was. Heaven forbid that he should say the Mohamedans had no goodness in them, and he often thought they set Christian people an example in the matter of prayer; but their religion was not one which they could accept, because they could not believe that anyone but Christ could have been sent from God to be the Redeemer of mankind. The good he wanted Woking people to get out of it was that they should realise more willingly, faithfully and thankfully, what the reality of their religion was. The Mohamedans certainly could not say in the words of the Bible that God was a treasury of grace for his people. Their lives were Christian lives, and they must fashion them that way—a life of unselfishness, patience and sacrifice, and follow the Life which was a perfect example to the whole world. So they might see a little more clearly than before what confirmation was; they must think of those things and exercise themselves in those matters. They must be very steady in their prayers and look upwards to Him, taking care they were not found by Mohamedan ignorant of the Lord to whom they belonged.

The Uplifted Banner.

WITH twelve ladies and gentlemen arrayed in the curious silks of the East and native grass cloths of Central Africa, the platform at the Goldsworth Road Lecture Room on Monday evening presented an unwonted appearance. The Rev. W. H. Tebbit presided over a large audience, and stated that the object of the demonstration was to show the value of the work of the Baptist Missionary Society in India, China and the Congo.

Mr. Tom W. Smith introduced the separate spheres of work, referring to specially drawn maps hung at the back of the platform. India was represented by Mr. H. Haycroft, as a convert from Hinduism, Mr. H. Cleave as a Mohamedan convert, Miss E. Carver as a Hindu woman, Mr. A. Willoughby as a native Colporteur; China was represented by Mr. A. C. Smith as a Chinese student, and Miss E. L. Ellis as a Chinese school girl, while Mr. J. Haines spoke on the value of medical missions. The history of the Congo Mission was told by Messrs. A. Harvey, H. W. Smith and G. M. Timms, while Mr. H. Badge, as a Congo Chief, spoke of the difference that Christianity had brought to the natives of Congoland. Five "Congo Boys" (Messrs. A. Lush, J. Bond, A. Hay, A. Hooper and H. Hopkins) sang a native boat song in the Bobangi dialect, using Congo boat paddles in the same way as their brothers on that mighty river. Mrs. Haines sang special verses appealing for sympathy in these spheres of labour, and Mr. A. T. King summed up the results of the work. A stirring appeal for personal consecration was recited by Mr. C.B. Smith, and after a collection on behalf of the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society had been taken, the meeting closed with the singing of the Doxology.—*The Surrey Herald*.

The "Islamic Review."

(By CLEMENT E. PIKE.)

A FORERUNNER of our times, significant of much, is the *Islamic Review*. It is one of the many refutations of that prophecy of

Kipling that "East is east and West is west, and never the twain shall meet." The order may not be quite accurate, and I have not Kipling by me to refer to, but in substance that is the prophecy, and it is refuted by the *Islamic Review*. The frontispiece to the first number of the second volume refutes it. There East, in the person of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, meets West, in the person of the Right Hon. Lord Headley, and the significance of this meeting is emphasised in a little poem by Lord Headley printed on the first page, of which this is the last verse—

"Great Allah, Lord, our God our King,
Who knowest what for us is best,
We praise Thy Name and loudly sing
The fusion of the East and West."

All this meeting of East and West is no new thing to those of us who have attended one of our International World Congresses. At these great gatherings East and West are brought into pleasant contact at the festive board, over the teacups, in solemn temples, in railway carriages. It was in one of these, on that most delightful expedition to Chantilly at the World Congress in Paris, that I had the pleasure of meeting the editor of the *Islamic Review*.

In that compartment Europe, Asia and America were represented. The Universalist minister and his wife must have felt quite at home in it. There was a correspondent of a great London daily, and the editor of the *Islamic Review*. Since then *Muslim India and Islamic Review* (now the titles are reversed) has been sent to me, and I have found much in it of instruction and interest. It ought to remove prejudice against a religion professed by millions of our fellow-subjects.

It has been a grievous calamity that, in the past, Christianity and Islam have met each other in degraded forms, thus causing hostility, contempt and misunderstanding.

"I received a letter," writes Lord Headley, "It was *apropos* of my leaning towards Islam, in which the writer told me that if I did not believe in the divinity of Christ I could not be saved. The question of the divinity of Christ never seemed to me nearly so important as that other question: Did he give God's message to mankind? Now, if I had any doubt about this latter point, it would worry me a great deal; but, thank God, I have no doubt, and I hope that my faith in Christ and his inspired teachings is as firm as that of any other Muslim or Christian. As I have said before, Islam and Christianity as taught by Christ himself are sister religions only held apart by dogmas and technicalities which might very well be dispensed with." There are, I suppose, few Unitarians who would not respond to this with a hearty "Amen."—*Christian Life*.

Full Text of the White Paper.

THE following is the complete text of the White Paper issued by the War Office on March 25. It would be apparent from its perusal that the Reuter's messages had made a confusion of dates which obscured the course of events and which we pointed out in our leading article on the subject:—

Memorandum of an interview between Secretary of State for War and the General Officer Commanding in Chief.
16th December, 1913.

I saw the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief on the 16th December, 1913, and made them the following statement with reference to the duty of soldiers when the possibility of resignations of their commissions was brought to my notice.

I first dealt with the legal question. The law clearly lays down that a soldier is entitled to obey an order to shoot only if that order is reasonable under the circumstances. No one, from general officer to private, is entitled to use more force than is required to maintain order and the safety of life and property. No soldier can shelter himself from the civil law behind an order given by a superior if that order is, in fact, unreasonable and outrageous.

If, therefore, officers and men in the army were led to believe that there was a possibility that they might be called upon to take some outrageous action—for instance, to massacre a demonstration of Orangemen who were causing no danger to the lives of their neighbours,—had as were the effects on discipline in the army, nevertheless it was true that they were, in fact and in law, justified in contemplating refusal to obey.

But there never had been, and was not now, any intention of giving outrageous and illegal orders to the troops. The law would be respected, and must be obeyed. What had now to be faced was the possibility of action being required by His Majesty's troops in supporting the civil power, in protecting life and property when the police were unable to hold their own.

Attempts had been made to dissuade troops from obeying lawful orders given to them when acting in support of the civil power. This amounted to a claim that officers and men could

pick and choose between lawful and reasonable orders, saying that they would obey in one case and not in another.

The Army had been quite steady. During the past year there had not been brought to the notice of the authorities one single case of lack of discipline in this respect. At the same time, in view of the statements in the press and elsewhere, it was well to make the position clear.

I informed them that I should hold each of them individually responsible to see that there was no conduct in their commands subversive of discipline.

They could let it be clearly understood that any such conduct would be dealt with forthwith under the King's Regulations. If any officer should tender his resignation, they would ask for his reasons, and if he indicated in his reply that he desired to choose which order he would obey, I would at once submit to the King that the officer should be removed.

J. S.

Instructions to Sir A. Paget.

War Office, Whitehall, S. W. 14th March, 1914.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Army Council to inform you that in consequence of reports which have been received by His Majesty's Government that attempts may be made in various parts of Ireland by evil disposed persons to obtain possession of arms, ammunition, and other Government stores, it is considered advisable that you should at once take special precautions for safeguarding depots and other places where arms or stores are kept, as you may think advisable.

It appears from the information received that Armagh, Omagh, Carrickfergus, and Enniskillen are insufficiently guarded, being specially liable to attack. You will, therefore, please to take the necessary steps and report to this office.

Officers in command of all barracks where guns, small arms, ammunition, and other Government stores are located should be warned that they will be held responsible that all measures to ensure the safety of the stores, etc., under their custody are taken, and that at no time should barracks or buildings be left without adequate armed guards.

I am to add that although certain places have been specifically referred to above, the intention is that no steps should be omitted to ensure the safety of Government arms and stores in the South as well as in the North of Ireland.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

B. B. CURTIS.

General Sir A. Paget, G. C. B.,
K. C. V. O., A. D. C.

Sir A. Paget to the War Office.

March 20, 1914 [Received 7 P. M.]

Officer commanding 5th Lancers states that all officers except two and one doubtful are resigning their commissions to-day. I much fear same condition 16th Lancers. Fear men will refuse to move.

Sir A. Paget to the War Office.

March 20, 1914 [Received 11 35 p. m.]

Regret to report Brigadier and 57 officers 3rd Cavalry Brigade prefer to accept dismissal if ordered North.

Secretary for War to Sir A. Paget.

Despatched Midnight, March 20, 1914.

War office, Whitehall, S. W.

Your telegram with reference to 5th and 16th Lancers received. You have authority of Army Council to suspend from duty any senior officers who have tendered their resignations or in any other manner disipated your authority.

Take whatever action you think proper and report to the War Office.

Direct Gough and officers commanding 5th and 16th Lancers to report themselves to the Adjutant-General at the War Office without delay. They should leave by first possible boat. They should be relieved of their commands, and Officers are being sent to relieve them at once.

Resignations of all officers should be refused.

General Gough's Report.

Headquarters, Irish Command.

With reference to the communication from the War Office conveyed to me verbally by the Commander-in-Chief this morning, I have the honour to report the result of my interviews with the officers of my brigade.

The officers are of unanimous opinion that further information essential before they are called upon at such short notice to take decisions so vitally affecting their whole future, and especially that a clear definition should be given of the terms "Duty as ordered" and "active operations" in Ulster.

If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in this brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out that duty.

But if the duty involves the initiation of active military operations against Ulster, the following numbers of officers by regiments would respectfully and under protest prefer to be dismissed:—

Brigade Staff, two officers.

4th Hussars, 17 out of 19 doing duty.

5th Lancers, 17 out of 20 doing duty.

16th Lancers, 16 out of 16 doing duty.

3rd Brigade R. H. A., six out of 13 doing duty, "including R. M."

4th Field Troop R.E.,—one out of one doing duty.

3rd Signal Troop R. E., one out of one doing duty.

In addition the following are domiciled in Ulster, and claim protection as such:—

1th Hussars, two officers.

5th Lancers, one officer.

3th Brigade R. H. A., two officers.

(Signed) H. P. Gough, Brig. Gen.,
G. O. C. 3rd. Cav. Bde.

Curragh, 20th March, 1914.

Copy of Letter from Brigadier General Gough to the Adjutant-General.

23rd March, 1914.

Dear General,—On thinking over the points raised by the Secretary of State this morning, the question has arisen in my mind, and it will undoubtedly be one of the first questions asked me by my officers when I see them, viz.:

In the event of the present Home Rule Bill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it on Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?

This point should be made quite clear in your draft letter, otherwise there will be renewed misconceptions.—Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) H. R. Gough.

Instructions to General Gough.

Brigadier-General H. De la P. Gough, C. B.

You are authorised by the Army Council to inform the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade that the Army Council are satisfied that the incident which has arisen in regard to their resignations has been due to a misunderstanding.

It is the duty of all soldiers to obey lawful commands given to them through the proper channel by the Army Council, either for the protection of public property and the support of the civil power in the event of disturbances or for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants.

This is the only point it was intended to be put to the officers in the questions of the General officer Commanding, and the Army Council have been glad to learn from you that there never has been, and never will be, in the brigade any question of disobeying such lawful orders.

His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty.

But they have no intention whatever of taking advantage of this right to crush political opposition to the policy or principles of the Home Rule Bill.

23rd March 1914.

J. S.
T. F.
T. S. E.

The Army Crisis. The House of Commons.

Colonel Seely's Resignation.

March 23.

MR. BONAR LAW (Bootle, Opp.), who was greeted with cheers, said:—With reference to to-day's debate, there is a suggestion I should like to make to the Prime Minister. It must be evident to every one that there are many gaps in the White Paper which require to be filled up before there can be an adequate discussion of the subject. I shall only name one or two of the questions which I think must be answered, and as I understand that the Secretary for War is going to speak immediately afterwards, I shall be quite satisfied if he takes note of them and answers them in the course of his speech. Is there any addition, as is reported in the Press, to the letter that was given to General Gough, and, if so, what are the terms of that addition? Another question is in reference to the promise given by the Prime Minister that the memorandum of the verbal instructions given General Paget would be included in the White Paper. They are not here, and I ask the Secretary for War to fulfil that pledge by reading them in the course of his speech. I wish to know also whether the War Office will now communicate the authentic version

of Sir Arthur Paget's of the address which he himself gave to his commanding officers, and which was the cause of the resignations. The only other question I wish to ask now is whether or not the letter sent by General Gough on behalf of the officers was communicated to the War Office before they dismissed General Gough, and to the two colonels of the regiments. (Cheers.)

The War Secretary's Speech.

On the order for the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill.

Colonel Seely (Ilkeston, Min.), who was received with cheers, said:—In view of the statement which I shall feel it my duty to make at the conclusion of my speech, I beg to ask the indulgence of the House in explaining to them, not only my knowledge of the facts connected with this correspondence, but also my personal share in this matter. I shall hope to make the story as complete as I can, and I can assure the House and hon. members in all quarters of the House that I hope to conceal nothing and to tell the whole story. (Hear, hear.) I will deal first with the meeting I had with the general officers commanding in chief in December. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General represented to me that owing to attempts which had been made in many quarters to subvert the discipline of the Army—I make no complaint on one side or the other for the moment—it was desirable that special steps should be taken in order to ensure that that discipline should be maintained. At their suggestion I accordingly summoned the general officers commanding in chief of the six commands in the United Kingdom and I laid before them the document which is here printed.

The general officers commanding in chief accepted the statement that I had made to them and promised me, naturally enough, that they would do their best to ensure that there was no indiscipline in the Army (cheers), and that if and when any officers should attempt to resign their commissions, rather than obey a lawful order to support the civil power, they would take the action which I had then informed them that I had decided it was my duty to take. From that day until the recent occurrences in what we may call the Carragh incident there had been no resignation of any Regular officer. Fourteen cases occurred of retired officers who wrote to the War Office, saying that they must qualify their promise to serve on mobilization. They were informed by the Army Council that the Army Council could not accept any qualified service. (Cheers.)

SAFEGUARDING MILITARY DEPOTS.

I pass now to the second of the documents here printed. Owing to information received by the Government, I considered it necessary to take special steps as Secretary of State for War to safeguard certain depôts—namely, Omagh, Armagh, Enniskillen, and Carrickfergus—from the possibility of attack by evilly-disposed persons. I was then, and am now, aware that any such attempt would be discountenanced by the responsible leaders of the Ulster movement. (Hear, hear.) Such was my information; but I also knew, from information placed before me, that there was a very real possibility in the present disturbed state of these very important places being attacked, and here may I say that the right hon. gentleman, the member for the City of London (Mr. Balfour) has not perhaps quite realized how important a place a depôt of Army stores on mobilization is. I therefore caused to be issued in the name of the Army Council, who, of course, were fully cognisant of these movements, the necessary instructions which are contained in the second document. I need hardly say, also, as has been stated by the Prime Minister, I did so with the full authority of the Cabinet, who had considered this matter. Sir Arthur Paget came over to London to discuss with us the best manner of carrying out these movements. (An Opposition member, "What date?") I cannot carry in my head the exact date, but it was a few days afterwards. It was after the 14th, and it would be about the following Wednesday or Thursday.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E., Opp.)—Was he summoned to come over?

Colonel Seely.—He was summoned to come over, and so far as my recollection serves me, he was anxious to come over in order to discuss it. That is not a material point. Obviously, he would be desirous to discuss this important movement of a precautionary nature, and we were anxious to discuss it with him. It appeared to us and to him that although these movements were of a purely precautionary character, there was a possibility that a state of excitement might be caused which would result in civil commotion in all parts of Ireland. We therefore took the necessary steps to support these movements in the event of their being opposed by armed force. We did not think it likely, but we thought it possible, and the General Officer Commanding would have failed in his duty if he had not represented to me, as he did, that he must be quite certain that he would be able to safeguard those vital points from possible attack. I would ask the leader of the Opposition if he would interrupt at any time if I fail to answer the questions which he put to me, as they were given to me at such short notice that I may miss them in the course of

the statement I have to make. Sir Arthur Paget then returned to Dublin. The moves were carried out, and there was no opposition or difficulty.

Mr. Bonar Law.—May I interrupt, at the right hon. gentleman's suggestion? One of the questions I put, and prominence was also given to it by the Prime Minister, was that the memorandum on the verbal instruction given to Sir Arthur Paget would be communicated to the House.

Colonel Seely.—My right hon. friend the Prime Minister has no recollection of making that statement, but I have nothing to conceal.

Mr. Bonar Law (reading from the official report).—"May I ask the Prime Minister whether the statement will include the memorandum of the Secretary of State for War to the Chief of General Staff as to the oral instructions given to Sir Arthur Paget? The Prime Minister.—Yes, Sir."

The Prime Minister.—Yes, but that is the first paper. (Hon. Members.—"Oh.")

THE AUTHORSHIP OF A MEMORANDUM.

Colonel Seely.—May I clear this up. I can assure the House that I wish to tell them the whole story. (Cheers.) With regard to the officer question, the only instructions were those contained, as the Prime Minister says, in this paper. All other instructions were, as they ought always to be, verbal instructions. With regard to the movements there were no written instructions, but there were constant conferences between myself and the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, and Sir Arthur Paget, in regard to the movements which must be taken in the event of these attempts to safeguard, as we hoped successfully, the stores at Omagh, Carrickfergus, Enniskillen, and Dundalk, where the guns were. My answer to the right hon. gentleman is, then, that there are no other written instructions to Sir Arthur Paget. I made no memorandum, and, indeed, it would be ridiculous that I should, of the consultations I had with Sir Arthur Paget, together with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General in regard to these movements. If there should be such a memorandum, it was not prepared by me, and if there be such a memorandum prepared by the Chief of the General Staff, I am sure there is nothing to conceal. The position is perfectly clear. We desired to make sure that these places were safeguarded. We were most anxious to avoid any chance of a collision. (Cheers.) Sir Arthur Paget himself was most anxious to take any and every step to avoid a provocative action, and so informed me and so informed his officers.

Sir Arthur Paget returned to Dublin. The movements were carried out, and every order was punctually obeyed. The next matter which appears in these papers is the telegram from Sir Arthur Paget, which is printed as the third of these documents, saying:—"Officer commanding 5th Lancers states that all officers, except two and one doubtful, are resigning their commissions to-day. I much fear same conditions in the 16th Lancers. Fear men will refuse to move."

Mr. Bonar Law.—You have missed one of the questions. One of the questions I asked was that you would repeat to us the version given to him by Sir Arthur Paget as to the instructions given to his officers.

AN APPEARANCE OF DELIBERATE DEFIANCE.

Colonel Seely.—We have not got to that point yet. I received on the evening of March 20 this telegram about Sir Arthur Paget. I summoned the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General to my house, when I received it, and we dispatched a telegram. In that telegram, as hon. gentlemen will see, we stated that the senior officers should come at once to London, that they should be relieved of their commands, and that officers would be sent to relieve them. (Cheers.) It appeared to us from the telegrams received—and I think the House will agree that it was likely we should make that assumption—that these officers had deliberately defied the lawful order of Sir Arthur Paget and had defied his authority. The officers arrived in London. With them came this document which is printed—a letter from General Gough, which shows conclusively that there had been a complete and honest misapprehension of the statement made by Sir Arthur Paget to the meeting of officers which he held.

SIR ARTHUR PAGET'S VERSION OF HIS SPEECH.

I had better now state what Sir Arthur Paget himself says in the concluding portion of this statement to the officers, who consisted of the divisional generals and the brigadier-generals under his command, except those who could not arrive because of the distance, for instance, the general from Cork. This is what he telegraphed last night to say what is his recollection of the substance of what he says:—"Sir Arthur Paget felt that the outcome of the precautionary moves might be misinterpreted and lead to a situation demanding further action and he felt that the time had come when he must ascertain upon what general officers and others he could rely." (Cheers.) That is all I have obtained by telegram from Sir Arthur Paget. (Opposition cries of "Oh" and Ministerial cheers.) That is all I received last night by telegram from Sir Arthur Paget with reference to the

statement, by his military Secretary and my private Secretary, I hope the House will appreciate how difficult it is to keep pace with these rapid movements of telegrams and men, and will excuse us for not having printed this, seeing it only arrived late last night. I have seen Sir Arthur Paget since this episode. I saw him the other night after the debate on Monday, after the right hon. gentleman spoke. I asked him if he could explain this discrepancy.

WILD RUMOURS.

Might I put it this way in order to make the House understand what the discrepancy was? These officers believed that there was a plan to treat Ulster as an enemy country, and to overwhelm her with a surprise attack. That was their honest belief (Ministerial laughter and Opposition cheers), and that belief, I can imagine, must have been largely fostered—I make no charge—by the wild rumours that flew about, as we had foreseen they would, as a consequence of these moves—first, that 200 warrants were out to arrest all the leaders, for which there was not a shadow of foundation (cheers); but were published widely throughout the Press; and, secondly, that there was a secret movement to move instantly and disarm the Ulster volunteers. There was not one shadow or shade of foundation for either of these suggestions. (Cheers.) They never occurred to me, they never occurred to the Prime Minister, they never occurred to any member of the Cabinet, but we know that directly we moved to safeguard these depots wild rumours would fly about, and that is the justification, and I submit an absolute justification, of my action as Secretary of State for War in accepting a suggestion of Sir Arthur Paget and of all competent soldiers that we ought to be prepared for a state of disorder following on these necessary movements. These officers believed that this was the intention. Sir Arthur Paget has informed me that he cannot understand how they could obtain that impression from anything he said. He stated to me before he left that he had made it clear to the officers that these were precautionary movements, that they might have to be supported, that there was no intention whatever of taking the initiative, as General Gough thought, of surprising Ulster, and that what was necessary was to secure that the movements should be carried out.

Mr. Bonar Law.—I certainly do not want to interfere with the right hon. gentleman's speech, but we do wish to have it as clear as possible. The right hon. gentleman heard the version of Sir Arthur Paget's speech which I gave. Did he not take the precaution to ask Sir Arthur Paget to give in writing his account, and now will he kindly explain how the difficulty had arisen with the officers, seeing that the whole difficulty was that they thought they were to be engaged in initiative engagements against Ulster, after Sir A. Paget had said there was no such intention?

AN INACCURATE VERSION.

Colonel Seely.—I will deal with both points. The first question is, Did I ask Sir Arthur Paget whether the letter the right hon. gentleman read out purporting to come from an officer who was present. I think (Mr. Bonar Law nodded assent), formed an accurate version of what he said. Sir Arthur Paget had to return immediately to Ireland. I asked him whether that did represent accurately what he said. He told me "No it certainly did not." Parts of it, he said, were an accurate version of parts of what he said, but parts of it were wholly inaccurate. What General Paget said was this, and I repeat it again. He told the officers, first, that the movements that had to be made were with the object of safeguarding the depots and Government property, and that it was necessary for him to make sure that he could support these movements.

"IN A BLAZE."

With regard to the phrase which the right hon. gentleman says was used, "in a blaze," he told me that he said there might be a blaze, certainly a blaze in the Press. (Ministerial cheers.) I do not wish to strike any controversial note, for the moment is a very serious one to me, and I only wish to tell the whole story as completely as it can be told. The next point is the officers being here are interviewed by the Adjutant-General. They explained to the Adjutant-General that they had no idea that they were only going to be asked to support the civil authority and to maintain law and order. Indeed General Gough went so far as to say that had he been ordered to Belfast he would have gone without question. (Opposition cheers.) It was only because of a misapprehension, which he had obtained from something said, that made him think that there was to be some attack upon Ulster in order to crush her by force of arms before she was ready. I wish to be absolutely fair to all parties. When he sent this message which is here printed, the Adjutant-General, who is charged with the discipline of the Army under me and under the highest authority, considered that the explanation of these officers was satisfactory. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff also interviewed General Gough. Those two high officers of the Army Council together brought General Gough to my room, where Sir Arthur Paget was present. I told General Gough that it was reported to me by the Adjutant-General and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff that he was prepared to obey all lawful orders. He replied that he was prepared to obey all lawful orders. I said to him "How has this difficulty arisen?" and he said, "Because we thought we were going to be asked to coerce Ulster and that an immediate movement was to be made in which we were to take the

initiative." "That it would seem to me," said General Gough—I paraphrase his words, I could not take them down at the time—"that seemed to us to go outside the lawful orders which we are bound to obey." I then put to him the substance of what is printed at the conclusion of this document, and I would ask hon. gentlemen to turn to it. I said to him, "It must be made clear that his Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the Forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order, and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty." But I said to him, with regard to your second question, it is quite clear that it is your duty to go anywhere in Ireland or elsewhere in support of the civil power whenever it is attacked. I can tell you clearly since the situation already has been made irregular, I think it proper to tell you clearly that his Majesty's Government have no intention whatever to take advantage of the right to protect the civil power whenever attacked, or however attacked, in order to crush political opposition—in other words, to shoot down enough people who have shot nobody else in order to make the rest submit to a law of which they disapproved. I would ask my hon. friends on this side, and members in all quarters of the House, whether there is one man in this House who would demur to that statement. (Cheers.) To this General Gough agreed, but he said, "There have been many misunderstandings already; would it not be better that this clear statement should be put in writing to me?" I said to him—

Mr. John Ward.—Did he dictate the letter?

Colonel Seely.—I said to him, "I consider that it is not only desirable, but necessary that you should have this in writing, and I propose to put it in writing."

THE KING.

Now I must ask the indulgence of the House if I give them an account of my personal movements and actions which led up to the decision which I have felt obliged to take. After seeing General Gough I went to the Cabinet. I told them what I have now told the House, and I added that, as I had not had time to draw up any statement of what I had said, I would ask the Adjutant-General to make a rough draft for me to consider. At 1 o'clock I had arranged to see his Majesty at Buckingham Palace to report to him how matters stood. And may I say here, Sir—I think it proper to say—that any suggestion which has been made outside—none has been made in this House—that his Majesty took any initiative of any kind in this matter is absolutely without foundation? (Loud cheers.) A situation of grave peril to the Army had undoubtedly arisen, and I reported at frequent intervals to his Majesty, who is head of the Army, how matters stood, and I wish emphatically to repeat the statement I have made—

Mr. Wedgwood.—What is "initiative"?

Colonel Seely.—I do not wish any misapprehension. I use the word in its broadest sense his Majesty took no initiative of any kind.

Mr. Wedgwood.—What is initiative?

Colonel Seely.—I have nothing more to say. I returned from the audience that his Majesty was pleased to grant me to the Cabinet, which had then broken up. I found that in my absence they had discussed the draft which the Adjutant-General had prepared of what I had said, of what it was proper for me to recall as a record of what had taken place and as a record of what was proper for us to say. I had only a moment, and the Prime Minister had but a moment to give me, and this draft had been altered in various particulars. I do not regard it as a complete document. Indeed, in form it did not appear to me to be so. I understood that I, as Secretary of State, was charged with the duty of making a statement to these officers in accordance with the decision to which I had come at half-past 11, and accordingly I proceeded to fill up that statement in order that it might conform to the statement I had made, and to the statement which I thought it was right to make. These two paragraphs are found at the concluding portion of this paper. I then sent the document over to the War Office. In the meantime, I would ask the House to observe this. I had received a letter from the Adjutant-General enclosing a letter from General Gough, which is printed as the last document but one. The letter did not seem to me to be material. Indeed, to be quite frank, I paid little attention to it, for this reason, that General Gough had never seen the document which I was considering, and could not have the least idea of what was in it. Therefore any idea that might be gathered from the form of this paper that after General Gough protested we drew up this document in order to meet his wishes would be an inaccurate statement, because General Gough had not seen the document, and could not have seen it when he wrote that letter.

MEANING OF THE DOCUMENT.

Now I come to the next point. After General Gough had received this document which I had drawn up, he asked Sir John French—a fact of which I only became aware this morning—whether this document meant—and as there is no copy of this document in the possession of Sir John French or the War Office, I can only state the general purport of it, and I hope I state it accurately—that

he would not be called upon to order his brigade to take part in the coercion of Ulster in order to compel them to submit to the Home Rule bill, and across the document Sir John French wrote, "I should read it so." I am quite sure that Sir John French, whose loyalty and help to us in this crisis I desire to acknowledge to the full, this great soldier to whom the honour of the Army is dear, but who, at the same time, is determined to see that discipline is maintained (cheers)—I am quite sure, indeed I know, that what he meant by that was a re-assertion of the last two paragraphs. No possible blame in this matter can attach to Sir John French or to any member of the Army Council, for, as it is observed that the Army Council itself, or those members of it who signed the document—namely, Sir John French and Sir Spencer Ewart—did not know that this was not a Cabinet document, so they are absolved from all possible blame in the matter.

COLONEL SEELY'S ACCEPTANCE OF BLAME.

Moreover, if blame is to be apportioned no possible blame can attach to Sir Arthur Paget. He has acted throughout with loyalty, and a determination to do his duty beyond all praise, and I desire to say that he has the full confidence of the Army Council, and of all those who work with him. (Cheers.) Now comes the question of where the blame, if blame there is, does really rest. Blame does rest, and it rests upon me, and I will tell the House for what. I added to a document which the Cabinet had considered my version of what I thought should be said. I have said, and I repeat, that I did not apprehend that the Cabinet had seriously considered this document, and regarded a document of this kind as a matter of vital concern to them all. I see now that it is (Ministerial cheers)—not at all because I recede by one inch from the principles laid down in the last two paragraphs—but because it does appear that an officer asked for conditions, and that his conditions were accepted, I did not so understand it, but I can see quite clearly that, taking it broadly, that impression can be given, and if I have given that impression, however inadvertently, even though my intentions, as I assure the House they were, were honestly to do my duty in this matter (cheers) I have been gravely to blame. Before I conclude let me add one word—the Army Council are greatly concerned in this matter. They did not sign as a body this actual document, for as is proper, any three members of the Army Council, any two and the Secretary of State, may send an Army Council letter, or make an Army Council decision, always assuming that they are carrying out the general policy of the Council, as is the custom whether in Cabinets or any other society of men. But they ask me to say this, and to say it most emphatically, in order that their position may be clear, that nothing that has been said to any of these officers detracts in any way from their power and their duty to employ all forces of the Crown should they be required, which are under their control, in accordance with the principles laid down in the Army Act and in the Manual of Military Law, and they wish me to emphasize this without any qualification whatever as their considered judgment, and I will read the words, although they are on the papers. This is what they ask me to read, as their considered judgment without any equivocation whatever, from which they will not recede:—

"His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order, and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty." (Cheers.)

RESIGNATION TENDERED.

Now I hope that I have made the position of the Army Council quite clear, and I have now only to say this. I have misled my colleagues in the Cabinet inadvertently—with honest intentions I misled them. They thought that the document which they had prepared was final. I did not know that. Had I been present at the discussion, none of this misunderstanding would have occurred. (Cheers.) I am not going to make excuses, but the House will realize how great the pressure of work has been in a crisis which has been of very real magnitude, and owing to my absence this misapprehension occurred; but that does not alter the fact that I am gravely to blame in my judgment, and for that reason, while I ask the House to believe that throughout this difficult business I have acted with the sincere desire to be loyal to my colleagues (cheers), and to see fair play to the Army, I have felt it my duty to ask the Prime Minister to accept my resignation of my office. (Cries of "No," "No.")

Speech by Mr. Balfour.

AN OBSCURE SITUATION.

Mr Balfour (City of London).—My right hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, naturally, and I think rightly, desires to reserve his right of intervening in this debate until the course of this discussion has developed somewhat further, and he asked me, therefore, to say a few words upon the statement just made by the Secretary for War. I will not pretend that after that statement that I understand clearly the exact sequence of events, nor that I understand how it happened that this extraordinary misapprehension occurred in Ireland on the part both of the generals and of the officers concerned. Nor do I even understand exactly what occurred between the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues in the Cabinet. (Cheers.) Others who have listened to the right hon. gentleman's statement may be more fortunate than myself, but I confess that I am left still in some

obscurity as to the vital points of this most difficult case. Everybody must listen with sympathy to a statement from any member of this House, and perhaps most of all from a Minister of the Crown, who, gets up to say that innocently, and indeed with the best intentions he has yet made what is in his own judgment a great error, and that sympathy must be redoubled when the speech ends, as the speech of the right hon. gentleman did end, in the statement that he had handed in his resignation to the Prime Minister. I do not know whether that does mean that the right hon. gentleman is no longer, or will shortly cease to be, a member of the Cabinet and a Secretary of State, or whether it only means that he has let the Prime Minister understand that since, owing to what he deems to be an error of his, the Government has been placed in a difficulty, he puts his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, to be accepted or not, as the right hon. gentleman and the general feeling of the country, as the right hon. gentleman sees it, may consider proper.

Colonel Seely.—The words I used with respect to the right hon. gentleman were that I asked the Prime Minister to accept my resignation.

Mr. Balfour.—I am left in doubt, and I think that the House is still left in doubt, as to whether the right hon. gentleman is still for all practical purposes a Minister of the Crown at this moment or not.

The Prime Minister.—He is. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. Balfour.—In that event my sympathy with the right hon. gentleman, so far as his admission of error is concerned, remains quite undiminished. Of course, I need waste no sympathy on his resignation if it has not been accepted.

AN INCREDIBLE STATEMENT.

I suppose that I shall be followed by the Prime Minister. May I ask just one or two questions, though they are not all the questions which, I think, can be asked about the matter, which seems to me to be extraordinarily obscure, even after all the explanations, the papers and the redoubled explanations which have been given to us from the Front Bench. We are asked to believe to-day, as we were asked to believe on Monday, that there were no military operations in the proper sense of the word at all, that it was simply a question of increasing the guard at certain places where there are stores, either of guns or ammunition or whatever it may be, and that that was absolutely all that the War Office contemplated when they sent for General Paget to this country, and when they sent General Paget back to Ireland, and that out of that innocent and natural action all this trouble has arisen. We are asked to believe that the movements of the Fleet, countermanded when these important military operations could not be carried out without provoking a great conflagration, were merely a part of the routine that had to be observed. That really is a statement which is almost incredible. (Cheers.) Has there been any case where the soldiers of the Crown have not been welcomed in the ordinary course of their duty in Ulster? (Loud cheers.) Has there been any case where there has been any friction between the forces of the Crown and the population of Ulster, and unless the operations were going to be so carried out as to be of a provocative character, what possible ground was there for supposing that these friendly relations would be more interrupted in the course of these reinforcements, than they had been when troops had been moved from that barrack to this barrack, or in the daily intercourse between the forces of the Crown and the population of Ulster? That is not all. The right hon. gentleman has seen General Paget several times; he saw him before the difficulties arose, and he saw him afterwards, and he had telegraphic communication with him between those two periods. The words used by the officer, as reported by General Paget himself, talk of "duty as ordered and active operations." On the words "active operations" the officers asked for explanation from the man who used those words, or from the man who, they thought, used those words. If General Paget did not use those words all he need have said was, "No active operations are contemplated. The words 'active operations' are wholly uncalled for. Nothing is going to be done except to strengthen a guard here and there. If you took my speech to you as meaning anything more than that, you are under a complete misapprehension, or I expressed myself badly. I did not refer to active operations in Ulster. If I used those words, I used them mistakenly." Sir Arthur Paget never suggests that. (Cheers.) He does not tell the officers concerned that they misunderstood him. He sends their documents without note or comment to the War Office, and if there was a blunder I cannot conceive why it was not put right in a moment. Indeed, it is impossible, even after the right hon. gentleman's statements and after all the facts known to the public and the Press at this moment—nothing would ever make the historian believe that something more was not in contemplation. (Cheers.) In view of the operations of which the right hon. gentleman speaks, why on earth should he send for General Paget in order to consult with that officer as to how he would add to a garrison here and there? Was that a military operation beyond General Paget's competence without consulting the high military authorities at the War Office and without going to the right hon. gentleman himself for instruction and advice?

(To be continued.)

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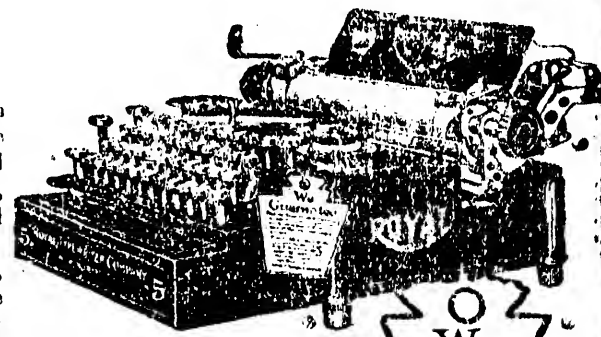
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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Albania.

Vienna, April 19.

It is announced that the reply of the Triple Alliance to the Note from the Powers, forming the Triple Entente, will shortly be presented. It entirely agrees with the wishes of the Entente but suggests alterations.

London April 13.

The Triple Alliance has accepted the suggestions of the Triple Entente with regard to the reply of the powers to the Greek note, but has suggested minor amendments, which are not expected to raise difficulties.

Durazzo, April 21.

Government is calling on 20,000 men to join the colours.

Tripoli

Banghazi, April 17.

An Italian column of infantry, cavalry and artillery was attacked by two thousand rebels at Gendebia. The rebels lost heavily; Italian casualties were 6 killed and 28 wounded.

Muscat

Simla, April 16.

News from Muscat shows that the rebels continue to be active in the Muscat Hinterland. They recently attacked and captured the town and the fort at Barka on the coast, twenty miles east of Muscat itself. As this town contains a number of British subjects from India H. M. S. "Fox" in support of the Sultan, proceeded to the spot and shelled and demolished the fort and drove off the rebels who had several casualties.

Asia Minor.

Constantinople, April 17.

The Porte has selected a Dutchman, M. Nesterlang, and a Norwegian, Colonel Hoff, to fill the posts of Inspectors-General of the Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor.

Grand Donation.

Constantinople April 21.

The Nizam of Hyderabad has made a donation of £2,000 to British Red Crescent Society for the relief of Moslem distress following upon the war in the Balkans.

Persia.

Teheran, April 20.

It is reported that fifteen gendarmes under Count Loewenhaupt were attacked near Hamadun while searching for booty, concealed by the brigand Abbas. It is feared that Count Loewenhaupt was wounded and captured.

London, April 21.

Mr. Asland, replying to a question from Sir John Rees said that Government was giving every support to Persia in its efforts to restore order on the Southern roads.

Teheran, April 21.

Count Loewenhaupt is dead. He was shot on returning after the completion of the work assigned to him.

Aziz Ali

Constantinople April 21.

Aziz Ali has been pardoned.

Aziz Ali has sailed for Alexandria.

The Army Crisis.

London, April 17.

The Committee of the Ulster Unionist Council, with the approval of Sir Edward Carson, has issued a statement, declaring that General Sir Arthur Paget, acting on the instruction of Colonel Seely, informed the Generals on March 20th that Government had decided to undertake active operations against Ulster and also gave details of the plan of operations, whereby the 3rd Cavalry Brigade was to seize strategic points along the Boyne. A force of ten thousand was to come from Lichfield Aldershot, making a total of twenty-five thousand. The statement alleges that General Paget explained that the object was the blockade of Ulster by land and sea. It was not intended that the Army should begin fighting, but troops, aided by Naval forces, were to be held in readiness to support the Police searching depots.

Sir Edward Carson yesterday opened the Drill-hall at Limerick. He said that he firmly believed that Government meant a few weeks ago to provoke a quarrel in order to invoke

the forces of the Crown to shoot down Ulstermen. He stated with all his responsibility as Privy Councillor that if it was true a more wicked and more damnable plot against the liberties of the people had never been conceived. Sir Edward Carson proceeded to charge Government with cowardice and infamy and challenged it to arrest him. In conclusion he bade volunteers to ready for any eventuality.

London April 18.

The Liberal papers describe the statement issued by the Ulster Council as a ludicrous effort to pervert truth which will fail to impress the country. The Conservative press says it is a grave indictment of Government which calls for strict judicial investigation. The papers express the hope that meetings will be organised throughout the country to protest against the threatened outrage on civil liberties.

London April, 21.

One of the stormiest scenes between party leaders in the history of the House of Commons occurred to-day when Mr. Bonar Law renewed his request for a judicial enquiry into the allegations regarding the Ulster question. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law were alternately at the table, challenging one another amid most angry cries. Mr. Asquith demanded that Mr. Bonar Law should make accusations in the House itself and refused the enquiry but would give an earliest date for a discussion if he would make a charge that Government devised an organised plot with the object of provoking and promoting a rising in Ulster. Mr. Bonar Law replied that the Premier and his colleagues had already made false statements. (Cheers and uproar). Mr. Asquith re-challenged the Opposition to discuss the matter in the House.

Mr. Bonar Law: "If there is nothing to be ashamed of, why no enquiry?"

Mr. Asquith: "The allegation is against the honour of the Ministers." (Cheers and counter-cheers). "It should be made in the House of Commons" (Cries of "Marconi").

Mr. Asquith retorted that Members wanted a roving enquiry to discover whether there was material for a charge. (Uproar).

Mr. Bonar Law said that he would await the publication of the revised White Paper before deciding on the course of action.

Sir Arthur Paget had a Conference with Mr. Asquith at Downing Street yesterday. Messrs. Birrell, Churchill, Colonel Seely, Lord Crewe and McKenna attended.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith stated that Sir Arthur Paget had denied that he had told officers that the police would seize Volunteers' arms and the Old Town Hall at Belfast.

The revised White Paper promised by Mr. Asquith was published to-day. It says that on March 17th Sir Arthur Paget was of opinion that the precautionary movement of troops would cause intense excitement in Ulster and would possibly precipitate a crisis. On March 23rd, the War Office informed General Paget that it had been decided to appoint a General Officer Commanding Belfast District who would be invested with control of the local Constabulary. Sir C. F. N. Macready was selected. On March 22nd, Sir Arthur Paget telegraphed on the War Office that he considered that it would be injudicious to announce the appointment until an outbreak occurred as it would be a source of irritation. Colonel Seely agreed.

The White Paper includes Admiralty orders as to the movements of warships to Ireland. On March 19th, the Admiralty directed the Captain of H. M. Scout "Attentive" to proceed to Carrickfergus and land in plain clothes to confer with the Commander of Holyrood barracks regarding the eventual co-operation of the Army and Navy. Stores at Carrickfergus should be defended by every means, even by Naval guns and searchlights. In a written statement dated April 2nd, Sir A. Paget gives an account of his meeting with subordinate Generals at which he explained the orders of Government and accepts responsibility for their misapprehension.

Six Liberal Members of the House of Commons have given notice of a motion demanding that Mr. Bonar Law shall substantiate or withdraw the charges of falsehood he made against Mr. Asquith.

Hindu Immigration.

Victoria (B. C.) April 17.

It is reported that "Komagata Maru" has sailed from Shanghai for Victoria with 400 Hindus on board, seeking entry into British Columbia. All will be refused landing under Order in Council, excluding Asiatic artisans and labourers. The vessel is said to be under charter to a wealthy East Indian, Gurdit Singh.

London, April 18.

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Stevens, Member for Vancouver, interrogated Government on the subject of the press despatch, stating that 400 Hindus had left Shanghai for

Vancouver. Mr. Roche, Minister of the Interior, replied that instructions had been sent to Immigration Officers to prevent the landing of Hindus.

Rev. Andrews' Arrival.

Bombay, April 17.

Rew C. F. Andrews who had been to South Africa in connection with the Indian question arrived in Bombay this morning by P. & O. Company's mail steamer "Caledonia" from England. He was incapacitated on the voyage owing to an accident. While in London he found Mr. Gokhale very weak indeed. But he was slightly better when he left him last. Mr. Andrews regards the situation in South Africa now as hopeful but is anxious about the redressing of minor grievances, some of which, specially the matter of licences are very important. Mr. Andrews expressed high admiration for Mr. Gandhi's conduct throughout. He had upheld the honour of India under the most difficult and trying circumstances and it was owing to Mr. Gandhi himself, Mr. Andrews remarked that the present favourable situation had been reached. The Indian community in South Africa had acted under his leadership with great courage and endurance. Hindus and Mohammedans alike had shared the sufferings together and worked under Mr. Gandhi for common cause. There was one united body of Indian opinion in South Africa and this followed Mr. Gandhi. Only very small number stood outside, but they were of no account in the counsels of South African Indians. Mr. Andrews left to-day for Calcutta by the Nagpur Mail. Thence he will proceed to Delhi.

The Amir.

Allahabad, April 16.

A Frontier correspondent reports that the Amir has sent an urgent Farman to the Governor of Khost, instructing him to send to Kabul Jirgahs from Jagi Mangal and Katawas tribes to sign an agreement that they will not engage in any rebellion against the Amir and intimating that in the event of their refusal they will be severely punished. The Amir has also issued orders to the *Hakams* on the border to the effect that Jirgahs of independent tribes intending to enter Afghan *Illaka* are not to be allowed to take their rifles with them, but must deposit them with the *Hakams* of the *Illaka* receiving them back on their return.

Mir Said Jan, successor of Hada Mulla, called upon Jirgah of one hundred and twenty Mohammedans to return all ornaments, cash, etc., which they had looted during the past month in Kunar *Illaka* from the houses of Ram Singh and others. The Jirgah was granted Rs. 2 per man per day during their stay and they also undertook not to commit any dacoity in future.

In the Amir's *Illaka* Mohammedans have complained to the Amir that Sardar Khan of Girdos never paid them the allowance granted to them by the Amir through him whereupon the Jirgah issued orders, suspending Sardar Khan and instructing the Governor of Jellalabad to send him to Kabul under escort.

Allahabad, April 17.

The Amir has ordered a palace to be built at Darai Nur near Jellalabad for the next cold weather.

The Amir has written to Mir Said Jan intimating that Mohammed Malaks will be granted a yearly allowance on condition that they send some of their men to remain at Kabul as security.



Our London Letter.

London, April 2.

THE CRISIS.

SINCE I wrote my last letter, as your readers are, of course, already informed by Reuter, Colonel Seely has definitely resigned the War Secretaryship and Sir John French together with Sir J. S. Ewart have also severed their connection with the Army Council. As a matter of fact, the late War Minister had no other course left open to him but to insist on Mr. Asquith accepting his resignation, when it was announced officially that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General had tendered their resignation and that they had refused to reconsider their decision. The Tories tried their utmost to bring about the resignation of Lord Morley as well, which would, of course, have altogether wrecked the entire Cabinet and thus the downfall of the present Government—the sole aim and object of the Opposition—would have, of course, followed as a natural sequel. But the veteran Liberal statesman, on whom, owing to the regrettable absence of Lord Crewe due to indisposition the Leadership of the House of Lords had devolved, and but for whose splendid power as a debator the Treasury Bench in the Upper House would have put up a tame show against the solid body of Unionist peers, is made of a different stuff to that of which the average politician is composed, and not only he has not resigned, but he has actually improved the position of the Government.

vernment to an unparalleled degree. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Midleton, Lord Curzon and a host of other Tory peers, it is an open secret, fought hard to create an impossible position for Viscount Morley. As I have said before, even in spite of some help from the Lord Chancellor, the brunt of the work fell on Lord Morley's shoulders and, though his powers as a debator are rapidly diminishing owing to advancing age, still, on this occasion at any rate, he reminded one of "honest John" of the by-gone days, when his personality and his assistance used to be of such an extraordinary effect to the Liberal Party.

Lord Crewe, I am glad to notice, is back again, and his speech in the House of Lords the other day was delivered in his own characteristic style, full of dignity yet pregnant with sound argument and solid reasoning. The Secretary of State for India did not conceal the fact that he is of opinion that a Press Act, which could prevent the multitude of leading articles in the Tory Press, that have been written during the recent Army Crisis, from seeing the light of publication, would have been an excellent thing for the country. The noble Marquis would do a great service to his own party, the Empire at large, and the millions of India entrusted to his care for the time being, if he would prevent the publication of the scores of leading and special articles, that are being daily written in the Anglo-Indian Press with the basest of motives, by putting the Anglo-Indian Press Act into operation against the editors of such journals, who are to-day enjoying an unmistakable immunity from the existing Act.

The Prime Minister's acceptance of the War Secretaryship has saved the situation, at least as far as the Ministry is concerned. Nothing but his great sense of duty and patriotism could have induced Mr. Asquith to take upon himself the onerous duties of the War Minister, and his action is cordially appreciated by the Liberal as well as the Conservative Parties. He is seeking re-election in East Fife and it is unlikely that the Tories would contest the seat. That is at least their present plan, but one can never safely prophesise as to the Tory movements. Mr. Asquith's connection with his constituency extends over a period of 27 years, during which he has uninterruptedly sat in the House. The magnificent send-off given to him this morning at King's Cross station on his journey to the North is one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations I have ever seen, and whether the seat is contested or not by the Unionists, Mr. Asquith will deliver a series of important speeches to his constituents, which declarations will be heard and read, under the circumstances, by the whole country, as the issues involved are undoubtedly of vital consequences to the nation at large.

The Army Crisis is for the moment over, and it is admitted on all hands that the Tory plot to wreck the Government by using the Army as its medium has miserably failed. Mr. Asquith's parliamentary abilities have survived the most trying ordeal they could undergo, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Liberal Party would have been shattered altogether had its leadership been in any other hands. It is useless to deny that at the beginning of the Army Crisis the Liberals were fully expecting to meet with a catastrophe, the awful consequences of which they were unable to fathom. The issue—army versus the people—critical as it undoubtedly was, has forthwith rallied the entire coalition to a man under Mr. Asquith's banner. He has led them through the crisis and the victory is entirely due to his efforts. The unwavering loyalty of the coalition, no doubt, has proved itself of enormous value to the Prime Minister and he is personally fully aware of that fact. The House of Commons has made it perfectly plain that it could never allow the participation of the Army officers in party politics. The Army must and will obey orders issued through the legally constituted authorities. If military officers are allowed to choose for themselves the occasions on which they would or would not obey orders, that would at once put an end to anything like parliamentary government and military dictatorship would be the obvious outcome of it.

The recent Army Orders, issued on the unanimous authority of the Army Council, including Sir John French and Sir J. S. Ewart (just before their resignation was announced), set forth the duties of officers and men in no unmistakable language. These two distinguished officers' resignation, of course, is not due to any difference of policy, but, as your readers are aware, is due to an entirely personal matter, *viz.*, the fact of their having initialed the War Office memorandum, which included the so-called "Seely-clauses." This they did on the genuine understanding (as far as they were concerned) that the whole memorandum was approved of by the entire Cabinet. It is very necessary that this point should be made perfectly clear, as the Tories are trying their utmost to misrepresent the whole situation. The Government's attitude throughout the Army Crisis had met with the hearty co-operation and approval of the entire Army Council. There is no reason at all to suspect that there is a widespread dissatisfaction in the higher ranks of the Army with the methods adopted by the Government. Such dissensions are merely a handful and of the most irresponsible charac-

ter. A few young hot-headed Brigadier-Generals may have fallen victims to the treachery of the Conservative leaders, who are at the bottom of all this mischief and scandal, but the overwhelming bulk of officers and men are determined to follow the traditions of their profession and to keep politics rigidly outside their sphere. The Crisis is for the moment over, but the issue involved is certain to be the foremost question before the electorate at the coming General Election.

THE HOME RULE DEBATE.

The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, in its third and final journey in the House of Commons, now going on in Parliament, has not been a very lively proceeding by any means. The Prime Minister's absence from the House, owing to his seeking re-election in East Fife, is no doubt mainly responsible for this, but the recent Army Crisis has also had a great deal to do with the dullness of the present debate. Mr. Balfour was speaking truthfully yesterday when he said that "you, Mr. Speaker, in all your long experience in the chair, must have seldom listened to a debate whose main essentials were more remote from the subject under discussion than the debate to which we listened yesterday and the day before." On the whole, thanks to Sir Edward Grey's moderate lead, a conciliatory change has become visible in the tone and temper of speakers on all sides of the House. Even the "noble lord, the member for the University of Oxford"—Lord Hugh Cecil—has curiously enough been infected with the new atmosphere, and his carefully prepared speech in the House on Wednesday, in which he earnestly and passionately appealed for some give-and-take on both sides, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. The final words rest with Sir Edward Carson, who is speaking on Monday night, and the Chancellor's speech likewise on that occasion will no doubt give us a clue as to the Government's attitude. In the meantime, the rank and file of both the Parties are endeavouring to bring their united influence to bear on their respective leaders in favour of some peaceful solution of the thorny question.

M. P.'S JEEP AT PEERS IN GALLERY.

An extraordinary scene was witnessed in the House of Commons last week, when the Army Crisis was at its height. I cannot recall to my mind having seen anything approaching it before.

Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, the Unionist member for Bodmin, with quiet restraint, asked for information as to the reported resignation of Generals French and Ewart.

Hundreds of eyes were focussed on the bearded figure of Mr. Gulland, the Scottish Whip, who stepped to the table. "In answer to that I am to say that the Cabinet is still sitting, and that they will not be able to make a statement till five o'clock."

The Unionists, packed shoulder to shoulder in over-flowing rows, set up a long shout of irony.

Up sprang Mr. Bonar Law, his face white as paper. He strove to move the adjournment of the House there and then.

But the Speaker pointed out that this could only be done by a member of the Government on a Friday.

Then came an amazing demonstration. The peers, including Lord Lansdowne, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Midleton, Lord Curzon and Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell, were seen slowly fling out of the peer's gallery.

Somebody raised an ironical shout. The effect was electrical. In a flash dozens of Liberals, Nationalists and Labour members were on their feet hailing the departure of noble lords, spiritual and temporal, with a scalding torrent of mocking cheers.

THE HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE.

An unofficial committee has been recently formed of English people who desire to show hospitality to Indian students visiting this country. Lord Haldane has consented to act as president, and a number of ladies and gentlemen, representing educational interests in England, the Bar, the Medical Profession, and other aspects of English life, have expressed a wish to join.

It is felt that there are many English people in London who would like to have opportunities of meeting Indian visitors and of making them welcome in English homes, and many residents at holiday centres who would willingly co-operate in offering to Indian students opportunities of joining in English society there. There are also many Indians in this country who would gladly avail themselves of opportunities of coming into more intimate touch with the better sides of English life, and it is especially on behalf of these, who desire to reciprocate the friendliness that the English people wish to show, that the efforts of the Committee will be directed. It is hoped that entertainments given for larger or for smaller numbers may lead to personal acquaintanceships of a more enduring kind, and to the forming of friendships valuable to Indians and to Englishmen alike.

This scheme, if worked on absolutely unofficial lines, as we are told it would be, will certainly go far towards the creation and the

promotion of that harmony and mutual understanding which are so desirable from the point of view of both the English people and ourselves. If that excellent motive is conscientiously carried out, the Hospitality Committee would have rendered no little service to the Empire at large. British hospitality in any shape or form would be immensely appreciated by the Indian students in this country, but it is essential that such hospitality should be altogether divorced from even the least spirit of "officialdom," which has done so much harm in the past. Generally, when a scheme of this sort is set on foot, under the innocent garb of pure "friendship and affection," the average Indian student does not fail to "scout a rat" in the plan, as past experience has unhappily only too vividly demonstrated to him the truth of the significant fact that, in spite of such movements originally starting with the best of intentions, they automatically become, in due course of time, transformed into nothing more nor less than what could be only described as semi-official concerns in every respect. The Northbrook Society would serve as an excellent example of what I mean. It was founded, as is well-known, with objects and aims almost similar to those of the Hospitality Committee, and it is only fair to admit that until a few years ago it was most popular with the bulk of Indian students. The Society's old premises in Piccadilly, though perhaps not so spacious and comfortable as the present rooms in Cromwell Road are, used to be the happy rendezvous of scores of young Indians every day, and the genial atmosphere of the then Club-House, absolutely devoid of any (red-tapism or official patronage, exercised a most healthy and invigorating influence on the social aspect of the students' lives. Since the incorporation of the Northbrook Society into the other Indian or Anglo-Indian shows at 21, Cromwell Road in South Kensington, though even to-day I believe theoretically and practically all these Associations that are thus housed under a common roof, are independent and separate, the whole thing has lost its charms. A mysterious and suspicious air of "patronage" enshrouds the entire building, and one looks in vain for that homelike and fellowship which were the typical features of all those who were connected with the "Northbrook" of the good old days.

However, there is no reason why one should not cordially welcome the establishment of the Hospitality Committee. As I have already said, if conducted properly, it is certain to produce the happiest results. The Committee contains the names of some of the most distinguished men and women of this country, though I am bound to say that there are a few names on the Committee which might perhaps seriously handicap the organisers of the movement to render the scheme very popular amongst the Indian students and which might have been with advantage excluded.

The Lord Chancellor, as previously mentioned, is the President and Sir Frederick Robertson Chairman. The following, amongst others, are members of the General Committee:— Lord Reading (the Lord Chief Justice); Lord Incheape; Lord Sandhurst; the Lord Justice Vaughan Williams; Lord Kinnaird, Sir Thomas Barlow; Bart. (President of the Royal College of Physicians); Mr. E. R. Boyan. Sir John Rose Bradford M. D. F. R. C. S., (Physician, University College Hospital); Mr. R. Montagu Burrows (Principal of King's College, London); Sir Henry Craik, K. C. B., M. P.; Sir James Dunlop-Smith K. C. S. I.; Mr. T. Gregory Foster (Provost of University College, London); Mr. J. C. M. Garnett (Principal of the Manchester School of Technology); Sir Archibald Geikie, K. C. B., O. M., (Lately President of the Royal Society); Sir Rickman Godler, Bart. (President of the Royal College of Surgeons); Sir Alfred Pearce-Gould, K. O. V. O., F. R. C. S., (Senior Surgeon, Middlesex Hospital); the Rev. Canon Scott Holland, D. D. (Ryins Professor of Divinity, Oxford); Mr. Montagu R. James (Vice Chancellor, Cambridge University); Sir Alfred Keogh, K. O. B. (Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London); Sir Henry Seymour King, K. C. I. E.; Mr. E. F. V. Knox, K. C. (Lately Treasurer of Gray's Inn); Sir Robert Laidlaw; Mr. O. E. Mallet; Sir Henry Miers, F. R. S. (Principal of the London University); Sir Theodore Morison, K. C. I. E.; Mr. W. Blake Odgers K. O.; Sir Fredrick Pollock, Bart.; Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M. P.; Sir Henry Roscoe, F. R. S.; Mr. A. E. Shipley, F. R. S. (Master of Christ's College, Cambridge); Sir Richard Stapley; Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson (Master of Balliol College Oxford); The very Rev. T. B. Strong (Vice-chancellor of Oxford University); Sir Adolphus Ward (Master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge); Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.; Mr. H. G. Wells; Viscount Churchill; Lady Finney; Lady Hyes; Lady Procter; Lady Robertson; Lady Scott; Lady Scott-Moncrieff; the Lady Emily Lutjens; the Hon. Emily Kinnaird; Muriel; Countess De La Warr; Miss A. O. Allen; Miss Isabel Fey; Mrs. Henry Hart; Mrs. Sasson; the Hon. Katharine Thelwig; Mrs. Herbert Whyte.

The President and members of the Hospitality Committee are entertaining Indian students to an "At Home" to-morrow afternoon at 25, Park Lane, which has been kindly placed at their disposal by Sir Phillip Sassoon, M. P.

THE NAWAB SAHIB OF JUNAGADH.

The young Nawab of Junagadh, accompanied by Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, who is an ex-Dewan of the State, attended the Jooma-Namaz this morning, held at Lindsey Hall under the auspices of the Islamic Society. His Highness is sailing for India to-day.

A Warning to the "Zamindar."

THE following is the text of the letter sent to the Editor of the *Zamindar* by the District Magistrate of Lahore:—

SIR,

From certain articles which have recently appeared in the *Zamindar* it is quite clear that you are not, what you have represented yourself to me on more than one occasion as being, actuated by a desire to improve the administration by *bonafide* and honest criticism, but that you are doing your best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have mischievous results.

I would take first of all your leading article published under a heading which may be translated:—"The Form of Government—what do the people want?" in the issues of the 25th, 26th and 27th February last. The obvious inference from this article is that the British Government belongs to the class which you describe as class 4 and you contrast it unfavourably with Russian rule over Mohamedans, and with the Balkan States, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Philippine islands. Instances of repressive measures adopted by the British Government are then quoted to illustrate this point.

Further on, with reference to the conduct of officials in India you quote from a speech of Lord Morley's as follows:—"If the details of Indian administration were laid before this house for supervision and criticism, the Indian Government would be exposed (italics are mine) and there would be done more harm than good." The meaning of the word "exposed" as here used is "brought to light" or "given away" in a depreciatory sense. But the quotation is mischievously incorrect and what Lord Morley really said was—"In subjecting details of Indian administration to the supervision and criticism of this House, the Indian Government would be exposed to the kind of criticism (italics mine) which could do no good but harm." Here the word "exposed" is used in quite a different sense and the suppression of the word following it has lent the passage quite a different significance.

I now pass on to an article similarly headed in your issue of the 28th February 1914, and a second article dated the 3rd March 1914, the heading of which may be translated "The cry of the poor—Oh destroyer of the garden root and branch, throw something to this side also." In the former article I wish to call your attention to the following statement. "During the whole of the Mohamedan rule in India the law of levying land revenue (literally tribute) was the same. Government claimed 1/10 of the produce of the land leaving 9/10 for the cultivators." You contrast this with what is done under British rule unfavourably to the latter and in your article of the 3rd March you proceed to contrast the people of India heaven-stricken by famine or plague with the Englishmen enriched by the wealth of India who annually spend 50 millions of pounds on sport and amusement alone. The clear intention of these articles is to show that the Indians were better off under Mohamedan rule than they are at present. Your statement that under Mohamedan rule more than 1/10 of the produce was never taken is an untruth and I am now desired to forward an extract in original Persian from Abul-Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* which shows that the Mughal system at its best under Akbar following the system of Nowsherwan took one third of the produce, and to arrive at 1/3 assumed very high rates of out-turn, and commuted into cash at current rates. I am to call upon you to publish the quotation from the *Ain-Akbari* after translating it into Urdu in an early issue of your paper and at the same time to publish in your paper the fact that your previous statement was inaccurate.

A refusal by you to publish the correct facts, after having published what was intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against Government, will be taken as evidence of your attitude towards Government and Government will then proceed on that understanding.

Yours truly

Lahore, 7th April 1914.

H. P. Tollitor, Dist. Magistrate.

TETE À TETE



"THERE never was a time," says Mr. Elwin, "when India stands (sic) more in need of some kindly person at her side to tell her what to do." Whereupon, the benevolent author, says the *Nation*, constitutes himself the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of a misguided people. Being a missionary in India, he naturally devotes much space to expounding and interpreting the tenets of Hinduism. On the perusal of his polemics, we fail to understand how any intelligent person, even though he were only a black man, could have adopted a religion so egregiously debased and shoddy. "But Mr. Elwin is careful to clear himself of the reproach of partisanship"; says the *Nation*, "he is quite amenable to discussing the 'deep philosophic thoughts,' which a few sympathizers presume to underlie 'the idolatry and folly and indecency which we know exists in the religion.' Alas! on dissection, 'practically nothing at all would be left.' He advances evidence. A certain Hindu poetess—Sarojini Naidu, though there is a 'distinct charm in the rhythm of her verses,' displays 'an utter emptiness' of insight and concept. Hey presto! My contention justified, says our zealous iconoclast." On the same analogy might an Indian critic, on examining the religious thought-structure of Mrs. Hemans, have pricked the bubble of Christianity. Mr. Elwin's area of observation, we are told, is by no means confined to theology. He is equally emphatic upon Indian customs, temperament, literature, and racial characteristics. After Mr. Elwin's verdict, the wonder is that these dusky millions "sneaked on a creed out worn" contrive somehow to live lives that are not wholly miserable and forlorn. There is hope, faith and charity in the land; and the social contrivances that admit of kind, neighbourly offices, fellow-feeling, personal sacrifice, unselfishness, self-surrender, and even innocent little joys and free human laughter, are not mere blunders. Mr. Elwin's loyalty to his creed may be perfect, but even after his missionary experiences in India he has not apparently learnt the simple fact that men can live tolerably clean, pure and purposeful lives even without the help of Christianity. His delving into ancient Hindu lore has convinced him that Hinduism is a structure without solid foundations. And he is amazed that the structure does not fall to the ground. Let us hope this miracle would teach the self-complacent Christian missionary the meaning of true humility and the supreme lesson that God fulfils his purposes on this earth in many ways. We do not, of course, mean that Hinduism is a perfect system of beliefs and social doctrines any more than we can accept the absurd conclusion that without Christianity there is no salvation for mankind. Christian critics of Hinduism and Islam should, however, cultivate a sense of proportion and exercise some degree of tolerance in their hasty judgments on the great creeds that satisfy the spiritual needs of millions.

Mrs. ANNIE BESANT recently delivered a public lecture in Bombay on "national education." She emphasised the fact that education of a nation, when handled by the people themselves, produces the best results. She instanced America

National Education.

whose millionaires had built up her own educational fabric with remarkable results. She expressed her opinion that under Indian conditions it is all the more necessary that the country's education should be taken up by the people themselves. The Government should be looked upon only for expansion and elaboration. Coming down to different systems of education she deprecated the present system of literary education and admired the great store of Indian literature which, she said, was very

much neglected. She emphasised the importance of educating the people in their own history and ridiculed the present mode of teaching history where, to quote one instance, Southey's "Life of Nelson" was thrust upon Indian students. Laying stress on technical education she deplored the present condition when Indian chiefs and others were equipping their own technical departments with European heads even when well-qualified Indians could be had. This, she said, was one source of promoting discontent among England-retained youths. Finally, referring to women's education, she bitterly complained of the shameful neglect of the educated Indian males and exhorted them to wake up be-time. Referring to the great, educative influence of the old village 'panchayat' system, she advocated its revival in its fullness and said that it had the potentiality of raising the great edifice of self-government on Colonial lines which was rightly the aspiration and ideal of every educated Indian. Mrs. Besant's estimate of the educational requirements of India is based on insight and judgment. She has laid her finger with deep discernment on the heart of the problem. It is absurd to look forward with confidence to any real intellectual and moral advance as long as the education of the Indian people is not placed in their own hands. We have repeatedly discussed the broad aspects of the problem and have shown how every minor question relating to our educational progress takes its origin in the one fundamental need—the organisation of Indian education on truly national lines. India may need Western teachers for some time to come. She cannot shut herself from Western thought and sit down to evolve a new culture out of her inner consciousness. But the Indian people are the best judges of their own needs and they should be free to lay down the lines of their future development. The Government policy, however, seems to be to emphasise still further the State control over Indian education. The system of education now in vogue is the result of the British Rule, and it is plain that the educational policy of the Indian Government cannot entirely be divorced from what are called "reasons of State." Those who have no sympathy with the political aspirations of the people would like to "reform" Indian education root and branch. In other words, they would have no education that taught people to love freer institutions and claim an effective and responsible share in the government of the country. This is, however, an abject confession of failure. The Government of India has, we are happy to believe, no such qualms of conscience. Its aim is to organise an educational system that would be the surest instrument for the people of India to attain a new social synthesis. This end can be achieved only by allowing the people to build the system themselves according to their own requirements.

MANY devout Mussalmans in India who are now fully satisfied that it was the Hamidian regime in Turkey that had brought the Ottoman Empire tottering to the ground still mistrusted its young saviours—and not unnaturally—when they heard so much of "Ottomanisation" and "Patriotism" and all about وطن بزم جاني and so little about Islam, its Allah and His Prophet. The attitude of the Egyptian Nationalist too, who often talks as if he believed the Pharaohs to be his spiritual as well as ethnic ancestors, and as if he sought inspiration from the Pyramids instead of the Ka'ba and the long line of prophets of the Lord of the Ka'ba, including Moses whom one of the Pharaohs had pursued across the Nile with disastrous results, lent colour to the suspicion that the Young Turks had exchanged the faith of their ancestors for the culture of Parisian boulevards, and the religious fervour that had induced Ayyoub of the Anvar to bequeath his bones to those who live along the Bosphorus for the latitudinarianism of Turkish freemasonry. If this were really true of all the Turks, or even of a great majority of them, including the Anatolian soldier who has borne the brunt of Christian Europe's attacks on the Ottoman Empire for five or six centuries, then, indeed, one who knows a diun Mussalmans would not expect to see even a hundredth portion of the enthusiasm in response to Turkish appeals for relief of war sufferers that the world witnessed among them during the last two years. Indian Mussalmans, or, strictly speaking, such of them as are sufficiently interested in world politics and keep themselves acquainted with current affairs, would have grieved over the fate of Turkey as they do over the fate of Poland, and would have contributed towards the relief of Turkey's sufferings something like the proportion of their wealth remitted, say, by the English or the French. It is clear that what moved Indian Mussalmans to assist the Turks was not merely their humanity or the feeling that actuates the Subject Races and Nationalities Conference, but the fact that they and the Turks share the common heritage of Islam. Non-Moslems often refer to the feeling as Pan-Islamism, but the Mussalmans are quite satisfied with the name that their Maker gave to it when He told them: "Verily all Moslems are brothers."

It is, therefore, obvious that Indian Mussalmans should have been much concerned about the intensity or otherwise of the religious beliefs of the Young Turks; and the stories, unfortunately not unfrequently only too true, of the defiance of, or rather ignoring, the rites and observances of Islam on the part of the upper classes of the Turks, chiefly in the capital and in European Turkey, have done not a little to cool down their affection and esteem for their Turkish brethren. The non-Moslem Turcophobes, who dread the solidarity of Islam and always try to show the worst side of the Turk to Indian Mussalmans, when they fail in everything else, tell them that he is not even half as good a Moslem as they are. This is so telling an argument that it becomes difficult to justify one's regard for the Turk as a brother Moslem after it. Indian Mussalmans are therefore always on the look-out for any indication of the Turks' reversion to the religious fervour of earlier days and pounce upon it like one who loves his mistress dearly, yet doubts her, and clings to the remnants of his shattered faith in her constancy. We wonder whether many Young Turks know that few thoughtful Indian Mussalmans found half as much consolation in the triumphant re-entry of the Ottoman troops in Adrianople as in the silent prayer that lasted an hour after the news of this great event had reached the people. The *Irâdî* for the establishment of the Medina University and the gift of four carpets to Indian Mosques has meant far more to Indian Mussalmans than the purchase of the *Rio de Janeiro* and the payment of the last instalment of the price of the *Roshadigga*. These are things which the Young Turks must take to heart, and we hope our friends Kemal Omar Bey and Adnan Bey, who were lately among us, have not forgotten the demands of their shaggy friend "Hodja Effendi," nor has Khalil Khalid Bey failed to give the message of Indian Mussalmans to the Government of a sovereign whom millions of Mussalmans regard as the Caliph of their Prophet.

In this connection it is a pleasure to note that there is one Young Turk at least who knows the value of religion, and he is perhaps the best product of the Young Turk Movement. Of course, we refer to Enver Pasha whom we heartily congratulate

Enver Pasha and Religion.

on his marriage with Princess Nijé, the niece of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. Soon after learning of his elevation to the office of War Minister, an enthusiastic young Aligarhian who had gone to Turkey as a member of the All-India Medical Mission under the Directorship of Dr. Ansari, wrote to Enver Pasha, congratulating him on his appointment and expressing the hope that the new War Minister would try to infuse into the Ottoman Army Islamic fervour and the belief that they are Moslems first and Ottomans afterwards. Curiously enough, just a day or two before this letter reached Enver Pasha, His Excellency had issued an Army Order addressed to the Ottoman forces on the same subject, and S. Feyzollah Bey, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Correspondence in the Turkish Ministry of War, has now sent him on the instruction of Enver Pasha a cutting from the *Tanin* giving the full text of that Order. In the course of that Order Enver Pasha states his firm belief that an army without religion can never succeed. It is religion and full faith which are the strongest and most stimulating factors in encouraging soldiers to do their duty and in inducing them to make every kind of sacrifice. A religion, says Enver, which improves morals and purifies the heart, is, for military service, a great spiritual factor for the maintenance of the ideal of unity and discipline. The War Minister therefore earnestly requests every soldier, be he Moslem or Christian, to be strongly attached to the precepts and practices of his faith, and strongly advises all commanders to make every effort so that no one in the Army may remain indifferent to religion. Those who have realized this aspect of the great Ottoman hero's character during the war in Tripoli and who have taken a true measure of the faith which this splendid Moslem inspired in the Arabs of Libya, cannot be surprised at learning that it should have been one of the first Army Orders issued by him. Feyzollah Bey enclosed a card of Enver Pasha as a token of His Excellency's regard for our correspondent, and assured him that the infusion of religious spirit into the Ottoman Army and into Ottoman life generally was the principal ideal of Enver Pasha. Long may he live and long may Islam remain his highest ideal and aspiration! We are thankful to our correspondent for sending us the correspondence in the original, and it would no doubt be a source of gratification to him that his own thoughts and those of the great Moslem there ran in the same groove in this matter.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, has often deplored the existence of bitter racial feelings in his province. He has sought on more than one occasion to bring home by wholesome advice to

Racial Feeling in the Panjab.

both the Hindu and the Moslem leaders their grave responsibility in the matter. There is, however, something malign in the atmosphere of the province which keeps the two communities in perpetual wrangle and discord. The spirit of the peace-maker has not yet been allowed to permeate this atmosphere. Petty points of tension continue to arise with astonishing suddenness, which feed the communal rivalry and set the communal amour propre on edge. Little incidents in the public life of the province succeed some time in generating an amount of heat that strikes one at some distance from the fray as little short of scandalous. We have no patience for the sanctimonious Pharisee who lurks behind every incident that gives rise to angry snarls on either side. He talks of unity and peace and is all the while promoting with silent persistence the actual conditions that tend to communal self-seeking, aggressiveness and hate. An apt illustration of this method is furnished by the noisy *tamasha* that recently attended the appointment of Assistant Secretary to the Lahore Municipality. When the post was to be filled, a Mussalman municipal commissioner pointed out that the number of the Hindus in the service of the Municipality was already excessive, and pleaded that the vacant post should in fairness be given to a competent Mussalman. He also referred to the standing order of a former president of the Municipal Committee to the effect that efforts should be made to restore the communal balance in the municipal service. He reminded his Hindu colleagues that it was a case where he expected them to deal fairly with the claims of the sister community, and he hoped that they would have the courage of their professions. When the vote was taken the Hindus voted solidly against the Moslem candidate and pressed the claims of a Hindu subordinate in the Municipality. No decision could be taken at the meeting, and the President suggested that the rival parties should, after informal consultation amongst themselves, come to some agreement before the matter was settled in a formal way. The informal consultation accordingly took place at the President's house, but it proved an abortive effort. The Mussalman members felt that they were pressing for bare justice and could not give way without trampling the legitimate claims of their community under foot. The Hindus maintained a solid front and would not budge. The ideals of communal patriotism and of national unity alike were satisfied when it was decided at last to end the growing scandal and mischief of the situation by giving the post to—a Christian! Truly a heroic decision, and one that would live as a monument of glory to the "Nationalism" as practised in the Panjab. Even this desperate decision—the child of a fearful travail of the spirit that animates the unity-mongers in Lahore—was not, it would seem, finally adhered to. Some secret manipulation and bungling have gone on behind the scenes, with the ultimate result that the Hindu Members' nominee has been installed in the office of Assistant Secretary.

We have set forth these facts in bare outline without the least desire to offer any comment thereon. They represent the pronounced local version of a melodrama that periodically repeats itself in various places. Its tones and

The Unity-Mongers.

tints may be a shade less lurid and loud here and there, but there is hardly any change in the spirit of the tale as it changes local colours and takes on different local settings. The Hindu papers usually ignore such "deplorable incidents" about which, we are sagely assured, "the less said, the better." For our part, we, too, are not particularly enamoured of dragging such sorry transactions into the light of public print,—perhaps for wholly different reasons. We would not have said a word about this affair of the Lahore Municipality but for the speech of Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das in the Panjab Legislative Council, who, according to the *Panjabee*, "pleaded earnestly" and eloquently for the adoption of measures for improving the "relations between the two principal communities in the province." He is stated to have said that "the relations between the two communities are getting so strained and their feeling so bitter in some places in this province that unless some prompt and speedy measures are adopted things may grow from bad to worse." The Rai Bahadur would have conciliation boards constituted by officials, and he referred to the Hindu-Moslem conference recently called by Sir James Montagu as an example worthy of imitation. These amiable platitudes may be useful in themselves, and as an expression of individual good-will they have certainly been served out in rooms of glittering phrases from a thousand and one platforms in the country. The Rai Bahadur is only one of the hundreds of the patriots of the platform and the council chamber who have caught the popular trick and are well

aware of its uses. When he says that the relations between the two communities in the Panjab are strained, he states what is known to every body, but when he assumes a tone of distress and "pleads eloquently" for the adoption of remedial measures, we are amazed at his audacity. After his performances in the Lahore municipal affair relating to the appointment of Assistant Secretary it required a particularly tough and hardened nerve indeed to stand up and preach unity and goodwill in the Council. The Rai Bahadur was one of the prominent Hindu municipal commissioners who opposed the efforts of his Muslim colleagues for fair dealing. The Hindu candidate was his special protégé, and he has after all got his way by methods which are still a mystery. Did he imagine that by his narrow sectarian pose he was promoting Hindu-Moslem entente? Was he not aware that by setting an example of partisan self-seeking he was increasing the existing "strain" which he now affects to deplore aloud in the Council? Was "the conciliation board," which met under the roof of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore to arrive at some solution of the *impasse* that he himself had helped to create, such a thrilling success that he should have rushed to the Council primed with this hollow device? Did it not occur to him that in making the suggestion he was adding neither to his dignity as a councillor nor to his reputation as a public man? It is really sad to think that peevishness such as these can masquerade as patriotism. The *Panjabee* pronounces its *Amen* with usual solemnity on the "eloquent" plea of the Rai Bahadur for Hindu-Moslem unity and in another place delivers a particularly silly attack on the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi, whose useful work in the recent session of the Panjab Legislative Council would earn him the praise of all fair-minded men.

MR. O'DONNELL OF O'DONNELL, writing to us from London, makes the following valuable suggestion for creating greater and more intelligent interest about Indian affairs in England. Mr. Polak in his letter to us had referred to Mr. O'Donnell's

An "India House" in London.

idea about an "India House" in London and had written in enthusiastic support of it. Mr. O'Donnell now explains his view of the matter and shows how urgent the need has grown for an Indian centre of information. We are in entire sympathy with his view and will be glad to render all help that lies in our power if efforts are made to materialise it in some suitable form. He writes:—

"I must renew the expression of my pleasure and satisfaction at the perusal of your most valuable paper, which I have shewn and explained to friends in London and Paris. I must at the same time renew my declaration that the peoples of India without distinction, and the nations of Asia generally, commit a tremendous error, full of disastrous consequences, in not having in London a properly organised centre of information and influence localised in a mansion worthy of India. Here in London all the policy of Asia can be studied and influenced. Here in London there are hundreds of friends of the East, both Englishmen and Irishmen, including many members of Parliament who are prevented from bringing your just grievances before public opinion by the total want of adequate means of information, and cultured and capable representatives of India who could direct Englishmen upon the leading subjects which India has at heart. There are no suppressions of opinion or closure of the Press possible here. It is in the highest degree deplorable that the Indian princes and leaders of opinion neglect the absolutely indispensable object of providing a centre of information on Indian affairs for the benefit of the British public. At present, if a group of friendly members of Parliament desire to study an Indian question, they must do it at great difficulty and with no assistance from Indian culture and knowledge. There ought to be three or four high-class and highly educated representatives of the Indian nations and religions, living permanently in London, or carefully replaced, in case of retirement, by other representatives of India equally cultivated and equally distinguished. India ought in fact to have what the far less important Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand possess, namely, an Agent-General with a proper staff of assistants and a proper centre of information. I feel bound to lay these views before you, dear Sir, both because I have always been a warm friend and comrade of Indian patriots and their statesmanlike leaders, and because I feel that it is not fair to the British friends of India, who are here in London, to have no centre of Indian information within their reach, and who very rarely can find Indian speakers and scholars to help them to place Indian grievances before the British public. There ought to be a great deal more co-operation than now exists between the great communities of Mohamedans and Hindus in India, who could be so influential and powerful if they only followed the broad road of civic courage and educated commonsense."

The Comrade.

Charitable Endowments.

I

CONSIDERABLE dissatisfaction has been continually expressed as regards the administration of charitable endowments, and, following the lines of the resolutions passed every year by the All-India Muslim League on the subject, the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda, now member of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's Executive Council, asked in the Viceroy's Council on the 24th of January, 1911, the following question:—

- (1) Are the Government aware that there exists a great deal of dissatisfaction in the country as regards the manner of administration of Hindu and Mohamedan endowments?
- (2) Do the Government intend to direct an enquiry regarding endowments which contain provisions for public purposes of a religious or charitable nature, with special reference to the following particulars:
 - (a) Annual profits of such endowments.
 - (b) Amount available out of such profits for public purposes.
 - (c) Institutions of a public nature actually maintained out of such profits.
- (3) Do the Government intend to undertake legislation:
 - (a) for the maintenance in every district of a public record containing particulars of all endowments containing provisions for public purposes of a religious or charitable nature;
 - (b) to compel trustees of such endowments to exhibit periodical accounts either before the Collector or the Judge of each district.

To this interpellation, the late Hon. Sir John Jenkins, Home Member, replied on behalf of Government as follows:—

The subject of the administration of Hindu and Mohamedan endowments of a religious and charitable character, as the Hon. Member is doubtless aware, last came before Government in 1909 in connection with the Private Bill on the subject of Public Charities Accounts, which the Government of the day permitted Dr. Rashbehari Ghose to introduce, reserving to themselves freedom to accept or oppose it as soon as it had been circulated for opinion. The result of the general references made after the introduction of the Bill was to show that, while a considerable body of opinion existed which held that the administration of such endowments was not satisfactory, and which was therefore in favour of the measure, yet there was little or no evidence that these views were shared by the mass of the persons interested, from whose offerings many of the institutions in question had been largely maintained. Since that time the Government have had reason to believe that dissatisfaction exists in certain communities in respect of the management of particular endowments, but they have no reason to suppose that the general attitude of the mass of the persons interested is different from what it was in 1909. So far as the Government are aware, practically no attempt has been made to utilize the remedies which the law already provides by invoking the powers which the Courts possess to enforce the proper administration of such endowments, and they are not prepared to agree to so material a departure from the policy of non-interference in religious matters, consistently followed since 1863, as that which is involved in the proposals made under head (2) of the question, nor are they prepared to undertake, as a Government measure, legislation on the lines indicated in head (3) of the question.

In this disappointing reply the Government alluded to the Private Bill introduced by Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, which aimed at conferring on any Court, having jurisdiction to try a suit under section 92 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, in respect of such a trust, the power to order a trustee, on the application of two or more beneficiaries, to cause to be prepared and filed in the Court a detailed account of receipt and disbursements for a period not exceeding three years next preceding the date of the application. These accounts were to be open to the inspection of the public, and failure without sufficient reason to comply with the Court's order was to be made punishable with the removal of the trustee. As we wrote on the occasion of the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda's interpellation, it will be readily seen that no new duty was to be imposed by Dr. Ghose or Nawab Shams-ul-Huda on the trustees of public charities. Dr. Ghose confined himself to the enforcement of a clear duty of all such trustees, *viz.*, to keep proper accounts, by allowing members of the public interested in the charity concerned the means of calling for and inspecting its accounts without having to undertake the burden of a law-suit. But the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda, following the Muslim League resolutions, would not wait for an application of two or more beneficiaries, but would prefer that the trustees should submit such accounts periodically as a matter of ordinary routine.

While the Government of India were giving such a disappointing reply to the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda early in 1911, the Government of Bombay were giving permission to the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla to introduce a Private Bill for the registration of charitable endowments. Sir Ibrahim's Bill aimed at compelling every

trustee of property held in trust for a charitable purpose to submit for registration to a Registrar of Charitable Trusts, to be appointed by the Local Government, (a) the instrument of trust or a necessary certified extract therefrom and (b) a statement of the trust property together with the terms and conditions of the trust. The Bill also provided for making out and annually filing with the Registrar of such trusts a statement of accounts, which were to be audited by paid auditors indicated by the Government either by name or by qualifications. These accounts were to be open to inspection by any person on payment of a fee of Rs. 1, and copies were to be permitted to be taken on payment of fees to be prescribed by the Local Government. Wilful default was to be punished with a fine not exceeding Rs. 50, and a daily fine within the same limits for every subsequent default. Offences under the proposed Act were to be made cognisable by a Presidency Magistrate in Bombay and a District Magistrate in the Mofussil, and the Registrar or any other person residing within the jurisdiction of such a Magistrate was to be entitled to make a complaint.

This Bill was obviously framed on the lines suggested in the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda's interpellation. But two important departures are noteworthy. The term "charitable purpose" was to include relief of the poor, education, medical relief, and the advancement of any other object of general utility, but did not include a purpose which related exclusively to religious teaching, observances or worship. In the second place, the provisions of the Bill were made inapplicable to endowments in which the property affected did not amount in aggregate value to Rs. 10,000, or which yielded an annual income short of Rs. 500.

The Bill of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah was, therefore, more limited in application than that of Dr. Ghose, inasmuch as exclusively religious endowments and smaller trusts were excluded. At the same time it had a wider scope, for it aimed at enlightening the public with regard to the terms and conditions of charitable endowment from which it may benefit even more than at merely checking malpractices.

Dr. Ghose's Bill is evidently dead, for he is no longer a member of the Imperial Council, and nobody else has yet come forward to adopt it. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's Bill, however, is still in a way before the country, though it has had a suspended animation for more than three years. It seems that the Local Government of Bombay was willing to proceed with the measure although the Government of India had informed Nawab Shams-ul-Huda of their unwillingness to depart from their absurd policy of so-called non-interference in religious matters in relation to charitable endowments which they had followed, with a consistency hardly praiseworthy, since 1863. We understand that the matter was referred to the Secretary of State for India and that he was not quite unwilling to permit steps to be taken for safeguarding the interests of beneficiaries in the manner suggested by enlightened Indian public opinion.

This belief is strengthened by the fact that a little more than a month ago the Government of India held a conference on the subject during an extremely busy fortnight crowded with Budget discussions in the Legislative Council. But if the matter was at all worthy of consideration, if the Government, after disappointing the hopes of educated Indians in 1911 by donating of their consistency since 1863, had felt some doubts about the wisdom of their policy and the applicability to this case of that excellent doctrine, non-interference in religious matters, of which many would like to be assured in a more practical fashion than has been the case at Cawnpore and Calcutta, —if indeed such was the case, then the proper course was the appointment of a Royal Commission to take evidence throughout India and report on the need and the practicability of reform. Instead of that, a hole-and-corner conference was held at a time when few could follow the proceedings, and, as a special feature, the Press was entirely excluded. And not the least surprising feature of the conference was the fact that what the Hon. the Home Member himself called an "exceedingly knotty and difficult" subject was discussed, and, for all practical purposes—at least, so far as the people were concerned,—settled, in the course of a few hours. Our columns were then, and have been since then, exceedingly crowded, as is always the case during India's very short "season for copy." We therefore considered it more advisable to postpone a detailed consideration of the whole question for a time, and now turn to the subject. We

hope our readers will give to this important problem the earnest consideration that it deserves.

It will not be without interest to note that the question of Waqfs is regarded as of great importance in many Islamic countries. Waqf literally means "a stopping" or "a standing still", and, according to the Hanafi School, is defined as "the appropriation of a particular article, in such a manner as subjects it to the rules of divine property, whence the appropriator's right in it is extinguished, and it becomes a property of God by the advantage of it resulting to His creatures." The validity of Waqfs is said to be founded on the rule laid down by the Prophet himself under the following circumstances. 'Umar had acquired a piece of land in Khaiber, and proceeded to the Prophet and sought his counsel, to make the most pious use of it, whereupon the Prophet declared: "Tie up the property and devote the usufruct to human beings, and it is not to be sold or made the subject of gift or inheritance; devote its produce to your children, your kindred, and the poor in the way of God." In accordance with this rule, 'Umar is said to have dedicated the property in question and the Waqf is said to have continued in existence for several centuries until the land became waste. According to a similar Tradition reported in Bukhari, the "children and kindred" are not mentioned among the beneficiaries.

It is not our purpose here to give an exposition of the present Islamic Law of Waqfs and its evolution from the Waqf-i-Shar'i or, Khairi through the various interpretations of Muslim jurists to the Waqf-i-'Adi or-Ahli. It suffices to know that according to Young, the author of "Corps de Droit Ottoman," Waqf includes three-fourths of the building and agricultural land in Turkey. Clavel in "Le Wakf on Habous," quoting two other authorities, Bonnard, and Zey, states that the Waqf land in Tunis amounts to a third, and that when the French assumed the direction of Algeria, fifty per cent. of the immoveable property was subject to Waqf. Although no record of Waqf property is available for India, there is every indication that a considerable portion of immoveable property held by Mussalman even to-day must be subject to Waqf.

In 1591, the Sultans of Turkey placed the charitable Waqfs under the supervision of the Chief of the Eunuchs who was given the title of Administrator-General of the Waqfs of the Holy Places. Early in the nineteenth century an Imperial Administration of Waqfs was created, but it was not till 1840 that this was transformed into a Ministry. The Minister of Waqfs has since had a seat in the Council of Ministers, and has under his orders 2,000 officials whose salaries are paid out of the Waqf revenues.

In Egypt, in 1835, Mohamed Ali created an Administration of Waqfs. It is true that it was suppressed within three years, but by a decision of the Privy Council of 1851, approved by Khedive Abbas I, the Administration was re-organised and re-established. According to the decision of the Privy Council, every Nazir (as the Mutawalli of a Waqf is called in Egypt) was obliged to make an inventory of the Waqf property under his direction and render accounts of its revenues and expenditures, the Nazir being held responsible for any losses. Every failure on the part of a Nazir to carry out the wishes of the founder was to be brought before the Administration which had the power to dismiss him. It is noteworthy that all expenses of the Administration were to be paid by the Ministry of Finance, the Waqf property not being liable for any other expenses than those charged against it by the founder. In 1878, Khedive Ismail appointed his first Council of Ministers, and the Administration of Waqfs was raised to the dignity of a Ministry. In 1884, however, Tewfik Pasha took the Waqfs directly under his control in the form of an independent Administration. But only last year the Waqf Administration was once more transformed into a Ministry, though the motives of this change are far from certain. The Waqfs which were under the control of the Administration included all charitable Waqfs which had not been bestowed upon any particular individual; all Waqfs the beneficiaries of which were unknown; and any Waqf placed under the control of the Administration by an order of the *Mahkama* or by the consent of the Nazir and beneficiaries. The control of the Administration extended to the dismissal and appointment of the Nazir, the supervision of the accounts, the grant of leases, the making of sales or exchanges, and, in fact, to all questions of administration. The Ministry of Finance also possessed a certain power of control with reference to the Budget of the Administration. From 1905 to 1910 the Administration controlled 14,886 Waqfs, of which 8,339 were charitable, and 6,547 were private Waqfs. Obviously such extensive control over charitable endowments, many of them of a purely religious character, could only be conferred

on an administration which was of the same faith as the founders and the beneficiaries, in a country and where, unlike Egypt, there could be no suspicion of the dependence of the State on a more powerful State holding other religious beliefs. Such control cannot for obvious reasons be given to an official administration in India. But short of it there are numerous methods of safeguarding the interests of the beneficiaries which we hope to discuss in our subsequent articles.

Young India.

I

Young India is rapidly becoming articulate under the stress of new social and political conditions, but it has not yet learnt the art of self-expression. The old scheme of life that nourished the roots of faith and purpose of the earlier generation is dissolving into its elements. The new order of things is only just beginning to be evolved. The younger generation, that has succeeded to the heritage of a vast social tangle, a medley of vague desires and moral uncertainties and doubts, has not under the circumstances reached the stage of perfect intellectual certitude, and lacks in some degree the clear-cut aim, the sure method and the power of self-articulation that distinguish the life of a well established society. It is dreaming dreams, most of which are vague and fleeting. The magic casements open for a while, and it sees visions of glorious loveliness and splendours of heavenly joy poised ethereally on wings of inexpressible desires, and the tense feeling of the moment shapes itself into some sort of speech. But the accents are strange, the words are incoherent, the emotion is halting and confused. The Utopia slips out of its mental grasp and is entombed in silence. Yet, in spite of failures, the quest goes on. Visions rise and die, but the hope endures. The unconquerable optimism of babes and sucklings of yesterday has not quailed before the vast burden of their race. The inner vitality of the life-force feeds the springs of their efforts, and they are convinced that there exist somewhere free and joyous states of thought and feeling from which Young India cannot long be disinherited. Only if they could utter all that they feel, and experience and suffer, and could mould their utterance into a coherent and beautiful speech, the misery of isolation would end and none of them would ever again feel that he is but

An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light,
and with no language but a cry.

As it is, the "infant" cry of Young India has never been heard in its full tragic pathos. Its enemies, devoid of understanding and of common human charity, call it hard names and think that it is full of the wine of insolence and the spirit of revolt. All those who know the innermost emotions of Young India know that it is a hateful and cruel lie. Never has a young generation of people set itself to bear the Titanic burden of a complete social reconstruction with deeper searching of the heart, greater earnestness and more reverent faith in the Power that shapes human ends than the "educated classes" of India. It is narrowness and perversity of the most malignant type that can blind one to the enormous difficulties and anguish of their situation. They stand in the midst of a vast process of change and destruction, in which ancient cultures and hoary institutions are silently crumbling away at the touch of the new iconoclastic forces. They look back into the past and are smitten with blank fear at the sight of the older generation—not yet wholly extinct—which stands dumb and paralysed as if with a sense of doom. The present stares at them as one huge note of interrogation. Only the horizons of the future are lit with hope and trail clouds of glory, but they recede as often as they come in sight. Is it strange, then, that the young Indian who loves his country and whom the Western education has brought into vital touch with the larger life of the world, should still be struggling manfully to construct a new life-purpose out of the debris of the old? His is the most difficult task known to history. He is only at the beginning of his gigantic labours. His path is strewn with frightful distractions. The world-forces of thought, desire, passion play around him. He is not yet firmly set on his course and the goal is not fully in his sight.

جاناھوں توڑی دور مراک تیز رو کی سانپہ
پہچاننا نہیں ہوں ابھی راہبر کو میں

(I swim with every rapid current for a space. I do not as yet know my guide.)

If Young India were not so artless, if it could pour forth its full heart into speech, the story of its inner struggle, of its fond hopes and gnawing fears would move the world. The young educated Indian is a tragic figure—he carries within his bosom the pathos of a great but fallen race. No poet has yet risen to reveal him to himself, no artist has yet caught the whisper of his soul and reproduced it. His romance of hope begins and ends in a circle of mute, individual experience. When he comes to take part in public affairs, in social movements and organised political effort, he has shed most of his enthusiasm. Only his sense of loyalty to his race and country prevents him from retiring tortoise-like within his shell and forget the sorry scheme of things entire. He meets others of his fellows, whose inner race, too, like him, has been run, and they sit together to rough-hew their destiny with an apparent energy of conviction, though each of them knows in his heart that his inner fires have burnt out to ashes. The hope of early days remains to them and they share it in common with some show of enthusiasm.

Without presuming to record the history of the inner struggles of the young educated Indian from the cradle to early manhood, we may take in rapid glance some of the significant phases of his intellectual life and moral tribulations. He is often the child of many prayers, and is born in a home of some material comfort. His parents have often more in common with the past than with the new order of things, which they dimly see beginning to evolve itself out of chaos. They had had their mental struggles, keen, tragic fights with the sense of impending change, which is devouring every familiar aspect of their old world. They have now resigned themselves to the inevitable. If one could lift their brain-caps, one would be amazed to find a host of shy intimations of embryo protests clinging desperately to a multitude of new sense-impressions. Their struggles are over, but there has been no decisive victory or defeat. It is a state of indefinite armistice, so to speak, which the weary mind of the older generation has been forced to accept for its own peace. It loves the past and cannot repudiate it. It does not fully understand the present and, therefore, views it with suspicion and veiled hostility. But the defiant challenges and the battle-cries of the early days have ceased to rend the air. The young educated Indian is born in this atmosphere.

As soon as the nascent consciousness begins to individualise, swarms of loose and unrelated impressions assail it from all sides, and the task of storing, sorting and cataloguing them becomes a crushing burden to the palpitating little mind. There is neither established authority to select and provide for the infant mind its early tools, nor the settled tradition to feed its instincts. Tradition is grown vague and decadent and authority is maimed with doubt. The mother throws out dry crumbs out of her starved and miscellaneous assortment of ideas as the child begins strenuously to construct its scheme of the universe. The father often meets the persistent questionings of the eager, little babbler with a conscience-stricken face. He is terrified at every new mental gesture, every fresh note of the inquiring voice. Sometimes he is afraid of giving sure and definite answers. For the bewildering mass of things he has no clue to offer. His halting, meagre replies suggest still more doubts and more distracting puzzles. His own key to the riddle of the universe has been lost, and he is reduced to blank despair as his son in mute insistent ways demands, in cries of pain and shrieks of joy and in pretty small talk, a key to the thousand riddles which daily grow in his mind and begin to appear in a broadening pucker of the brow. The young child soon begins to lose its zest, and things lose their virgin freshness. The world reproduces itself on its mental retina as some queer arrangement in which unnamable, irrelevant things keep a riotous company and are only related to one's personality by the extent of their power to increase or mitigate one's bodily hunger or pain. This is, of course, an extreme picture of the childhood of the young educated Indian. But it is neither an unfaithful nor an uncommon picture. There are cases in which parents are sure of their ground, and have tried to give confident direction to the growing mind and sensibilities of the child. They are mostly of the type known as "The Old School," that is to say, men who have clung passionately to the old symbols and the old ways of thought. They have provided a cast-iron mould for the younger generation, but the mould has either broken itself, or bent and irretrievably maimed the mind. In all cases the child, when he goes to the modern public school and begins to discover a new world through the text-book, carries with him a mentality which has very nearly lost its spring and in which the main channels of sensibility are beginning to find settled grooves. The home, the street, the school and all the other symbols of organised social life have no easily intelligible relation to one another and do not fall naturally into a picture of the whole. With the school the child is ushered into boyhood and begins his short period of romance.

Aligarh.

The Old Boys' Re-Union and Annual Dinner.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

THE Annual Re-Union of the old Aligharians was as usual held during the Easter holidays. Instead of two, three days were allotted to it this year. Early on the 10th April, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Justice Rafique, one of the most senior and popular Old Boys, whom every body missed, the new palatial building of the Old Boys' Lodge was opened in the presence of the Honorary Secretary, staff, and a large number of Old Boys and present students by Mr. Syed Zainuddin, the president of this year's meeting. Mr. A. M. Khawaja recited a "Surah" from the Koran Sharif, after which Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Secretary in a short, neat speech explained why the Old Boys were building such a fine two-storied building at a cost of about Rs. 40,000. The position of Aligarh was unique amongst the Colleges in India. Its sons were very staunch in their love and affection for their Alma mater. Not only that they wanted a place where they could stop while paying visits to the dear old College to revive old memories or when coming with their wives who insisted on seeing the place of which their husbands always spoke so enthusiastically and where their own younger sons were being educated but also that they had felt the want of a place where when necessary some distinguished guest to the College could be accommodated. It was "another contribution from the sons to their mother 'Aligarh.'" The "Old Boys' Lodge would also be a sort of pictorial History or Directory of the College. Efforts are being made to collect photos of all those who were connected with it. There would be the great Sir Syed and the group of his devoted friends who founded Aligarh; all those who helped the College financially; all the officials who extended a helping hand to us from the days of Lord Lytton, and Sir John Strachey; all the members of the staff both Indian and English from Siddons, Theodore Beck, Horst, Harold Cox, Shibli Nomani, Walter Raleigh, William Wallace, J. C. Chakraborti, Theodore Morison, Thomas Arnold, Moulvi Abbas Hossain, Pundit Shoo Shanker down to the present day staff. Popular and old College servants and vendors would have a corner to themselves. All the Trustees and the Old Boys would be there, both singly and in their groups. This would in time become a most unique and valuable collection. The building would also have about 1200 stone tablets like those in the Strachey Hall, on which the Old Boys would have either their own names or those of their friends inscribed. All the rooms would be called after the Old Boy Donors and those ready have already been taken up. Nawab Ahmad Said Khan, of Chhitari Messrs. Hifaz Rasul, Sultanbhai Hajibhai Lalji of Bombay, Syed Raza Ali, Ahmed Mozalullah Khan Sherwani and Habiburrahman Khan are the donors. The president before opening the "lock" in an earnest speech appealed to all the Old Boys to stand and work together in harmony and requested the Hony. Secretary of the College to kindly assure the Trustees that they could always count on the loyal co-operation of the Old Boys, who were themselves very jealous of the honour of their Alma mater. Amidst the cheers of all the Lodge was opened. All the rooms have been most tastefully fitted up and furnished and every one congratulated Messrs Shaukat Ali, and Sarfraz Khan, the Secretaries of the Association. After this ceremony all adjourned to the Siddons Union Club, where the Secretaries' Report was read and after discussion, confirmed. There was an increase both in memberships and in the 1 per cent. contribution i.e., the 1210 members against 1087 of last year paid Rs. 12,135 against 12,638 of last year. The realizations were bad and there was a large amount of arrears, which it is hoped would be recovered within this year. The Association besides contributing for the Old Boy Science Chair in the College, paid for the education of four of its wards, sons of deceased Old Boys, and gave two scholarships for Roorkee. It spent about 15,000 on the Old Boy's Lodge this year. It passed unanimously a resolution warmly appreciating the services of the 10 Old Boys who worked for Dr. Ansari's Great Red Crescent Mission to Turkey, sanctioned Rs. 10,000 more for the Lodge; decided to offer two scholarships each of Rs. 2,000 to the Old Boy members of the College and school staff to go to England, France and Germany to study the system of College and School management there and to report thereon to the Association. It passed a resolution strongly condemning the mischievous article appearing over the signature of "Asiatians" casting aspersions on the loyalty of the Aligarh Old Boys and categorically denying the baseless allegations contained therein. Besides other resolutions a vote of confidence was passed for Mr. Shaukat Ali, they requesting him not to resign before the expiry of his term of office as he had wished to do but to spare some time from the Khoddam-i-Kaaba Society and give it to the work of the Association. The Annual Dinner was held on the evening of the 11th and was a great success. The Strachey Hall has become too small for it and so it was held on the Cricket Lawn which was beautifully lighted and decorated for the occasion. Over 1,000 people sat down to Dinner, including besides the College authorities such distinguished guests as Mr. Justice Hasan Imam and Dr. Ansari, Dr. Ikbal could not come but sent a characteristic message in verse, which was warmly appreciated by all.

After the King Emperor's toast which was loyally drunk Mr. Ross Masud in a magnificent speech proposed the toast of the "Dear Old College." It was one of the best things heard in Aligarh and clearly put before all the ideal for the completion of which the Old Boys were to work. It was apparent to all who were present that Mr. Ross Masud was not going to live on the reputation of his great father and greater grand-father and that he was destined to do great things himself. Every one hoped that he would one day be the Provost of the coming Moslem University.

The Honorary Secretary Nawab Mahomed Ishaq Khan and Mr. Justice Hasan Imam on behalf of the Trustees spoke in very high terms of the services of the Old Boys to their Alma mater. The Honorary Secretary of the College assured the Old Boys that the Trustees had full confidence in them and in their love and affection for their Alma-mater and the time was not far distant when all the Trustees would be Old Boys. Let the Old Boys keep on working as they had been doing for the good of their College, which needed greater support and they could always count on him and may rest assured that they would find him sympathetic and helpful. Mr. Justice Imam in his remarkable speech laid great stress on the formation of character and on the cultivating of the habit for serious studies. He made an eloquent appeal on behalf of the education of Moslem Girls. After the toast of the Old Boys, the health of the staff, the guests and the chairman were enthusiastically drunk. Nawab Mahomed Ishaq Khan, performed during the Dinner a very pretty little ceremony. This was the giving away of medals with Red enamelled Crescent in the centres to all the Old Boys who had worked under Dr. Ansari and to Dr. Ansari himself on behalf of those who had worked under him. Those present were Messrs. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, (General Manager) Mr. Shooeb Kureshy, Mr. Bashiruddin, Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari Mr. Mohamed Ali (the Organizer) and Dr. Ansari (the Director.) All received tremendous ovations.

Besides business and serious functions, there was plenty of sport and each afternoon the Old Boys in spite of their growing years and girths, took in the present students at Tennis, Hockey, Cricket and Football. Ross Masud and Ehsan-ul-Haq easily disposed of the College pair Asad and Anwar in Tennis. In Hockey and Football, there were great struggles and the matches were watched by an enthusiastic and appreciative crowd, who admired all the niceties of the games displayed by the Old Boys.

If weight was to be taken as the proof of the strength of the teams, the Old Boys were easy firsts. They really played well especially Mr. Zamiruddin, the sporting and resourceful Referee. Not only that he saved numerous violent cowardly attacks by the slim Collegians on the Old Boys' goal but he managed to score for them also. I have heard that the "All round" editor of the *Comrade* who figured very prominently in all the games, has proposed with his characteristic boldness to raise a statue for this Referee—a real upholder of Discipline. He could not allow the "bunches" of the College to forget their position and have the impertinence to beat their elders. We all painfully noticed the vile habit in the present Hockey team of being off-side so often. At least 30 off-sides must have been given against them. In fact the poor Referee instead of playing, was constantly whistling. The Old Boys won in Hockey by 3 goals to 2 ! ! ! ! In Football, the back line was remarkably heavy, the goal alone had four such wide people as Sarfraz, Bashir Mirza, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat. No wonder the Collegians could not score in spite of frantic efforts; with such custodians in the goal, there was no room left for the poor ball to pass through. In the forward line, Messrs. Zafar Omar, Shervani brothers, Haji Hasan and Ansari were doing good work. Shamshad and Ross Masud as half backs were magnificent. Both sides were so well matched that upto the last moment, no goals were scored by either sides. When only few minutes were left, the resourceful "Heavy Brigade" suddenly left the goal and went as Forwards. In a few seconds Shaukat (goal-keeper) picked up the ball in his hands and though surrounded by a host of nimble opponents, by a clever combination of "Soccer and Rugby football, and with a twist of his wrist, sent the Ball into the net amidst the deafening cheers of the on-lookers. This brilliant player was chaired by the crowd, though owing to his weight, they had to drop him pretty quick. It was a pleasing feature that unlike last years, the son were cheering and encouraging their "daddies" all along. I am told the stoppage of pocket monies in the interest of "Discipline" has had most salutary effect. Mr. Justice Hasan Imam who was one of the amused crowds, summed up well. "It was really difficult to pronounce who were the greater babies, the fathers or the sons." A Daniel come to judgment ! ! In Cricket the Collegians were handicapped owing to the absence of their brilliant and popular Captain Prince Hameed-ullah Khan of Bhopal who, however, very thoughtfully had sent besides messages of love, a maund of delicious "Kalakand" for the Veterans. We all missed his genial and sporting personality. Cricket was a drawn game; Ehsan, Shaukat, Mahomed Ali and Ross Masud batting well. Salam and Shaukat were too good as bowlers. The Lodge was gay day and night and Masud (Tommy) fully deserved the affections and thanks of all. All sorrowfully departed after spending three happy days. Au revoir "dear old Aligarh" more next year.

The Army Crisis. Debate in the Commons.

[Continued from our last]

Mr. Balfour's Speech

PREPARATIONS AND OBJECT.

REMEMBER, there was no question of secrecy in this matter. It is the idea that there is this manœuvring to compel the Ulstermen to take the offensive (cheers) that so deeply stirs, as I think, the heart and conscience of the country. (Cheers.) If you are only going to relieve a garrison here and there, why was a brigade of cavalry brought into question at all? I do not profess to know anything about these things from a technical point of view, but merely to add a certain number of infantry to certain guards over stores in a country, mark you, where, grave as the tension is, there has never been anything unfriendly passed between his Majesty's troops and the population—to say that you must have all these generals coming over here, that they must make speeches to their officers, that you must call in cavalry brigades and horse artillery (An hon. member.—“And battleships.”)—yes, and a battle squadron—with all these things there can be no comparison between the preparations and the avowed object. Though the right hon. gentleman I know quite sincerely told us he desired to leave no corner of this dreadful question unexplored, in the light of his speech he has left that history utterly untouched.

Colonel Seely dissented.

THE GOVERNMENT AND GUARANTEE.

Mr. Balfour.—I do not now understand the position of the right hon. gentleman or of the Government in regard to the last two paragraphs of the White Paper about which all the difficulty seems to have occurred. The right hon. gentleman, I gather, says that he adheres to those two paragraphs, and I imagine from his explanation that his gloss of these paragraphs was assented to by Sir John French. Did the Government agree to those last two paragraphs before they were put in? I suppose not. I suppose that no colleague of the right hon. gentleman saw them.

Mr. Asquith.—No.

Mr. Balfour.—Very well, I ask no further questions as to that. Does the Government agree to those two paragraphs? I suppose they do. (Ministerial cries of “No” and Opposition laughter.) Then why have we still the pleasure of dealing with the right hon. gentleman as Secretary of State for War? These two paragraphs may or may not represent the considered opinion of the Government. They represent the considered opinion of the Secretary of State for War. They presumably do not represent the opinions of the Government, or at least if they do, they are not the opinions which the Government at this stage of the proceedings desire to avow. (Cheers.) But in truth they represent the facts. It is the Secretary of State for War who was brought up by personal contact and by his own direct opportunities of information with the real circumstances of the case, and it was he who saw that to compel the Army to take any part in its turn in compelling Ulster to accept the Home Rule Bill would be absolutely to destroy our whole system. (Cheers.)

THE LABOUR POSITION.

I gathered from the speech of the hon. gentleman the member for Leicester, the Leader of the Labour Party, which he made on Monday last in answer to me, and from some speeches made by other hon. gentlemen below the gangway, that they think for the moment, apparently that there is a difference of principle dividing this House upon these doubtful and difficult questions. I do not believe that there is any difference. There may be very great and vital differences among us as to how in certain cases principles shall be applied. (Ministerial laughter.) I do not believe myself that there is any fundamental difference of principle. I believe that everybody agrees with the Prime Minister that the Army may be called in, and ought to be called in, in cases of necessity to support the civil power in preserving order, in preventing anarchy, and in stopping mob rule. I do not believe that there is a member of the Labour Party, below the gangway who denies that.

Mr. J. Ward—Hear, hear—as long as the order is applied indiscriminately.

Mr. Balfour.—I believe we all agree with the Prime Minister that the necessity has sometimes occurred, though more rarely in this country, I think, than in any other country in the world. It has occurred in this country and in two successive Administrations in which the Prime Minister was a responsible Minister. It may occur again, and, lamentable as it is, when that necessity occurs it may be, and it is, the duty of the military in power to give such assistance as may be required to the civil power, to prevent all society sinking into anarchy. But also, are not we all agreed that there is a point at which, in connexion with great political issues, those principles break down? Can any one doubt that?

THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

I was very much interested in something that fell from the hon. member for Leicester on Monday. I think it was my right hon. friend near me who mentioned the case of the British officers and the American colonies and pointed out what we all know, that at that time many officers of all ranks, and men, I have no doubt, too, did not think that they ought to be asked to enforce the law in the American colonies. The hon. gentleman said:—“Oh, yes. Everybody admits now that the American colonies were right.” What has that got to do with it? And they were not thought right at the time. (Renewed Opposition cheers.) How does he know that when history comes to be written Ulster will not be thought to be right? (Cheers.) For my own part, if the question before the House was whether there was greater justification for the American colonies or for Ulster, I should not hesitate to say that—and I do not think it is arguable—that the provocation which you are giving to Ulster is incomparably greater—(Ministerial cries of “Oh” and Opposition cheers.)

An Hon. Member.—What provocation?

ULSTER'S PROVOCATION.

Mr. Balfour.—What provocation? I do not want to discuss the whole of the Home Rule Bill, but I will mention two things you are going to do. You are going, apparently by force, if you can, to compel this relatively homogeneous population of the North-East of Ireland—are you not going to pass the Bill? (cheers)—you are going to compel them to leave the Assembly under which they are to go under the heel of another Assembly. You are going to do the greatest of all wrongs, which is to transfer by force a population from a Government which they like to a Government which they abhor. Nobody who looks into the American case—and I am not going to discuss it in detail—can pretend for a moment that any claim made by Great Britain in 1774 practically interfered with the liberties of those colonies at all. There were no practical wrongs. The practical wrong you are going to do to these people is of the most vital description and touches every hour of their lives and interferes with all their self-government. You are not only going to transfer these people by force and put them under another Parliament, but you are going to deprive them of their proper representation in this Parliament.

AN ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY.

It is quite clear to the House that you have now, and, as I think, by your most criminal policy, forced upon people who never wished to be troubled about politics the necessity of deciding which way their higher duty goes. The difficulty of this problem must always be enormous, it has proved enormous in our own history. It troubled men's consciences for generations. There was a whole school of politicians, the extreme Tory school of those days, a Tory and High Church school at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, who took the full doctrine of the hon. member for Stoke, who is their true lineal descendant (laughter), and they preached what is called the doctrine of non-resistance. They said that whatever the Government of the day decides must be carried out, and the Army are necessarily bound to obey in all causes the rulers of the day, and it is always inconsistent with the subject's duty to resist the forces of the law. That was the accurate doctrine of non-resistance, violently repudiated, of course, by the Whig party of that day and never accepted by the moderate Tories.

Mr. John Ward—There was no franchise then. The difference is plain. Only a very small aristocratic section of the community had any right or voice in the government of the country.

Mr. Balfour.—I do not see that that makes any difference. The point is, may not a Government in their folly raise questions on which soldiers, as well as civilians, have to ask themselves, Does not this go outside, drive us outside those ordinary canons of conduct in ordinary moments to be guided in obedience to the civil magistrate? The question has cropped up in every country of the world at different times, and has always found a solution in different cases, and the wisdom of every wise Government is not to compel that question to be discussed. Of all the great sins against the community which I as a partisan may think by partisan feeling the Government have been guilty of, the greatest is that they have forced this question; and at this moment, putting the Army on one side, and not touching the immediate problem on which the right hon. gentleman has sent in his resignation, but talking merely of the civil population, can anybody doubt who knows anything about them, that the population of Ulster are loyal to the Crown and to the Constitution of this country, that they have been brought up under it, and that they have the same ideals of liberty as you have (Ministerial cries of “No, no” and Opposition cheers), that their doctrines are those all lovers of liberty preach (Ministerial cries of “No, no”) and upon which you have specially prided yourself?

“AN ARISTOCRATIC INTRIGUE.”

It is on men like that and not merely upon men and officers of the Army you compel attention to these tremendous and difficult problems. The Government in their folly have compelled this attention to be

concentrated upon these great questions, and the Secretary of State for War has come, in my opinion, to the only conclusion which any man acquainted with the facts can come—namely, that you are attempting in this House legislation which the conscience of this country will not stand. It is really pitiable to hear gentlemen say, I daresay quite honestly, that this is an aristocratic intrigue (An hon. member.—It is true all the same), and I know not what besides. They really should open their eyes to the fact. Is it so incredible to them that any man of British birth should hate firing upon other men of British birth in Ulster, because they want to preserve the liberties which you have given them? Is that an incredible proposition? Are those who hold it to be accused of necessarily and consistently therefore saying that if a town is in the hands of a mob the soldiers are to stand idly by and look on? Such statesmanship never was tolerated in this House before, and never will be tolerated, I believe, in the future. This is not a new question. The Prime Minister is a historian and has studied these things; he has studied the opinion of statesmen like Burke and of great jurists of the past. Who has ever before confounded these two things, who has ever said that the rules applicable to one are applicable to the other? There is no comparison between them and you have only got to look into your own hearts to know that there is no comparison between them.

COLONEL SEELY'S POSITION.

I do not know what the fate of these pendent paragraphs may be. Apparently they were never seen by the Cabinet, and they are the pure creation of the genius of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He has resigned on them, but he has resumed office in spite of them, and let me say at once I think he was right to resign, and I think the Government were right to have him back, because he has told the truth to the country in words which are unmistakable. Behind him and behind the Army Council the whole Army will take them as their charter. After those words have once been written, printed, and published, after the Minister who wrote them declares he still holds by them, the idea that after that you are really going to attempt at the point of the bayonet to force your disruptive legislation on the population of Ulster is utterly and hopelessly incredible. My right hon. friend begged me to move the rejection of the Bill, and I desire to do so in the ordinary form. (Loud cheers.)

The Prime Minister's Statement.

ATTITUDE OF THE KING.

Mr. Asquith, who was received with prolonged cheers, said:—There is one preliminary observation which I should like to make before I deal with the substance of the speech of the right hon. gentleman, and that is to associate myself with what was said by my right hon. friend who sits beside me (Colonel Seely) in regard to what I think are the most unfair and inconsiderate attempts to bring the name of the King into these discussions. (Loud Opposition cheers and counter Ministerial cheers.) They are not made upon one side only. They proceed, I regret to say, in different senses from different quarters. I am entitled, as chief responsible Minister of the Crown, to say, and I say it with the fullest conviction and assurance, that from first to last in regard to all these matters his Majesty has observed every rule that comports with the dignity of the position of a constitutional Sovereign. (General cheers.) However strenuous, however exciting our debates may be, I hope we shall continue in all quarters to recognize that the Crown in a constitutional country is beyond and above the range of party controversy. (Renewed cheers.)

THE COERCION OF ULSTER.

The right hon. gentleman drew a parallel in the course of his speech, and emphasized it by much argument, some illustration, and a good deal of rhetoric (laughter), between the position of the American Colonies and what he called the coercion of Ulster. I think it is quite time that we got to close quarters with this so-called coercion of Ulster (cheers), because it affects not merely the military but the political aspects of the situation. The right hon. gentleman spoke with horror of men of British birth firing on other men of British birth who were simply rising in defence of their ancient and traditional rights and privileges. (Opposition cheers.) What is the actual situation? We have offered to every country in Ulster which chooses to go to the ballot-box the opportunity of excluding itself from the operation of our Bill—(Opposition members.—“Six years.”)—during such time as will admit of two opportunities for the country to pronounce upon it. (Cheers.) What is the alternative offer made by the Leader of the Opposition? That you should have a referendum here and now, one single consultation of the electors of the United Kingdom, and if that goes adversely to his party and in favour of our Bill he will admit on the part of the party opposite that we are morally justified in coercing Ulster. (Cheers.) Let us deal not with phrases, but with facts. The coercion of Ulster—if he meant by that the interposition of the operation

of military and naval force—is a thing which will never happen and can never happen if Ulster takes advantage of the opportunity that we have offered. (Cheers.)

Lord Hugh Cecil.—Not six years hence?

Mr. Asquith.—Why should the verdict of the electors of the United Kingdom be of less weight six years hence than it is now? After all, we are not dealing with things that are going to happen six years hence; we are dealing with things as they are.

THE MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

I was very much struck, in listening to the right hon. gentleman, with the extraordinary disparity in scale and in temperature of the presentation which he has made of the supposed shortcomings and evil designs of the Government with that which is offered to us every day by the organs of his party outside. (Cheers.) What is the case he presents? That there was a plot (Opposition Cheers), an intrigue (Opposition Cheers), a conspiracy (Opposition Cheers), engineered behind my back and behind the backs of most of my right hon. friends sitting beside me, by two or three dark and sinister spirits (laughter), who managed to secure the guilty connivance of the Secretary of State for War, a plot to undertake aggressive and provocative operations in Ulster. Is that really believed? (Opposition members.—“Yes,” and “It is true.”) Let us see what the evidence is. Here we have in these papers an official letter from the War Office, dated March 14—that is before the Bradford speech was made—I think it was the same day—in which there is set out with perfect explicitness and in detail the operations which in the opinion of the Army Council were necessary in order to protect from possible disorder and rioting certain military positions in Ulster. Is the plot supposed to have been there engineered? Is it really believed that that letter, written on behalf of the Army Council, was the first step in these provocative operations? I want to know. (Cheers.) Is there anything there which goes in the least degree beyond what I have told the House repeatedly was the sole and undivided object of his Majesty's Government in making these comparatively small movements of troops in Ulster to occupy places which I pointed out before were of no strategic value and which no general in his senses would have occupied if he had thought of aggressive operations? (Cheers.) These movements were intended, as this letter shows, solely and entirely for the purpose of protection not, as I believe, against organized or concerted operations on the part of the Ulster Volunteers, but against possible risks to which, with an excited population, places and property of this kind are always exposed.

Mr. Bonar Law.—Cavalry and horse artillery, (Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith.—There were no cavalry or horse artillery engaged in the operation at all. (Cheers.)

Lord Charles Beresford.—Battleships (Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith. Nor were any battleships engaged in the operation at all. (Cheers.) The utmost assistance which the Navy afforded in this very moderate and modest military operation was to send two small cruisers to assist in the movement of troops from one point to another. That operation was ordered, as I have said, as far back as March 14. It is quite true that in the following week General Paget was summoned to this country and held a consultation with his military superiors at the War Office.

CONSULTATION WITH GENERAL PAGET.

It is a most extraordinary illustration of the kind of constitutional topsy-turvydom of the times in which we live that the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Dublin (Sir E. Carson) and his friends have been allowed to organize, equip, and parade a force, which we are told amounts to something like 100,000 men, no one saying nay, no one as far as we are concerned taking any offensive notice; but if we send for our General and take him into consultation here, at once it is said that this is an intrigue and an outrage. (Cheers.) Could absurdity be carried further? (Cheers.) We were perfectly entitled to summon General Paget. We were perfectly entitled to consult with him and with the Naval authorities also having regard to all these possible sources of danger and combustion as to what steps might be necessary to be taken to preserve the public peace in the North of Ireland. I do not apologize for doing it. (Cheers.) I say it was a natural and perfectly proper step, and if the same circumstances occurred I should certainly do it again. (Cheers.) Then General Paget went back. He had been instructed to do nothing, absolutely nothing, beyond carrying out these modest and necessary operations described in the letter of March 14. He took his brigadiers and divisional generals into consultation apparently upon the question whether these movements might be attended with excitement and possible resistance, and in that case what steps it would be necessary to take. Was that provocative? Was that anything but a precaution which every reasonable general in similar conditions ought to and would take? The right hon. gentleman mentioned just now the

Cavalry and Horse Artillery. Certainly there was no necessity to us either the one or the other for the purpose of these limited operations, but if they had been met, as it is possible they might have been, with resistance or opposition, and if anything like a state of public disorder had arisen in any part of the province of Ulster, or in the South or West, it applies to every part of Ireland, it might of course have been necessary to move the Cavalry regiments.

NOR AGGRESSIVE OR PROVOCATIVE ACTION.

General Paget did what every prudent general would have done under these circumstances. (Cheers.) To treat that as an act of provocation or an invitation to these gentlemen in Ulster to rebel, as luring them out of their attitude of, shall I say, belligerent quiescence into one of active warfare, seems to me one of the most grotesque propositions I have ever heard. (Cheers.) So far the matter seems to me hardly to admit of argument at all. How can any rational man whose mind is governed by the ordinary rules of evidence in the face of these facts assume or even pretend to assume that there was anything in the nature of provocative or aggressive action? (Cheers.) Now I come to what took place after General Paget had addressed his generals. There is undoubtedly, it would be unfair to deny it, a discrepancy of evidence as to what on that occasion was actually said, and I think it is extremely probable, in fact I am sure it is true, that there was on the part of some of those at any rate whom General Paget addressed an honest misunderstanding of what he said. It is quite clear from the perfectly fair and reasonable letter which was written by General Gough on March 20 that there was a notion among them that what was described, or what they thought they had heard described, as active operations might mean, in the language of the fourth paragraph of their letter, the initiation of active military operations against Ulster. They were uneasy upon that point. The word "initiation," the House will observe, is underlined. That is a point which really is very important—"the initiation of active military operation"; they felt uneasiness upon that point. They did not get what they regarded as adequate reassurance; and thereupon they took a step which I think very much to be regretted—namely, the sending in of their resignations. They were summoned to London. I want to bring home for a moment to the House what took place after these officers came to London. It is here really that the serious question of to-day's debate arises. They came to London; they were interviewed by—at least, they presented their case to the Adjutant-General at the War Office, as did General Gough to my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War. I think I am not going too far when I say that they realized, and everybody realized, that there had been a misconception of what the General had said to them, and what the General required them to do.

THE CABINET AND THE DRAFT LETTER.

On Monday last, two days ago, after these interviews had taken place, the matter was considered by the Cabinet, and in the course of our deliberations we received from the War Office—from the Adjutant-General, because my right hon. friend has told us he was for the moment away, as he had to attend his Majesty—we received from the War Office a draft of the letter which it was proposed on behalf of the Army Council to hand to General Gough on his return to Ireland to resume his duties. That draft was carefully considered by the Cabinet, and as it left their hands it is contained in substance, and I think textually, in the first three paragraphs of the last of the documents in this paper. Let me point out—I want to make this perfectly clear, because it lies at the very root of the matter—that when that letter was submitted to the Cabinet and settled by them, they had no knowledge whatsoever that General Gough had sent to the Adjutant-General, on the same morning, the letter which immediately precedes it in this White Paper. That is all important, as the House will see, and for a reason which I will make perfectly plain before I sit down. We had not seen the letter, nor had my right hon. friend received it, for it only reached him, I think it was, after the termination of the proceedings of the Cabinet, and we had no notion of any sort or kind that any such letter had been addressed by General Gough to the Adjutant-General. (Cheers.) In dealing with the matter as it then presented itself to us, we authorized the Army Council to supply General Gough with a written statement such as is contained in the first three paragraphs of this communication, which, as the House will observe, carefully abstains from giving any kind of assurance of any sort (cheers), and states in the plainest and most explicit terms, and I think in language to which no exception can be taken by anybody who realizes what is the constitutional position of the Army in relation to the civil power, what the duties of these officers would be. So far as we were concerned, we thought that was an end of the matter.

COLONEL SUELY'S ADDITIONS.

My right hon. friend has stated most candidly, and most manfully that he had the letter of General Gough handed to him, but I think he said that he did not pay much attention to it. That

was not what influenced his mind; but, having regard to the statement he himself had made to the officers in the course of the morning, he added to the document, as settled by the Cabinet, the two concluding paragraphs. I am not going to criticize with any minuteness or any severity the language of those paragraphs. The first one is quite innocuous; the second might be read in a number of different senses. I am not going to criticize; what I am going to say is this. First of all, however, I should complete the narrative by saying that when I spoke to the House as I did on Monday—and I am sure the House will believe, after some experience, that I do not, at any rate in matters of fact, mislead them—when I spoke to the House on Monday, and said, either expressly or perhaps by implication—I forget which—in answer to an interruption, that those officers had returned to Ireland without any condition. I was speaking what I believed to be the truth. (Hear, hear.) What was the truth so far as the document was concerned, as settled by the Cabinet? I want to make my position—and that of my colleagues perfectly clear on this point. Later on in the day, after the debate, or at least that part of the debate, was over, and when I had gone back to my room, I received a type-written copy of this document as it now appears. I read it, and of course I was at once struck by the addition of these two paragraphs. I sent for my right hon. friend the Secretary of State, and said to him, "How is it this which was never approved by the Cabinet has been inserted in the letter?" Then he told me in very much the same terms in which he has to-day told the House how it had happened. I began to argue the matter, when he said, "It is too late; the letter has been handed to General Gough, and he has taken it away with him to Ireland." I must add this to my own personal narrative, and even then I was not aware, nor were any of my colleagues in the Cabinet aware, of this letter of General Gough written on the Monday, which appears in the White Paper, in which General Gough expressly asks the question—a very different question, let the House observe, from that which he had raised in his letter of March 20. (Cheers.) Let me point out in what the difference consists. It is very vital. On March 20 General Gough and the officers on whose behalf he spoke were under the impression, which had been created in their minds by the address of the Commander-in-Chief, that they were about to be called upon to take part in some form of military duty. The expression, the House will see, is "Duty as ordered." The words are put in inverted commas. "Active operations in Ulster." They were therefore under the impression that they were or might be, immediately or within a very short time, called upon to undertake duty of that kind. Thereupon they said: "If such duty consist in the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers will be quite prepared to undertake it; but if the duty involves the 'initiation'—the word which is underlined as showing the emphasis and importance which they attached to it—"if it involves the initiation of active military operations against Ulster, then the officers named would respectfully prefer to be dismissed." That is a very different demand from the demand preferred in General Gough's letter of March 23. Let the House observe how the position has shifted in the meantime.

THE REQUEST FOR AN ASSURANCE.

It is no longer a question of "What is the character of the duty or the operation in which we are to be immediately ordered to take part?" It is purely a prospective question, which deals with a future and, to some extent everybody must admit, a more or less remote contingency. The question is this:—"In the event of the present Home Rule Bill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it in Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?"

Mr. W. Guinness (Bury St. Edmunds, Opp.).—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether the two paragraphs put in were substantially the same as the matter struck out of the original draft?

Mr. Asquith.—No, Sir; they were quite different. It is not really a very material point, but the hon. member may assume that what was struck out by the Cabinet went, in some respects, further than what was actually put in.

Mr. W. Guinness.—Did they deal with the same subject?

Mr. Asquith.—It dealt with the same subject matter, but that is not really material to my argument. What I am pointing out to the House is that in this letter of General Gough, brought for the first time to my knowledge and to the knowledge of my colleagues as lately as yesterday afternoon, we found a request, or, indeed, a demand—(hear, hear)—made by an officer in a responsible position in the Army for an assurance to be given to him as to what will or will not be required of him by the Government in a hypothetical contingency. I do not think it is right to ask of officers what they will do—(Opposition cheers)—in an event which has not arisen and which may never arise; and I do not believe that General Sir Arthur Paget did that. He may have been so misunderstood; but I do not gather from General Gough's letter of March 20 that it was that sort of question he was contemplating. It looks to me

as if he were contemplating immediate operations; but I am strongly of opinion, and I hope I shall have the general assent of the House when I say this, that it is not right to ask an officer in advance what he may or may not do in a contingency which has not arisen and in circumstances and surroundings which are left entirely to the imagination. If that is true, still less can it be right for an officer to ask a Government to give him any assurance. (Prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Amery rose, but amid angry cries of "Order," "Order" immediately resumed his seat.

Mr. Asquith.—Circumstances may arise to all of us, officers of the State, in whatever position we hold, as to what our duty is. We must decide according to our consciences.

Mr. Amery.—Will you deny that there was——(Renewed cries of "Order.")

Mr. Asquith.—And so far as my colleagues and I are concerned, so long as we are responsible for the government of this country, we will never assent to a claim——

Mr. Amery.—You have assented to it. (Cries of "Order" and interruptions.)

The Speaker.—I must ask the hon. member for South Birmingham not to keep interrupting. He made a speech yesterday and he had a good opportunity, and the least he can do now is to listen to the reply.

Mr. Asquith.—So long as we are responsible for the Government of this country, whatever the consequences may be, we shall not assent to the claim of any body of men in the service of the Crown, be they officers or men—it makes no difference for this purpose—to demand from the Government in advance assurances of what they will or will not be required to do in circumstances which have not arisen. Such a claim, once admitted, would put the Government and the House of Commons, upon whose confidence the Government depend, at the mercy of the military and Navy. (Prolonged cheers, Ministerial members waving handkerchiefs and other papers.) If that issue is once raised I myself have very little doubt as to what the verdict of this country will be. (Loud cheers.)

WAR SECRETARY'S RESIGNATION REFUSED.

I want to say one word, and one only, in conclusion, as to the position of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War. He made a statement to-day which I am sure must have enlisted the sympathy of members in all quarters of the House, whatever their political feelings. He told the House and told it with perfect sincerity and truth, that recognizing as he did that he had committed an error of judgment in the conditions under which he supplemented the agreed decision of the Cabinet, he felt it his duty to tender his resignation. My right hon. friend did that, as I and everybody who knows him fully understand, with perfect sincerity. I am not going to accept his resignation (some cheers), not because I do not think the step which he took did not involve an error of judgment—I agree with him that it did—but because errors of that kind in times of great stress and anxiety, when a man is oppressed, as my right hon. friend has been oppressed, with responsibility more arduous and anxious than really occurred to any of us—when we value, as we all do, his strenuous and effective co-operation in all great causes in our common work, I think it would not only be ungenerous, but unjust, to take any such action. My hon. friend retains the confidence and the affection of his colleagues and his political friends. He acquiesces loyally and fully in the judgment which, on behalf of the Government, I have announced to the House. If there be any criticism to be passed on what has taken place in regard to this transaction, I beg the House to bring back its attention to the point from which we originally started, that in all these matters the real question is whether or not the considered will, judgment and authority of the representatives of the people shall prevail. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law's Criticisms.

Mr. Bonar Law.—This Government has set in its time many precedents, but I do not think in the whole history of this House there has ever been a resignation of a Minister which has not been received not only with sympathy, but with seriousness in all parts of the House. That is not the case to-day. We have heard of people being thrown to the wolves; but never before have we heard of them being thrown to the wolves with a bargain on the part of the wolves that they would not eat him. (Laughter.) The Prime Minister has shown, as he always does, what an accomplished Parliamentarian he is (cheers) and how accurately he gauges the strength and sincerity of the hostility which from time to time is directed against his Government. I ask the House to contrast the statement made by the Secretary for War on Monday with the information contained in the White Paper which we have to-day.

Mr. Bonar Law then read what Colonel Seely said on Monday, and proceeded:—

Not a word about dismissal, and the Prime Minister—and here I must at once assume that he knew nothing about the facts—was asked the question, "Will the officers be reinstated because they have never been dismissed."

Mr. Asquith.—They were not dismissed.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The War Office sent a telegram to General Sir Arthur Paget that they should be relieved of their commands, which I understand means dismissal. ("No, no.") Take another example of the way in which the country is treated. In his statement issued on Sunday the Prime Minister said there is a widespread impression that there is to be an inquisition of what the officers' views are in certain eventualities, and he says there was to be nothing of the kind. How does he explain the resignations of the officers of the Cavalry Brigade in the Curragh on any other understanding than that this question was put to them and that it was their answer which caused all the trouble? Again he makes a statement which the facts prove to be absolutely inaccurate. That is not all. In the same communication the right hon. gentleman says this:—"As for the so-called naval movements they simply consisted in the use of two small cruisers," and he said that when the First Lord of the Admiralty tells us this afternoon that a battle squadron had been ordered to Belfast.

Mr. Asquith.—The First Lord never said anything of the kind. The only two ships that were moved were the two cruisers. The movement of the battle squadron to Lamlash could not take place for a very long time.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The First Lord of the Admiralty said, and boasted of it, that these ships had been ordered to Lamlash in order to be ready for Belfast if the emergency arose. The right hon. gentleman told us there was no movement of ships except these two vessels.

Mr. Asquith.—I said there were no movements of ships in connexion with these movements of troops into Ulster, and my communication was entirely confined to that.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The right hon. gentleman is quite wrong. Now we have got what was in his mind. He did not include orders in his communication to the country. It was only actual movements. We have a wonderful Government (Ministerial cheers and laughter), and we may be sure of this, that when the facts come out in connexion with to-day's statement, we shall probably find that the memories of right hon. gentlemen have deceived them precisely as they did on Monday. (Cheers.) The case of the right hon. gentleman again to-day is, that there were only movements of troops necessary to protect the stores, and all the rest of it.

The real truth is, and no other explanation fits the facts, that the Government decided on a great demonstration, military, certainly, and naval, as we find out to-day, in order to make an impression upon the people of Ulster. (Cheers.)

GENERAL PAGET'S ORDERS.

This whole dispute as to what was really intended turns upon General Paget. I read out in this House a note taken down by an officer who heard him (hon. members:—"Oh, oh," and "Name"), and it is corroborated. If they deny it, I am quite ready to give the right hon. gentleman the source of my information. It was taken down by this one officer and corroborated by three others who heard it. I asked the right hon. gentleman to give us what Sir A. Paget himself said, and he has absolutely declined to do so. We must therefore assume that the statement which I read is correct until they give us an alternative version to set against it. How does Sir Arthur Paget's statement agree with their story? First of all, both the Prime Minister and the Secretary for War tell us it was all a misunderstanding and that the officers did not understand General Paget. That is not possible. This was the misunderstanding as they tell us, that the officers thought that General Paget wanted them to do something more than the ordinary duties of preserving law and order; but they had to come to London to find that out, and then it was all put right. Here is the fact. These officers in the letter which the Prime Minister says is a highly proper one, referring to Sir Arthur Paget's speech, used these words:—"If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in the brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out this duty." It goes on:—"If the duty involves the initiation of active operations," and so on. What follows? One of two things. Either that the whole statement of the intention of the War Office is inaccurate, or that General Paget did not know what the intentions of the War Office were. (Cheers.) There is no getting away from that. If General Paget knew the moment he got that letter he would have said:—"It is all right. I am asking nothing more," and he would have wired to the War Office that the whole incident was at an end. That proves that, whether he was right or wrong, General Paget believed that he had received orders which meant an outburst in Ulster the moment he carried these orders into effect. (Cheers.) What about the Cavalry and the Horse Artillery? The Prime Minister says it is only for subsequent operations. But even that will not do, for what did General Paget telegraph to the War Office? This Cavalry Brigade was to be sent to Ulster to deal, not with the Volunteers, but with small bodies whom Sir

Edward Carson was trying to prevent engaging in the kind of operations suggested. That has been said, but even that explanation will not do, because Sir A. Paget, in telling of the resignation of these officers, actually uses these words:—"Prefer to accept dismissal if ordered north." How does that coincide with the statement they had given that they were only thinking about it as a possible necessity in the far distant future, when Sir A. Paget himself wires that officers have in substance resigned rather than be ordered north to fulfill a duty which he tells us they did not wish to fulfill? I do not believe that the Prime Minister knew all that was going on.

AN OFFICER'S LETTER.

Now I am going to read an extract from the letter of a "young officer (Ministerial cries of "Oh," "Name," and "Anonymous again") connected with the Infantry Brigade. This officer wrote it as an account of what Sir Charles Fergusson said to him. It is very important, and I ask the Prime Minister to send to Sir Charles Fergusson and find out whether or not he did use language like this in addressing his officers. "The idea of provoking Ulster is hellish." (Ministerial protests.) It is quite in order to use the word when applying it to an idea, not to an individual. This is what Sir Charles Fergusson is reported to have said on advice which presumably he got from the War Office:—"Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from the Ulsterites, and they will have to shed first blood" (Ministerial cheer.) Have hon. members ever heard of *agents provocateurs*? Was there ever anything in the world more wicked, if it is true, than to provoke these people in Ulster so as to be able to deal with them? The words do not admit of any doubt of it. (Opposition cries of "Read.") I say that I have given my authority for them and the Prime Minister can verify them, but so far as the words go they admit of no doubt. (Cries of "Read the whole.")

Sir T. Whittaker (Yorks, W., R., Spen Valley, Min.).—They mean the opposite of what you say.

Mr. Bonar Law.—Then I will read them, and the right hon. gentleman will see how they mean the opposite of what I say. "Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from Ulsterites." The right hon. gentleman means that the Ulster people themselves have taken these steps.

Sir T. Whittaker.—What I mean is that that obviously means that nothing would be done by us until Ulster—(Interruption.)

Mr. Bonar Law.—The right hon. gentleman is quite right. It obviously means that nothing will be done by us until we have provoked Ulster. (Ministerial cries of "No.")

TREATMENT OF GENERAL GOUCH.

This whole subject has raised many wide questions, but there is one point which formed the end of the right hon. gentleman's speech to which I must allude, and that was his treatment of General Gough. I had always found the right hon. gentleman live up to the traditions of the position which he occupies in regard to the treatment of the servants of the Crown. I do not think that he has been fair to General Gough in this incident. (Ministerial cries of "oh.") I will explain why General Gough did not raise this question at all. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman himself admits that they had not a right to do what the War Office did, and I do not think there is a man in this House who believes that that was started by General Paget without instructions from the War Office. I at least do not believe it. The right hon. gentleman himself has admitted that that was a question which they had no right to put to General Gough—a question as to what he would do in certain eventualities. They did put the question. (Cheers.) He himself has said in these documents that if he had been ordered to Ulster he would have gone without any hesitation. They put the question to him about the future—General Paget nominally, but the War Office really. He gives an answer, the only answer which on his conscience he could give, and, having given it not on his own initiative at all, not by his own desire but the issue having been raised in plain terms. "Will you or will you not fight against Ulster?"—not to keep order, but to fight against Ulster (Cheers)—I put it to any hon. member in this House who thinks as General Gough does that they have no right to engage in civil war against Ulster, what else could he do, if he goes back to the Army after it has been raised, but make it perfectly plain that his position on this question is not in doubt and that the War Office must know that it is not in doubt. No other course was open to him. (Cheers.)

SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

I would like to leave this specific question and say a little about the broad issues raised. I have never for a moment under-estimated the seriousness of all that was being done in Ulster and by us in assisting her. I have never under-estimated it and perhaps some members of the House may remember that quite lately I pointed out the seriousness of it and felt sure that the bench opposite would agree with me. It was only a question of responsibility and upon whom that responsibility rests.

My right hon. friend said to-day that there was not a difference of principle among us on this matter. There is a difference

which comes almost to that, but it is not a difference of principle. The right hon. gentleman never for a moment will argue that resistance is justified. It is always that the constituted authority must be obeyed. I put to him this question. Is there such a thing as civil war at all? His speeches would lead us to suppose that there was no such thing, and that it could not be contemplated. If he admits that there is such a thing as civil war then ask him, and perhaps the next time he speaks on this subject he will do it, to give a definition of what civil war means, which would not include what is happening in Ulster to-day. (Hear, hear.) He will find it utterly impossible to give such a definition. Let us get rid therefore, of the preliminary ground. Every one must admit that there are circumstances when all the ordinary laws of society are broken down, and nobody can contemplate such a position without a degree of horror, which I think is not realized by a great many members in this House and out of it. There the question is not whether obedience to constituted authority is a duty under all circumstances. Nobody maintains that. Let us therefore look at the question whether or not it is justifiable under existing circumstances.

ULSTER AND THE ELECTORATE.

I wish to put my position in regard to Ulster clearly because I feel that I have a certain amount of responsibility in regard to it. Before I occupied my present position, and when I could speak without thinking as carefully as I do now (laughter)—I do not pretend to speak very well, but I do my best (loud Opposition cheers)—I said this in this House:—

"I do not think I am disloyal, and I do not want to be shot, but I say this with absolute deliberation"—this was after my argument that Ulster was justified in resisting under present conditions—"If the people of this country decide that they will make the experiment of Home Rule, then—and here I must part company with some of my hon. friends in this House and I must certainly part company with some of those who supported me in the constituency I represent—I should say that I believe in representative government, and however much you may dislike it you cannot compel the United Kingdom to keep up the present arrangement against their will." From that view I have never wavered, and over and over again in this House and out of it I have said so and by a definite offer only a week ago or less I said to the Prime Minister, "make certain"—and surely in face of this trouble it is worthwhile making certain—"that you have the will of the country behind you, and, so far as the Unionist Party are concerned, we will absolutely cease all unconstitutional opposition to the carrying of your measure," (Ministerial cries of "Oh! oh!"). Well, what more do you ask?

THE DEMOCRACY OF ULSTER.

Yesterday I was only able to listen to part of the speeches of the hon. gentleman below the gangway, but I found them very interesting, for I liked the idea of a new French Revolution led by an hon. gentleman whom we know so well and who sits on the Labour benches. I heard some of these speeches and what was the substance of them all? It was that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Now examine it. Who are the people who would be shot down by our soldiers if this civil war broke out? There is no more democratic community in the world, and that these Volunteers are a more democratic army than has ever existed in the world, not excepting Cromwell's own New Model in the time of the Civil War, and that when you say, "You are afraid to shoot down the rich," I say that there is no case in which soldiers could be employed where it would be more certain to be shooting down the working classes than it would be if you sent such an expedition into Belfast. And they say, I think I heard the hon. member for Stoke say, or somebody, "Tom Mann, look what he got." Sir Edward Carson, my right hon. friend the member for Trinity College, "Look how he gets off."

But is it the fault of my right hon. friend the member for Trinity College? Over and over again he has, and rightly, challenged the Government to take action against him, and he has done it rightly for this reason. I would never say for a moment that this Government, if they believed in their consciences that this country was behind them, have not the right to enforce this with horse, foot, and artillery. I do not deny it, if they think they have the right, but I say that anything more criminal than to allow this organization to go on for two years and then threaten it I cannot imagine.

THE ARMY AND THE ARISTOCRACY.

I have only one other aspect of this to look at, and that is the question as it affects the Army. All through in thinking about this the effect on the Army is what has alarmed me most, and I think I am right in saying that in the many scores of speeches which I have made on Home Rule in the last three years I have only referred in any way to the Army

twice. Nothing could be really further from the truth than the idea that the Army officers represent the aristocracy.

Mr. John Ward.—Of course they do.

Mr. Bonar Law.—There are some regiments where it is true, but it is not true of the Army as a whole. I think this whole trouble has arisen from two causes. All politicians—men who make politics their life and their profession—gradually get into a habit of looking upon it as a game more or less, and they do not probably have as strong convictions as they did when they entered on a political career as a rule. I think that general human weakness applies with unusual force to members of the present Government, and I really believe that all this trouble has arisen because through that human weakness to which I have referred they did not believe it possible that the men of Ulster had convictions as strong as they have shown themselves to possess. They never did believe it, and now it has come upon them they do not know what to do. It is the same thing as regards the Army.

The whole feeling is that the Government, without the consent of the country (Opposition cheers, and Ministerial cries of "No")—that is my feeling, and if I am wrong they can set it right to-morrow—are trying to do something which the Army will not be their tool in doing. (Opposition cheers.) A great deal of analogy has been made about strikes. The member for Derby said it was too thin—the distinction between civil war and putting down strikes. I cannot see the connection, and I will tell the House why. Soldiers are never used to put down strikers because they are striking. They never would be used for that purpose by any Government.

Soldiers I have met have been men interested in their career, and so far as my experience goes they care nothing about politics; they, from the nature of their duties, know that they have to serve both parties, and until they give up the Army or go on half-pay it is unwise to come into active politics. Put yourselves in the position of an officer. He believes in his heart and conscience, as I do, that the Government are doing this thing without the consent of the country, that in pressing this forward without the clear approval of the country they are really as much a revolutionary committee as President Huerta, who is governing Mexico to-day. (Ministerial laughter.) If I were in his place, holding the views I do, and if I were asked to take part in an expedition against Ulster I would resign my commission if I were permitted to do so. If that permission were refused, and I was told that I should be Court-martialled, then I do not know whether I should have the courage to do it, but I feel that in that case it would be my duty to say, "Very well, if you choose to do it, I prefer to be shot rather than shoot innocent men." (Cheers.) That is the position in which the soldier stands.

Ministerial Members.—The private soldier?

Mr. Bonar Law.—I said "soldier." That includes both.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Derby, Lab.)—During a strike? (Labour cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law. I have tried to point out the difference (Labour laughter, and a voice "Conscience" and at all events I was not interrupted when I was making the statement. I say that is the position in which you are placed. In my belief the Government know as well as I do that the position in which this matter is left is fatal either to the Army or the country. (Cheers.) They have not told us all about their manœuvres as Ministers; they have not told us what is the position of General Gough and his brother officers to-day. (Cheers.) I would say this to the Government. This whole difficulty is really due to the political situation to which we have come throughout the clash of parties in this country. I say, therefore, that a duty rests on any responsible Government, much more than on the Opposition though we feel the responsibility also—and I say that a duty such as has never rested on any Government before now rests on this Government and the Prime Minister to find some way of saving the nation from an impossible position. (Cheers.)

LABOUR PARTY VIEW.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was greeted with Labour cheers, said:—If what the right hon. gentleman has said about Ulster means anything at all to the soldier, it was an encouragement to the soldier to mutiny. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) What is the use of the right hon. gentleman telling us that he was surprised when certain things happened in the Army? If he was surprised he was the only member in the House who was surprised. He has told us that a soldier can have a conscience when he is asked to put down riotousness in Ulster, but he was very careful to say that a soldier's conscience ought to permit him to put down riotousness which it is associated with strikes. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law.—I said that conscience would make it my duty to put down the same sort of thing in Ulster as I would put down in connection with a strike. (Cheers.)

Mr. Macdonald.—If the right hon. gentleman says that, I accept it; but he did say there was a distinction between strikes and civil war in Ulster. An extract from Hansard of what the right hon. gentleman said, if circulated, without a word of comment, as an electioneering leaflet, would certainly be responsible for hundreds of working-class votes being taken from the Unionist Party. As regards the extract the right hon. gentleman read from an anonymous letter, I maintain that, as the writer remained anonymous, the name of the general ought also to have anonymous (cheers), and a good soldier ought not to have his name in the newspapers as being charged by an anonymous writer. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) The writer said, in effect "Steps have been taken by the Government to provide that if blood is to be shed at all, Ulster shall do it first." Surely that meant that the Government had taken precautions that the Army should not be used to initiate any offensive operations against Ulster. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) The sentence is capable of a double meaning, and what does the House think of a responsible member who, knowing that, insists that it is only capable of one meaning. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.)

OFFICERS IMPOSING CONDITIONS.

There are two issues before the House. One is that the Government, or some members of the Government, or Sir Arthur Paget have been making some mistakes; but the main issue is whether generals, as in the case of General Gough, are going to be allowed to assume that they are going to impose conditions upon the Government before they do their duty as soldiers. (Loud Labour and Ministerial cheers.) I say nothing whatever against their resignations; they ought to resign if they like, but that is another question altogether. I say nothing against their asking their superior officers what is meant in certain circumstances, but they are not entitled to go to the Government, to their Department, or to their superior officers and to say, "If the Home Rule Bill is carried we want you to say that you are not going to ask us to enforce the Home Rule Bill." We are told that this was merely a mis-understanding, and that they were willing to do their duty, I say they are not and that the whole intention of this move is to make that impossible. (Hear, hear.) What was the use of the right hon. gentleman the member for the city of London talking about soldiers refusing to shoot men who simply objected to being turned out of the constitutional ambit of this country? What does he imagine is going to happen? There is not a single man of commonsense but knows that the only way in which a collision could happen is that the Ulstermen themselves will take the initiative and begin to break the law. Hon. members opposite ask, "When did any Government ask soldiers to shoot strikers as strikers?" Are those hon. members telling their friends in the Army with whom they were in communication (cheers) that it was the intention of any section of this House to shoot Ulstermen simply because they were Ulstermen?

Mr. Page Croft (Christchurch, Opp.)—May I ask whether members of the Coalition also have been receiving letters from officers?

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald—I regret to say that I have not, or I would be able to give more accurate information than hon. gentlemen opposite do. I do not belong to the political party which receives the allegiance of these devoted officers. (Cheers.) I believe we have neglected the Army too much. If we had been more careful to increase the pay of officers so that men of more democratic minds could have entered the Service, we would not have been in the unfortunate position in which we are to-day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lawson (Mile-end, Opp.)—May I suggest to the hon. member, with great respect, that the great majority of the officers are much poorer than the Labour members. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald.—I am not going to enter into that. I know what a heavy struggle some deserving men have to go through; but that does not affect the remarks which I have made as to the general mental attitude of these men. The fact remains that they look down upon us.

OFFICERS AND POLITICS.

The point to remember is that these officers, who have given trouble in Ireland, have done so not on any ground of conscience. They have given trouble because they do not agree with the political opinions of the majority in this House. (Cheers.) In one of those naïve confessions which the Leader of the Opposition is constantly making he said that Army officers know no politics. (Ministerial laughter.) I was very much surprised, but I said nothing, because I was sure that before he went very far he would reply to his own statement. Within two minutes of having laid down that innocent dictum he said that the reason why those officers were opposing the Government was that they knew that Ministers had no mandate from the country. (Laughter.)

Mr. Bonar Law.—What I said was that they are not party politicians, but that did not imply that they took no interest in what was going on in the country.

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald.—I do not mind the right hon. gentleman contradicting himself; but he has not got out of the difficulty. The statement is one made by party politicians for party purposes. These gentlemen are acting, not as soldiers, and not as conscientious objectors, with whom the party opposite certainly had no sympathy in days gone by. They are acting as party politicians—as a sort of standing military committee of the National Union of Conservative Associations. (Prolonged cheers.)

SOME REFLECTIONS ON GENERAL GOUGH.

General Gough acts, I think, as a Unionist. He is a very brave and good soldier, but, like all of us, he has got his human weaknesses, and I believe he holds very strong opinions regarding Home Rule, and he acted—I think the proof is in the papers—as a politician and not as a soldier in this case. If General Gough came over as a soldier to receive assurances from the Government, how was it that those assurances hardly reached General Gough's hands when they appeared in the Conservative Press of the country? I cannot help thinking that General Gough came over for scalps, and, having got them, he exhibited them in public in places where he knew the fact would be advertised for the purposes of the party to which he owes his political allegiance. I have heard it said, on what I think is fairly good authority, that he immediately resorted to a well-known Conservative club and exhibited the paper to anybody who cared to see it. I wish to know if that is so. Whether that is true or not, it is a curious thing that this document was published, and pretty accurately published, and the terms in which it was published indicates that it was shown to somebody for the purpose of being published. The hon. member for South Birmingham (Mr. Amery) made a speech yesterday which showed that he knows more about all these communications than anybody ought to know outside the Government. Then there was the circumstantial statement, which appeared in the *Times* this morning from its Special Correspondent in Dublin. How do these things get out? I am perfectly certain that hon. members on all sides of the House must unite in condemning these leakages and the methods taken to make them public.

"WHERE DO WE STAND NOW?"

As I understand it, the Government now repudiates the last two paragraphs of the statement that was handed to General Gough. It does not hold itself responsible for them. It says it did not sanction them. It is perfectly true that the War Minister says he agrees with them, but, nevertheless, so far as the Government is concerned, it does not associate itself with them, and so far as this document is an undertaking, the Government say it is an undertaking minus the two paragraphs, but, minus the two paragraphs, it is no undertaking at all; it is simply a statement handed to General Gough of what his duties are as a soldier, so that the effect of the Prime Minister's speech this afternoon is to tell General Gough that the document must be docked of these two final paragraphs. That puts him exactly where he was immediately before he wrote the letter on March 20. He has received no reply to that letter and he has received no guarantee which he can hitch on to that letter. General Gough has been told therefore, that he is a soldier and must do the duties of a soldier or resign his office. (Cheers.) If I am wrong, having made that statement, it surely calls for a reply on behalf of the Government.

A CHALLENGING NOTE.

But, as I said at the beginning, we must not allow our minds to be diverted by what Sir Arthur Paget or anybody else did, in reference to this unfortunate blunder and misunderstanding. The thing this House has got to settle now is—Is it going to submit to the interference of soldiers or is it not? If it is not, then we have got to go on with our business and our business is to pass the Home Rule Bill as quickly as we possibly can and get it inscribed on the Statute-book under the provisions of the Parliament Act (loud Ministerial cheers), and then we will take the consequences whatever they may be. (Renewed cheers.) I am bound to say that I sympathize with the Government in its position this afternoon. In the position, revealed in the White Paper, had been the Government's position, the Government could now have lived for 24 hours. I am delighted that that is not the Government's position. The discussion this afternoon makes it clear once more that we have got to brush aside these superficial accidents, and that we are going to take our stand again against the agitation which has been manufactured by hon. gentlemen opposite. They lost the support of the House of Lords and they fell back on the support of Army officers who share their political opinions.

Lord C. Beresford (Portsmouth, Opp.) followed.

Sir E. Grey's Speech.

Sir E. Grey (Northumberland, Berwick):—The noble lord has enunciated a good deal of exceedingly sound doctrine both as to the separation of the military and naval services from all politics and as to the way in which orders ought to be received. But I cannot agree that it follows from what he said that the Secretary for War should take his advice and insist on resigning. What ought to be the motive that should guide my right hon. friend in his present position? One motive only—namely, a consideration of the public interest, and by that consideration I trust he will be

ruled. The questions involved in this debate are larger than was realized when this subject was first raised. Surely after the debate of yesterday and after such speeches as we have heard from the hon. member for Leicester this afternoon, no one in the House and most of all, no one on the opposite side can doubt how large this question is, and also that it will become larger and graver and more serious, and more dangerous the longer it is kept up. (Cheers.) In what shall say, I shall endeavour by again restating the position of the Government, and clearing up the facts as far as we can clear them up, not to lead to contention or keep the question open, but to bring it to a close.

INTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The right hon. gentleman the Leader of the Opposition made a point which the right hon. gentleman the member for the City of London also made when he said, "What did the Government really intend in this matter? What we intended was expressed in the written instructions of March 11, which is contained in the White Paper and for which the whole Cabinet is responsible, not in its actual terms, but the Secretary of State for War put it perfectly accurately, as the instructions for which the whole Cabinet is responsible. It is assumed—and I believe with all sorts of imputations and motives—that Government really intended to go beyond that, and that they had much more in their mind. That is absolutely untrue. I will say no word which puts any responsibility or blame whatever upon General Paget. If there was a misunderstanding on his part it was an honest misunderstanding.

I take next as indication of the Government what the right hon. gentleman opposite quoted as being the words of Sir Charles Ferguson, the officer: "Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from Ulster." On those words the right hon. gentleman puts the construction that Sir Charles Ferguson deliberately conveyed to a subordinate officer not merely that steps had been taken in Ulster, but that these are the actual words: "Steps had been taken to provoke Ulster." To the words taken literally in their meaning I have no objection to make. They are very much in accordance with things I have said continually in my speeches in this House—that if violence was offered it would be met by force. The meaning of that is not to provoke Ireland; that is absolutely untrue. I am told that the belief is firmly rooted in Ulster that warrants had been issued for the arrest of certain persons. For that there is not an atom of a foundation of truth. If there be provocation, and if provocation arises in that way, is the Government to be held responsible for provocation because of statements of that kind?

We had apprehensions that any movement, however purely defensive on our part, might lead to disturbances. Hon. members have expressed sometimes incredulity that there should have been really such an apprehension on our part. But have we not reason for it? (Cheers.) It is urged opposite too large a force and too many precautions were taken for the object we had in view. I have heard in this House sometimes reproaches addressed to the Government for doing something with too weak a force when the object was simple and when their object was protective and defensive, and that the very weakness of the force might be an incentive to some other responsible persons. That is the real dimension and extent of the intention, the real policy, with which the Government undertook the operations which have attracted so much notice.

GENERAL GOUGH'S LETTER.

Now I come to this serious question which is raised by the letter of General Gough dated March 20, which contains the terms "duty as ordered," to which I can see no possible objection whatever, and "active operations." We cannot judge of the words without the context before us. In any event, the mere movements of troops is an active operation. (Opposition cries of "No, no.") Then you must have the context. These are mere quotations in General Gough's letter from what he heard said. General Gough goes on in the next sentence to show that he is in doubt as to what is meant. He says:—

"If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in this Brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out their duty."

I agree with the noble lord opposite that the proper and efficient way of answering General Gough's statement would have been to say at once:—"That is the proper construction of the orders given to you. We have nothing more to do with those who are prepared to perform that duty. Resume your command." Just remember what the Secretary of State said. He had not that letter before him when he sent his instructions that the officers who sent in their resignations should be relieved of their commands or their resignation should be refused. He had not that letter before him, when did he get it? It was brought over when the officers came over. I understand that the hon. member for Leicester differentiates that particular letter entirely from the subsequent letter. For an officer who receives instructions to ask what he is actually intended to do is a perfectly legitimate question. In General Gough's first letter there is no question about the future. It is a question as to the actual meaning and scope of the actual

orders he had received orally. But the further letter which General Gough wrote on March 28 seems to me to make conditions not only about the future but about policy (cheers), and as such it is a letter to which no Government can possibly reply by making conditions or anything in the nature of them. (Cheers.) As to the particular responsibility for what appears in the paper as a reply to it, the Secretary for War has told the actual story. For the last two paragraphs of that reply, I believe, not technically the whole Army Council but the Secretary for War, Sir John French, and the Adjutant-General were responsible. The Cabinet are absolutely responsible for the first three paragraphs, which remain our considered opinion and which there is no reason for us to alter in any way now. When we were responsible for those three paragraphs we had not General Gough's letter before us, and when the first draft was made I believe that even the Secretary for War had not that letter. When you come to the question of the meaning of the last two paragraphs you must read them together. If they are to be construed, as I believe they are to be construed, so that, should the civil authority be unable to keep order in Ulster and a single policeman need help, there is nothing to relieve anyone in the Army of his obligation to give full assistance, then I do not see much fault to find with that meaning. When my right hon. friend said he stood by those paragraphs, that is the sense in which I understood him to do so.

"GENERAL GOUGH'S RETURN WAS UNCONDITIONAL."

Then why do we not accept responsibility for those two paragraphs? Because you have them, as they appear in this paper, apparently in answer to a letter of General Gough making conditions, though the Prime Minister stated originally that General Gough's return to his command was unconditional and because he said the same to-day. (Cheers.) He returned not as the result of any bargaining between himself and his Majesty's Government. We all know his reputation as that of a most gallant and courageous officer, who has the respect and admiration of all who know him and his public record. When the noble lord opposite asks what is his position in Ireland, of course his position is that which the Prime Minister has stated. (Opposition cries of "What is that?" and Ministerial cries of "He resigned.") No, he is in his command now. It is perfectly well known to General Gough what is the actual answer of the Government and what the position is. The first three paragraphs are the answer of the Government to General Gough. We stand by those and we are responsible for nothing else. (Cheers.)

If General Gough thinks that the last two paragraphs are an answer in the negative to his question—"In the event of the present Home Rule Bill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it on Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?"—I want to remove that impression, I say definitely he must understand that he is putting question in that letter to which no Government can give a negative answer (cheers), and to which even the Leader of the Opposition could not give a negative answer. I go further and I say that it is not question that an officer should put. (Cheers.)

THE PROSPECT OF COERCION.

When you come to the question of the coercion of Ulster, to compel her to submit to the operation of the Home Rule Bill, I would say this that it finally, under all conditions, it becomes impossible to make the will of the country as to the way in which the Irish question shall be settled prevail by agreement, then of course there will be nothing else for it but the use of force. (Hear, hear.) But I trust, and I still believe, that that time will not come. I look with the greatest reluctance—I would say with the greatest loathing—to the prospect of having to coerce even minority. Those of us in this House who in the old days consistently opposed the coercion of other part of Ireland cannot be expected to look forward with anything but the greatest dislike to landing ourselves in anything which means a policy of coercion in Ulster.

I still hope that may be avoided by some agreement. Now, I turn again to General Gough's letter in which he asks for conditions with regard to future policy. An officer ought not to ask such a question and if he does he must be told that no Government can give an answer. I think it is not in the interests of the discipline of the Army that officers should ask such questions. It is quite true that if a conflict on the question of policy arose as regards orders between the Government of the day and the Army it might bring us very near a revolution; but there is one thing which would certainly bring us to a revolution, and that is if any British Government ever allowed itself to be put in a position where it could be imputed to it that it had taken its policy from or allowed its policy to be influenced by the politics of officers in the Army. (Cheers.) That is why I say I believe that this has arisen originally out of perfectly honest misunderstandings, and I doubt whether General Gough himself could have realized the fire that he was kindling—perhaps he does now after the debate in the House—by putting what I dare say appeared to him a perfect innocent question. Because we consider that this incident is to be closed, as I trust it may be closed, it must be closed on the note that there is no question raised by the

Army in respect to the orders given them and, as regards policy, the policy is that of the Government which is not influenced by the Army or attempted to be influenced by the Army, it is because we believe on that note the incident is to be closed that we have laid these papers before the House, and my right hon. friend, the Secretary of State for War, has given the very frank explanation that he has of his own part in the matter and the Prime Minister has given an equally frank and authoritative statement of the position of the Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. Holt and the Opposition.

A SCENE.

Mr. Holt (Northumberland, Hexham, Min.) said they were going to have an Army which should obey equally the orders of Liberal and Conservative Governments. (Ministerial and Opposition cheers.) Otherwise they would have no Army at all. Hon. gentlemen opposite used to rely on the House of Lords, but the House of Lords had been crushed. Then they thought that possibly the Army might be a second string to their bow. (Loud Opposition cries of "Never" and "Withdraw.")

Major Archer-shoe (Finsbury, Central Opp.) Is the hon. member in order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in grossly insulting the armed forces of his Majesty in the way?

The Deputy Speaker.—I do not gather that there was anything of that kind.

Mr. Holt.—Hon. gentlemen opposite have been thinking they could use the army as a substitute for the Lords. (Opposition cries of "Untrue" and "Withdraw.")

The Deputy Speaker.—The hon. member is entitled to state his opinion. We are here to listen to different opinions.

Sir F. Baubury said the hon. member made his statement as a statement of fact, and the Deputy Speaker remarked that members often expressed opinions without saying that they were opinions, but Mr. Holt again raised a storm by explaining that after listening to Opposition speeches during the last few years he had been unable to come to any other conclusion that it was their intention to use the Army as a means of preventing the decisions of this—

The hon. member got no further owing to loud cries of "Untrue." The Deputy Speaker once more appealed to the House to listen to opinions with which they might not agree, and Sir W. Byles (Salford N., Min.) remarked—It is after dinner, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

Mr. Holt again rose, but was unable to make himself heard amid the cries of "Withdraw."

Mr. Butcher called attention to the "offensive remark" of the hon. member for North Salford, and

The Deputy Speaker said he had rebuked him at the moment without rising from the Chair.

Mr. Holt, resuming his speech, said that the House of Lords had failed the party opposite, and he thought they would find the second string to their bow would fail them too.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DENIAL.

Mr. A. Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E.).—The hon. member contend that once we are returned here we are to be masters without check or control. No member on the opposition side had even claimed such right as that. (Ministerial cries of "You exercised it.") You say that when we are in power the check does not exist, but you never said that it ought not to exist. Now we have the hon. member, with the approval of his party, claiming that that is the true interpretation of our constitutional system. That is the claim for Single-Chamber government carried to its extreme; and Single-Chamber government, the Foreign Secretary declared, is "death damnation, and destruction." The hon. member said it was the determination of every section of his party "not to tolerate an Army which will not act for our side as it will for the other." We have never asked, expected, or desired that the Army should act for a party. (Cheers.) Our earnest object in all these anxious months has been to prevent any party question affecting the discipline of the Army.

I welcome the intervention this evening of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but does the right hon. gentleman mean to suggest that there is anything comparable between the coercion, which he admits that he contemplates in certain eventualities, of the great mass of the people of all classes in the north east of Ulster and what was called the coercion practised by my right hon. friend as Chief Secretary. (A Ministerialist.—"Why not?") I will tell the hon. member why not. You may quote the example of my right hon. friend when the Ulstermen fire into the houses of those who disagree with them (cheers), when they tar and feather women who disagree with them (Ministerial cries of "Oh" and Opposition cheers), when they maim cattle (Ministerial interruptions and Opposition cheers)—until you accuse Ulstermen of those crimes (Mr. Dillon.—"I do accuse them" and Ministerial cries of "What about the shipyards?"), and prove that they have committed them, because some men sling accusations about very lightly (cheers and counter-cheers), you cannot cite the action of my right hon. friend as any precedent to the coercion you are contemplating. (Cheers.)

(To be continued.)

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Vol. 7.

Single Copy

No. 18

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain has given notice of a Resolution, moving that in view of the seriousness of Government's contemplated naval and military movements in Ulster, the incompleteness and inaccuracy of the Ministers' statements and the failure of the Government to deal frankly with the situation there should be a full and impartial enquiry into all circumstances.

London, April 25.

Volunteers were mobilised throughout Ulster yesterday evening with the utmost secrecy. It is estimated that 27,000 turned out.

London, April 25.

Seventy thousand rifles were landed in Ulster last night for volunteers. They were conveyed inland in two hundred motor cars. Mobilisation last night was in Belfast district only. This diverted the attention while the steamer "Fanny" transferred rifles to a small craft.

Later.

Most of the rifles were landed at Larne and the remainder at Bangor and Donaghadee. Many volunteers were on duty at Larne and police were helpless being unable even to communicate with Belfast. The first consignment reached Tyrone at four o'clock

in the morning and others were distributed in nearer counties. The plan succeeded without a hitch.

London, April 27.

Estimates as to the number of arms imported into Ireland now vary between 24,600 and 40,000 with from one million to three and half a million cartridges

London, April 27.

Newspapers state that troop trains have been ordered for conveyance northwards of West Kent Regiment and Yorkshire Regiment from Dublin and Manchester Regiment from Currah. It is believed that proclamation of martial law is imminent.

London, April 27.

The *Daily Mail* says that the above named Regiments arrived in Dublin to day.

The *Daily News* states that Friday night's crimes are no longer preparations for rebellion. They were rebellion with every circumstance of rebellion. The paper demand an immediate change in the Government's policy towards Ulster and the punishment of every participant in Friday night's incident.

The *Daily Chronicle* demands that Sir Edward Carson and his colleagues shall no longer be allowed to play with fire. It says Government's immediate duty is to punish Friday's crimes and to draft in troops to confiscate imported arms. It says that a resolute policy may meet the trouble but otherwise worse trouble will meet us.

London, April 27.

Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill and Sir John Simon to-day conferred at 10 Downing Street with regard to the Ulster question. Hitherto there have been no movements of troops in Ireland. Volunteers are watching the Police in case they attempt to seize arms.

London, April 27.

Last night there was renewed activity in Ulster between Bangor and Newtownards. Fifty motor cars were engaged in transporting rifles and ammunition. Special volunteers worked unimpeded, the Police expecting warrants which did not arrive.

London, April 27.

Some ninety questions regarding Ulster were asked at question time in the House of Commons to-day. They were answered in silence, the position being regarded as too grave for the continuance of recent angry retorts. Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig sat among the Opposition benches. Replying to Mr. Lough on the subject of recent importation of arms into Ulster Mr. Asquith said that in view of this grave and unprecedented outrage the House may rest assured that Government will take without delay proper steps to vindicate the authority of law and to protect officers and servants of the King (loud cheers) and His Majesty's subjects in the exercise of their duties and enjoyment of their legal right.

London, April 28.

Unionist papers continue to publish columns of description regarding gunrunning in Ulster. They declare that not another rifle is now required by volunteers. The work of distribution in the province is nearly accomplished and arms have been securely hidden in small lots. Hundreds of motors were employed. As an instance of secrecy observed, it is stated that in a procession of sixty-four cars, the only man aware of the destination was the leading driver.

London, April 28.

The steamer "Roma" has been detained at Ayr, on a charge of illegal carriage of arms. It is alleged that the "Roma" was about to sail for Ayr on Friday night when she was seized by Ulster volunteers. Volunteers employed her in taking arms from the gunrunner to Belfast. The crew were powerless.

London, April 28.

Thrilling description is given of the adventures of the gunrunner Norwegian hooker "Fanny." She tramped the seas for three weeks in gales without papers. She was three times repainted and re-christened. She eventually anchored in Yarmouth Roads to provision and repair. A man went thence to London got in touch with Ulster and then went to Lundy Island where he met "Mountjoy" which was chartered and manned by the Volunteers. Arms were transhipped in the first place one hundred miles South of Tasker Rack and in the second place to Cardigan Bay whence "Mountjoy," in the guise of a collier leisurely proceeded to Ulster, a member of the Ulster Unionist Council boarding her at sunset on Friday and directing the run to Larne.

London, April 28.

Telegrams from Belfast state that it is rumoured that certain troops, ordered north during the week-end, asked for conditions of service. They were prepared to mobilise, but refused to wage war against Ulster and to shoot those under the flag. Consequently the orders were cancelled.

London, April 28.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Austen Chamberlain submitted his motion for an impartial inquiry into the movement of troops in Ulster. He emphasised that Government had refused information and had refused to publish the instructions given to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Paget or what Sir Arthur Paget had told the Officers. He proceeded to accuse Ministers of making grossly and flagrantly inaccurate statements. They seemed as regards the Naval movement to be unable to distinguish between truth and untruth. Indeed the whole story of the Government was incredible while the talk about atrocities was a mere pretence to cover the movement of an overwhelming force with a view to coercing Ulster. He demanded a full and impartial inquiry amid cheers.

MR. CHURCHILL'S REPLY

Mr. Churchill said this was a most audacious vote of censure and a most impudent demand for a judicial inquiry on record. Complainant should come to a court with clean hands; but there were Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig fresh from gun-running exploits. He asserted that subsequent events had proved fatal to the motion. It looked like criminal classes moving a vote of censure on the Police. (Opposition:—"You have not arrested the criminals") Mr. Churchill declared that the Conservatives were committed to tampering with the Army and the Navy and smuggling arms by moon-light. He asked them to think how these doctrines would apply in India and Egypt.

Mr. Churchill prefaced the peroration to his speech by appealing to Sir Edward Carson who was running risk in the strife to run risk for peace, adding:—"I am running some little risk in what I now say." He accused those who were preparing for a civil war of having other purposes than that of wanting to subvert the regular system of parliamentary Government. Government would not use force till force was used against the representatives of law and order. He defended the right of Government to throw troops into Ulster to arrest leaders and to take other drastic measures, but considered them inadvisable in the circumstances with which they had to deal. He asked the House even in that last period to seek a better solution than a civil war and alluded to the anxiety felt by every friendly country owing to the belief that the balance of power would presently be changed. Foreign countries did not realise that external difficulties would dispel internal dissensions. If that was feasible at a higher call of patriotism, why not at a call of internal amity.

Great importance is attached in the lobby to Mr. Churchill's peroration. It is considered that the suggestion, however vague is a great advance on Government's original proposals and indicates that Government is feeling its way towards a Federal solution.

Berlin, April 29.

The *National Zeitung* says that "Fanny's" consignment of arms for Ulster consisted of 80,000 American small-calibre rifles and three million cartridges.

The Ulster Crisis.

London, 30th April.

The majority in the censure motion included 70 Nationalists and 80 Labourites.

The Commons was deeply moved by Mr. Balfour's peroration in which he eloquently described his whole life's work to make the United Kingdom one nation under one Parliament and to make Ireland content under that Parliament by removing all her grievances. This life work had been shattered by the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin. Even if Ulster were excluded therefrom, so far

from that being a triumph, the passage of Home Rule with exclusion would be regarded by Mr. Balfour as a disaster.

Mr. Asquith made a speech thereafter in which he said that the debate would be remembered not so much for the exposure of the myth of a plot which never existed as for the speeches of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Balfour, which might prove to be landmarks in the history of this controversy. It was impossible to listen to Mr. Balfour's speech without lively emotion. He had never heard in the Commons a more remarkable, more touching, more appealing avowal, but it amounted to this that Mr. Balfour was constrained to admit that uncontrollable forces had been too strong for him, making him recognise that Home Rule in some shape was inevitable.

The opinion is strengthening that the time limit for the exclusion of Ulster will be abandoned. It is expected that Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Redmond will take part in the next conferences between the party leaders. Yesterday's debate was also remarkable for its varying tone. It opened in warlike manner but ended pacifically. Mr. Churchill's offer of an olive branch proved to be the text of the pacific utterances of Mr. Balfour, Sir E. Carson and Mr. Bonar Law. The last named invited Mr. Asquith to renew conversations and offered to stand aside and let Lord Lansdowne or Sir E. Carson negotiate. Mr. Asquith expressed his opinion that the road to settlement was not through bargaining on the floor of the Commons. He said there must be no settlement behind the backs of Ulstermen or other Irishmen.

The fifth Cabinet of this week met to-day. It was also the most prolonged of the five. It is understood that time was devoted to considering the Irish settlement. The brighter outlook of yesterday evening was maintained to-day, and there are great hopes that a round table conference will be arranged.

Advices from Belfast report that a general optimistic tone prevails there since the latest events at Westminster, but distrust of the Government's *bona fides* is sporadically expressed.

Three cruisers were observed patrolling off Lough Foyle this morning. It was believed in Londonderry that their presence was due to the report which has since proved unfounded of the landing of arms at Innishowen from America for the Nationalist.

The Greek Church.

The Oecumenical Patriarch has appealed to the Czar for the protection of members of the Orthodox Church. It is stated in Athens that the Czar has given £1,000 towards the fund to assist refugees and has instructed the Russian Minister to confer with his British and French colleagues with a view to securing a cessation of the ill-treatment of members of the Orthodox Church.

Austria and the Balkans.

The statement of Count Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Delegations affirmed Austria-Hungary's desire to see Turkey, who despite the losses of the war remained a strong element in the East, consolidate her possessions. He declared that Austria-Hungary attached great importance to a continuance of the Ottoman factor in undiminished strength on both political and economic grounds. He praised Great Britain's conciliatoriness in the Balkan crisis, which he declared largely contributed to the peaceful settlement, and emphasised the friendship binding the Dual Monarchy and Great Britain.

The Minister announced that so many thousands of Christian refugees continued to arrive in Salonika that it was difficult to provide shelter for them.

The Turkish Navy.

Constantinople May 1st.

The Committee which has been entrusted with the expenditure of the public subscription to increase the Navy, which now amounts to £450,000, announces that the Porte has ordered another Dreadnought from Messrs. Armstrong, making three. Six destroyers and two submarines have also been ordered in France. The Porte deems these measures necessary owing to the Greek orders of last March.

University of Cambridge.

London, April 25.

In a few weeks, the University of Cambridge will publish documents consisting of important variants of the text of the Koran contained in Palimpsest purchased from Mrs. Agnes Lewis in 1895 Doctor Mingana of Syro-Chaldean Seminary House, only deciphered the Koranic text under the upper patriotic text in November. Some of the pages were apparently written before Mohamed's amanuensis Zaid ibn Thabit compiled of the *Textus Receptus* of Koran.

Anti-Greek Outburst.

Athens, April 25.

The police at Smyrna have ordered all Greek subjects to leave at once. The Greek Consul called on the Vali in connection with the order, but was not received. He was told that the Vali had gone to the country.



Our London Letter.

London, April 10.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE second reading of the Home Rule Bill has been carried in the House of Commons with the handsome majority of 80. The Parliamentary debate on Monday last, before the division took place, was not of any particular significance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was unfortunately unable to be present, owing to indisposition, but Mr. Birrell, who wound up for the Government, impressed the House with a speech that was full of lucid expressions and convincing arguments. The Chief Secretary for Ireland made it abundantly clear that Mr. Asquith's offer of temporary exclusion for Ulster is still open, but the Conservative Leader's attitude, which was hardly conciliatory, does not at present render the situation very hopeful, though it is only fair to mention that Sir Edward Carson has at last thoroughly realised the gravity of the problem and his speech on Monday night plainly indicated that he would be willing to negotiate with a view to a peaceful solution. There is also a distinct sign of willingness for reconciliation and peace visible amongst the back benches on both sides and, for the present at any rate, the House has adjourned for the brief Easter recess full of hopes. Everybody, from the serious politician to the man in the street, seems for the moment infected with the holiday mood and, unless any particularly vital developments occur, which are not likely, the prospects for the subsequent progress of the Home Rule Bill and its eventual enactment are very favourable indeed.

The Prime Minister, as Reuter has, of course already informed you, has been returned for East Fife unopposed on his acceptance of the Secretaryship of State for War. His triumphal progress overland to Scotland last week was the highest tribute the country has ever paid to Liberalism. Mr. Asquith's speech to his constituents at Ladybank, in which he mainly dealt with the questions of Home Rule and the Army, has found an echo throughout the Kingdom. His significant words in reference to the Army's participation in politics—"the Army will hear nothing of politics from me and I in turn expect to hear nothing of politics from the Army"—have put the whole case in a nutshell and people of all shades of opinion are in full agreement with him on that important point. It is the sacred duty of the Army to unhesitatingly obey the orders of its legally constituted authorities. The Conservative party has tried its utmost to use the Army as a pawn in the political game but has signally failed in this trick, the meanest possible trick that could ever be imagined. The Opposition had an excellent opportunity before them in East Fife to vindicate their honour and to justify their recent action both inside and outside Parliament. Even a substantial fall in Mr. Asquith's majority would have certainly been rightly interpreted by the country as a strong condemnation of the Government's policy. There were no side issues before the electorate in East Fife and nobody was more anxious than Mr. Asquith himself to put the question of the Army to the forefront in the constituency. As a matter of fact he did so in no unmistakable language at Ladybank and yet the Conservatives, who are never tired of declaring that the country has lost its confidence in the present Government, have refused to avail themselves of such a splendid chance. They knew that it would be suicidal to appeal to the East Fife electors on the vital issue that has been so recklessly raised by them in the House of Commons. They were perfectly aware that no sane constituency is prepared to proclaim that in future the regimental mess-house is to be the legislative chamber of the nation. They were absolutely convinced of the fact that no elector could or would vote for the party that has done its best to convert the people's army into that of the Conservative party. Hence their decision not to oppose Mr. Asquith's candidature. All their talk about their "patriotism," etc., which, they say, has prompted them to adopt this course, must, of course, be at once dismissed as useless and ridiculous. It is nothing of the kind. Only certain knowledge of a crushing defeat at the polls has prevented them from putting their candidate in the field and their refusal to have anything to do with the "sour grapes" deceives no one but themselves. The sum

and substance of all this rather farcical drama on the part of the Opposition is the fact that the hands of the Government have been enormously strengthened and the Liberal party's position in the House of Commons with the aid of the Irish Nationalists and the Labour Party has never been more secure than it is to-day.

MR. BALFOUR AS A HYDE PARK AGITATOR.

"Sub Rosa" writes a most interesting article in the *Daily News* and *Leader* on the rather unexpected appearance of Mr. Balfour in Hyde Park last Saturday on the occasion of the Unionist demonstration against Home Rule. The "gentlemanly" party has always treated public demonstrations by the Labour and Liberal parties and other associations with contempt and has hitherto considered such movements as "infra dig" for themselves to undertake. Eight long and weary years, during which they have been ploughing the sands of Opposition, have at last rendered the Conservative party desperate and on Saturday last London was freely treated to a most extraordinary sight of witnessing noble lords, ex Cabinet Ministers and even an ex-Prime Minister in the unique role of Hyde Park agitators. The present wicked Government is solely responsible for the deep depth of humility to which the "aristocratic" party has sunk or rather been forcibly reduced to. "I may say," proceeds the writer, "that if I had been asked a week ago if the appearance of Mr. Balfour as an agitator in Hyde Park could be regarded as a probability, I should have said at once that the answer was in the negative. I should have given that answer as a result of the study of his habits derived from looking at the past. He has hitherto regarded Hyde Park demonstrations with serene contempt. Some years ago there was a tremendous meeting there to oppose his Church Education Bill, and when he was asked some question in the House about the demonstration he turned to those sitting near him and said in his well-known style of polite bewilderment, 'Let me see—where did this gathering take place?' Hyde Park demonstrations then appeared to be beneath his notice—but he has now discovered that if a man would avoid being forgotten he must keep 'in the movement.' Of course, we all know that Mr. Balfour has on occasion announced that he is a democrat—but this has been regarded as 'only his fun.' Times, however, change, and men have to change with them, and so the Rt. Hon. gentleman no longer dismisses tub-thumping in Hyde Park as belonging to his newly-discovered 'category of negligibility.' I wonder whether, owing to the seriousness of the political situation, he will take to smoking a short clay pipe, and addressing his fellow men as 'old mateys.' And I should like to know what Mr. Bonar Law thinks about this amusing incident. Mr. Balfour may next appear on a perch in Trafalgar square, or speak a few words of encouragement to a crowd of strikers on Tower Hill. If so, the official Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons will find his predecessor quite a dangerous rival. Mr. Balfour has shown by his prowess at golf, and tennis, at theology, and, I am told, at the grand piano, what can be done by pluck and persistence, so that if he is now about to come out as a street-corner orator he may be called back to the leadership after all. Up to now that recall, which was confidently expected by some, has not been heard. But this Hyde Park experiment is a bold one. It shows that Mr. Balfour means business, and he must have taken great trouble over the affair, as it is said that he asked several people 'Where is Hyde Park?' in order to get there in time to do his turn. Did he stand on an upturned tub, or was he in the cart, or up a tree? It is to be hoped that someone has noted down all details and particulars for the sake of historians in the future, and in order that one of the most picturesque incidents in the history of the Park may be fittingly preserved. Some say that he took his coat off, and others contradict this. What is wanted is an official and authoritative version or record of the whole affair.

"And where was Lord Lansdowne—that other sturdy non-party democrat? It seems to me that he missed the chance of his life, and in consequence the public missed a treat. To have seen Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne appealing to the great heart of the people, and bawling to a record gathering of nurse-girls from the suburbs, would have given the crowd an unrivalled opportunity of enjoying some competitive and genteel tub-thumping. Mr. Balfour has long since proved his versatility, and last Saturday's show gave him an opportunity of at last playing the part of an open-air agitator. Is it true, I wonder, that he carried his umbrella 'at the trial'—to use Mr. Garvin's phrase, meaning, perhaps, 'trial' that he waved a little flag and saluted Sir Edward Carson in the best military style? All this is being proudly related by his admirers. It is whispered that he has enlisted in the Ulster Volunteers, and will shortly appear in uniform, having already been given high rank in the band. When such a man takes up the business of an agitator there is no holding him back. He has lost much time to redeem, and so he is now prepared to rival the British Army in going

anywhere and doing anything. Having resolved to undertake this democratic new departure, and seeing the necessity of doing the thing well, as becomes a belated convert, what was Mr. Balfour's main theme in the Park? It was an honest, manly, heart-to-heart appeal against anything of the nature of Coercion in Ireland! I am told that at first some of his hearers thought that he was joking, and that he had come to provide a little comic relief in the midst of dour and stern oratory. But no!—Mr. Balfour has become a 'very different man,' and he who covered Non-Conformists with ridicule when they offered passive resistance to his Education Act now pleads for the sacred rights of the Curragh conscience, and he who employed troops to help the landlords in evicting peasants in Ireland, troops who were told not to hesitate to shoot, is now shocked at the bare notion of coercion. He is one of the most interesting converts known to history.

"But his appearance as an open-air agitator in Hyde Park shows how quickly we have travelled and how far we have moved within a very few years. It seems but yesterday that when he wanted to strip up Liberal legislation, all he had to do was to call round at Lansdowne House, and there, in company with the noble Marquis, the trick could be played without any fuss or fluster. It is a long way, in one sense though not in another, from that famous house in a famous square to a perch in Hyde Park. He has managed to travel that journey—perhaps he could say with truth, 'I didn't want to do it'—but necessity hath no law. And he has had his reward, for has not Mr. Garvin likened him to Achilles (who is also represented in Hyde Park) returning to the fight before Troy? The simile may not be quite encouraging to some gentlemen on the Tory front bench, for Achilles came back only when myrmidons and others on his own side were in a hopeless mess. And directly he did come back he took the lead at once and beyond all question. Is this what is going to happen in regard to this later Achilles? I cannot say, but if the eloquent classical allusion has any appropriateness it may turn out that the Hyde Park perch was but a stepping-stone to the post of leader."

DISMISSAL OF MR. ARNOLD'S CASE.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at which there were present on Monday Lord Shaw, Lord Moulton, Sir John Edge and Mr. Ameer Ali, as you are already aware, has dismissed the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold, the editor and proprietor of the "Burma Critic," from a conviction of defamation and a sentence of one year's imprisonment by the Chief Court of Lower Burma. The proceedings were taken under the Indian Penal Code by a district magistrate, who alleged that Mr. Arnold defamed him in two articles headed "A Mockery of British Justice."

There is universal sympathy felt here for Mr. Arnold among the entire Indian colony on the failure of his appeal. Commenting on the result of his case, the *Westminster Gazette* proceeds as follows:—"At the same time it is only fair to Mr. Arnold to point out that he was moved to action by an honest view that there had been a miscarriage of justice. As to that, it is to be noted that the Privy Council expressly declares that 'they find themselves in entire agreement with the learned judge,' who (in the Burmese Court) said 'It is not surprising that there should be indignation and hot feeling on the part of the sympathisers with the mother of the child Aina, and good reason for feelings of indignation at some of the conduct—the admitted conduct—of Mr. McCormick. However strong his inclination for amateur doctoring may have been, there was no justification for that. It was a thing that no man with a proper sense of decency should have done.'"

Again a little later the Privy Council says:—"After investigating the facts and declining to commit, he (Mr. Andrew) went on to say that in his opinion Mr. McCormick's conduct was pure and philanthropic. Their Lordships cannot agree with such an opinion, and their views coincide with those of the Chief Justice on that subject."

It is only bare justice to Mr. Arnold that these passages should be borne in mind in connection with his appeal that has failed.

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY.

At to-day's *Juma Namaz* at Lindsay Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, a Young Turkish lady, Miss Ataullah, was amongst the worshippers. This lady's brother, who was undergoing a course of instruction in aviation at Hendon about two years ago, had served the Society faithfully on the Committee for some time and consequently his sister's genial presence amongst us this morning at Lindsay Hall was particularly welcome and appreciated by the members of the Society present. Miss Ataullah's sister is a medical student at the Royal Free Hospital for Women in London, she is to be heartily congratulated on her enlistment as a worker in this noble branch of science and she will carry our good

wishes for her success in her future medical work in Turkey. Yet another piece of evidence as to the advancement of Turkish women!

THE HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE.

This Committee, of whose aims and objects I have briefly acquainted your readers in my letter of last week, held their first reception last Saturday afternoon at 25, Park Lane, the palatial residence of Sir Phillip Sassoon, M. P. A very large gathering of Indian and English people was present and Lord Haldane delivered an informal address on the occasion. The Lord Chancellor referred to the fact that his interest in India, and particularly Indian philosophy, had been roused as long back as his student days at the Edinburgh University, when he happened to have had a very formidable rival in an Indian fellow student in almost all the examinations for which he had sat. Sometimes, according to Lord Haldane, the Indian beat him "hands down," while on other occasions, Lord Haldane, or Mr. R. B. Haldane as he then was, succeeded in bowling his Indian rival over. The keen competition and the healthy rivalry that had evidently existed between the two, we were told, had only cemented their friendship still closer and had created an unusual degree of mutual regard and admiration between them. After knowing all this, one wonders whether the present occupant of the Woolsack would not have really done better at the India Office.

Soon after the guests had assembled, we were unexpectedly afforded the unique experience of witnessing the hurried entry of Sir Edward Carson into the building, not as a guest but as a "deserter" from the adjoining Unionist demonstration in Hyde Park. Sir Edward had been "mobbed" by his sympathetic supporters, who were determined to "chair" him, after the demonstration was over. The Irish Unionist Leader was too exhausted to accept this further recognition of his services to the "cause" on the part of his followers and he literally ran away from them and sought shelter under the ever-hospitable roof of Sir Phillip Sassoon. We saw him enter the house gasping for breath and looking as pale as sheet. Even then the enthusiastic demonstrators did not give in. Crowds collected outside the mansion and Sir Edward was finally compelled to address them again from the balcony.

As to the ultimate success of the scheme that has been taken up by the Hospitality Committee, as I have said before, everything depends on themselves. It is much too premature to judge their work at this stage but they can succeed only if and when they could convince the Indian student of the honesty of their purpose. The least trace of Anglo-Indianisation in their plan is bound to bring nothing but ruin and disaster to the whole scheme.

THE LONDON MOSLEM LEAGUE.

I had mentioned, I think, in one of my previous weekly letters to the *Comrade* that the London Moslem League, with a view to rendering the organization more popular here among the young Indian Moslems, had decided to hold informal committee dinners from time to time. I am glad to say that the first function of the kind was held on Saturday last, the 4th inst. at the Westminster Palace Hotel and proved a complete success. The gathering was not large and was never intended to be, since the occasion was in no sense a public function. It was held almost exclusively for the benefit of the members of the League in London and the objects for which the dinner had been arranged, viz., the promotion of social intercourse, and the encouragement of informal exchange of views, between the members, were amply fulfilled. Practically all the members of the London League attended. The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, the President, was in the chair, but, owing to indisposition, the vice-President, Mr. C. A. Latif, was unfortunately prevented from being present; while Mr. A. S. M. Anik, the Hon. Treasurer, who had been laid up with Bronchitis for the past three weeks, had heroically left his sick-bed to attend the dinner, though he was prevented by his doctor's orders from freely indulging into the luxuries of the table and had to merely contend himself with sparingly partaking of only the "digestible" courses on the menu.

The occasion being an informal one, there was, of course, no official toast-list. After the loyal toast was duly honoured, however, Colonel Yate, M. P., briefly proposed the toast of the London League. He is an honorary member of the Association. In responding to the toast, Mr. Ameer Ali expressed his gratification at the presence of the representative gathering that evening and hoped that the members present would realise their individual responsibility and that they would all work for the advancement of the aims and objects of the London League. Mr. Asaf Ali, in a short but eloquent speech, proposed the President's health, for which Mr. Ameer Ali briefly returned thanks.

The arrangements for the dinner, which left nothing to be desired, reflected very great credit on the organising abilities of Mr. Ghulam Rasul, the Acting Hon. Secretary.



TETE À TETE



As we go to press we learn by wire that the Aligarh College Hockey

Aligarh Hockey.

team won the Beighton Cup after at Calcutta a hard contest. We do not know the details of the recent tour of the team, but congratulate it most heartily on a success which promises to be the earnest of better things to come. Dr. Fyze referred in his recent letter to us to the bad luck which attended the hockey team in its Bombay visit some years ago, and in 1911 the team's Calcutta tour was not as successful as it had been expected to be. The present success is, therefore, all the more welcome, and we have every hope that the College hockey team would now build up a reputation no whit less great than that which many generations of Aligarh men have built up for Aligarh cricket. We congratulate the captain on the success of his endeavours, and look forward to his establishing a record as brilliant as that of Prince Hamidullah Khan in cricket this year.

We referred some weeks ago to a remark made by Mr. Asquith in the course of his Ladybank speech that the Tory doctrines about the Army "set a precedent, which was of an infinite number of applications, each more disastrous in its consequences than the one which went before it." Our contemporary, the *Pioneer*, evidently had discovered a way out of the difficulty and went on publishing its London letters exulting over the discomfiture of the Government and backing them up with editorial comments which were uttered in a still more triumphant tone. This led the Editor of the *Comrade* to write to the *Pioneer* and ask for the solution of some military conundrums in India. On a certain well-known occasion a gentleman who is now an esteemed Muslim member of the U. P. Legislative Council wrote to the *Pioneer* and sought its advice with regard to the future policy of the Indian Mussalmans. We confess we were somewhat surprised at the time at this procedure and had commented on it with some severity. Time, however, brings its own revenges, and the Hon. Syed Riza Ali can well exult over the editor of this journal for having been compelled to seek advice from the *Pioneer*. His exultation must be all the greater because, whereas the *Pioneer* readily offered to him the advice that he had sought, it has not condescended to assist the editor of the *Comrade*. The only reply it has vouchsafed to him is: "Returned with many thanks."

The letter addressed by the Editor of the *Comrade* to the *Pioneer* runs as follows:—

Ulster and India.

"Sir,—Not so long ago you were constantly thrusting me on the attention of your readers and it was a great strain on my eyes to stand the fierce light that beats on him who is pilloried in your columns. If to-day I venture to thrust myself on the attention of your readers it is because I desire to turn on that dazzling light not so much on myself as on a somewhat obscure problem of general interest to my countrymen.

"A year and a half ago the Hindu residents of Ajuddhiya objected to the sacrifice of cows by Mussalmans on the occasion of the *Eid-i-Adha*, or Bakr 'Id, in that sacred and historic locality. The Mussalmans, however, insisted on the exercise of a well-estab-

lished right and the Local Government upheld their claim. However apprehending that there may be a breach of the peace, the civil authorities, I believe, asked for and obtained the promise of the assistance of troops which were thereupon quartered in the neighbourhood of the locality. More recently, a Mosque in Machhli Bazar at Cawnpore was surrounded one morning by the Armed Police, and a portion of it demolished in the presence of the District Magistrate at the instance, I believe, of the official Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality. A month later the Mussalmans of the City held a mass meeting to protest against the sacrilege, and when it was over, some of them went and commenced to heap up the debris of loose bricks on the demolished site. On being asked by some policemen to desist and disperse, they are alleged to have handled the trespassers somewhat roughly. On this the District Magistrate is stated to have brought a force of Mounted and Armed Police and to have ordered it to open fire on the mob. I have been told, though I cannot vouch for it, that the District Magistrate telephoned to the highest military authority in the local garrison to send some troops also for assisting the Police, but that this officer treated the request as the result of the Magistrate excessive excitement, besides being not in proper legal form.

"Whatever the facts of the matter, I am anxious to know your view of the law and the equity in the following hypothetical cases. If the troops at Ajuddhiya had been ordered by the civil authorities to fire on a Hindu mob that forcibly resisted the sacrifice of cows by Mussalmans on the occasion of Bakr 'Id, and if the troops at Cawnpore had been similarly ordered to fire on the Mussalmans who resisted trespassers on the site of the demolished portion of their mosque, would the Hindu soldier at Ajuddhiya and the Mussalman soldiers at Cawnpore have been justified, either by law or by equity, to have refused to comply with the order to fire on their co-religionists on the ground that they were conscientiously satisfied that the civil authorities were in the wrong and those on whom they were ordered to fire were in the right?

"It is reported that in the course of a speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist Party, with which you are generally in agreement, claimed that 'the least we in the twentieth century had a right to ask was that when we were threatened with civil commotion, officers conscientiously objecting to that service should be permitted to resign, retaining their pensions.' In your issue of the 29th April you say: 'Talk as one will about Constitutional theory and Army orders, the history both of our own and of other lands teaches us that on the outbreak of civil war all theories and legalisms fall to the ground and every citizen feels constrained to take sides according to his conscience. It is this which has always differentiated civil strife from a foreign war.'

"May I ask if in the two hypothetical cases, my Hindu and Moslem fellow-countrymen respectively would have been justified in claiming, with Mr. Bonar Law, the right to resign and retain their pensions on the ground of conscientiously objecting to such service as was demanded of them, and if, with you, they could claim the additional right of shooting down the District Magistrates by taking side against the civil authorities according to their conscience?

"It may also be that some more than usually enterprising fellow-countrymen of mine may organise a Saniti in Calcutta the members of which may take an oath to resist by force of arms a second Partition of Bengal when the Unionists come into power next July, and Lord Curzon, as His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, orders his agents in India, namely, the Governor-General in Council, to revert to the arrangements made by him in 1905, appointing Sir Banfyde Fuller as the Lieutenant-Governor at Dacca. In that case, would my fellow-countrymen, the Bengal Covenanters, be liable to arrest and imprisonment for conspiracy and waging war against His Majesty if they organised a "Volunteer Coup" and "outwitted the authorities" by landing a cargo of a million Automatic Browning Pistols and a few hundred million cartridges after surrounding the coastguards on the Hoogli with members of *athwas* armed with lathis?

"These are contingencies which may or may not happen; but you will agree, Sir, that it is best 'in these democratic days' to be armed with the sanctions of law—and fact."

Now, this is really very unkind of our Allahabad cotemporary.

Bankrupt!

Unasked it has given more advice to the Indians in general and the Mussalmans in particular than they could properly digest and many a leader of the Mussalmans has consequently suffered from a sort of political diarrhoea. On public platforms, in the Legislative Councils, and even in the columns of newspapers they have had a morbidly frequent evacuation of unsubstantial and loose views.

But when for once the editor of this journal was starving for want of advice this great almoner has thrown him nothing better than the crumb of "many thanks." We ask the world to judge whether good manners can be a substitute for good advice. One would not have thought that the *Pioneer* would so soon become bankrupt even in advice to Muslims. Not that we are ourselves wholly unacquainted with ordinary law as applicable to soldiers; but we were anxious to know the "Bonar Law" and the "*Pioneer* law." We wonder whether the Hon. Syed Riza Ali would meet with better luck than the editor of this journal, and we would humbly suggest to him to try.

کیا فرض می کہ سب کو ملی ایک سا جواب
آو نام جی سیر کریں کوہ طور کی

(Why need it be supposed that all would receive similar answers? Come, let us also climb Mount Sinai).

The District Magistrate of Lahore sent for the publisher of the *Zamindar* on the 8th April and in the presence of the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi Khan Sahib Bashir Ali Khan, Nawab Mohamed Ali Khan Qazilbash and Sardar

Abdur Rahman Khan handed him a letter dealing with a number of articles which had appeared in some of the recent issues of the paper and which Government considered objectionable. This letter which was published in our last issue points out by a detailed reference to those articles that, in the opinion of Government, the editor is doing his best "to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have 'mischievous results.'" Apart from the question whether the warning was at all justified, we take strong exception to the manner in which the warning was communicated to the publisher. This District Magistrate is not authorised by law to warn the editor of a newspaper the tone and spirit of which he considers to be mischievous or which in his opinion is trying to incite the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation. But if, instead of exercising the authority vested in a Local Government, it chooses to be lenient and gives such warning, we do not at all understand why the Magistrate should think it proper or necessary to call to his side a number of non-official gentlemen some of whom are regarded by the editor as his most determined opponents. Such men are not surely needed to stand sponsor to an act of grace and to bear witness to it afterwards if the warning goes unheeded. They are not the men who can influence the views and policy of the editor by persuasion or advice. What their presence is most likely to achieve is to give an added sting of humiliation to the warning conveyed. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore could not probably be unaware of this, and his procedure would be resented as an insult by every journalist who is jealous of the honour and dignity of his profession. When a journalist is supposed to have offended against the law, he has to deal with those alone whose duty it is to see that the law is respected and obeyed. But he is not expected to expose himself to the mockery and ridicule of his enemies, or be treated to an official rebuke in the presence of men for whose public life and conduct he may have neither sympathy nor respect. We do not know how our Lahore contemporary regards this matter, but for our part we frankly say that if a Magistrate dared to subject us to such a humiliation, he would find that we might have a good deal to say to him on the subject of his own shortcomings and probably the public humiliation would be just the other way about. As we have said, there is no section of the Press Act or any other law in force in British India which can compel an editor to call at the house of a Magistrate and hear whatever he may please to say any more than it can compel a Magistrate to call at the house of an editor and hear whatever the latter may please to say. If, however, Government desire to give an editor a warning before punishing him under the law, the only justification of such a course would be the desire to convince the journalist of the error of his ways, and this can only be done in the course of a private conversation in which the official should forget that he is anything more than a fellow-subject. The conversation, to be effective, must be frank and ample opportunity should be afforded to the journalist to explain his point of view. There should be no dodging round corners, and good manners should be used as auxiliaries of good arguments. It may in certain cases be desirable to invoke the aid of others also; but these must naturally be those whom the person to be warned must regard as his well-wishers and for whom he must at least entertain respect. Otherwise the poet's complaint would be only too true:

جمع کرتی ہو کیوں دلیہوں تو ابک "تمہارے ہوا کہ ہوا"

(Why do you gather together my enemies? That would be an exhibition, not a grievance.)

In circumstances such as those attending Mr. Tollinton's warning to the publisher of the *Zamindar*, a high spirited person may be induced to do exactly that which the warning is designed to prevent.

The Agent Provocateur.

In such cases the person who warns only becomes an agent provocateur who, according to Sir Edward Carson, is a person despised even by the criminal classes. We are prepared to believe that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has no intention of provoking the *Zamindar* to incur the penalties of official displeasure under the Press Act. But His Honour has not chosen the best method of disproving the rumours current throughout Northern India that his aversion to the proprietor of the *Zamindar* does not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Punjab, but goes back to the days when, at his instance, as the British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zular Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam, on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the "loyal" and staid *Paisa Akhbar*. At any rate, the *Zamindar* is not likely to thank His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for his leniency any more than it thanked him for his unjustifiable order of last January which mulcted the *Zamindar* in a loss of some Rs. 20,000. If it was meant as an exhibition of His Honour's leniency it has failed to convince. It is nothing more or less than an indication that the *Zamindar* must be prepared for the worst so long as the Press Act is in force. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the *Zamindar* continues its present policy. The Press Act is by this time notorious for the all-comprehensiveness of its scope and application, and until and unless the *Zamindar* ceases to be an independent critic of official acts and measures, it will provide every day a hundred excuses for the Punjab Government to punish it under that Act. The result would be the kind of impotent rage and despair which drives even those who appreciate to the full the blessings of British Rule in spite of its occasional shortcomings into the attitude of irreconcilable hostility. This is the genesis of three fourths of the anarchy one hears of in India, and when we read of a bomb being thrown or a pistol being fired at some official of Government, while we denounce the outrage we also curse the crass stupidity of those who drove an otherwise well-intentioned youth into an inhuman anarchist.

We have very carefully read the offending articles of the *Zamindar*, and before we say anything else, let us confess we frankly dislike them. This would have been a gratuitous insult to our contemporary

A Rechauffe of Criticism.

if we were dealing with its opinions in the ordinary way. There are a hundred articles appearing in the Indian press every week which we do not like, and we are sure there must be many of our own articles which the *Zamindar* and our other contemporaries equally frankly dislike. Every paper has its own views, tone and taste, and frequently the tone and taste of one article differ from those of another in the same newspaper. In the articles of the *Zamindar* which have drawn upon our contemporary's head the warning of Mr. Tollinton, we find no clear argument, no sustained reasoning, no information systematically given, but a wild wilderness where tit-bits of facts and fancies run riot, and where the chief beauty lies in certain purple patches which are quotations from famous men and seem to have been stored away for journalistic use on the first available opportunity. These are all dished up with the garnish of a rhetoric, which, we are sorry to have to say, is becoming particularly associated with our Lahore contemporary, and which is repelling from it the sympathies of many men, who rightly admired it as the first Muslim paper in Urdu that created popular taste for newspaper reading, but who are now beginning to accuse it of vitiating that taste. However, when all this has been said and done, let us hasten to add that we have searched high and low in all these articles for anything which is seditious, and we have failed to chance upon anything suggestive of treason. In fact, it is a part of our complaint against the *Zamindar* that it has only warmed up the leavings of well-known Indian and European writers like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. William Digby. For every sentence objected to in these articles we can quote a dozen from the writings and the speeches of these celebrities whom no one prosecuted and punished for sedition even in those days when the Congress was regarded by many officials as a seditious body and had not been honoured with receptions by Viceroy and enemies from provincial satraps. To day there are scores of papers conducted by men of other communities which use the same arguments and clothe them in language no less forcible which no official has yet had the courage to warn. We do not mean to cast any aspersions on the numerous Bengalee papers when we say that they subject official policies, measures and acts to a merciless fire of daily criticism, and yet altogether escape the attentions of officials clothed with the same authority as Mr. Tollinton. Are we then to understand that Government have come to recognise that they would be putting their hand into a hornets' nest if they worried the journalists of non-Muslim communities, and that the Local Government of Bengal is not made of as stern a stuff as the Local Government of the Punjab?

It may be that here and there language has been used by the *Zamindar* which is likely to inflame the passions of immature people. But no grievance can be clothed in language which is absolutely safe in the case of all such persons. The grievance is generally addressed to Government, but is overheard by the people. Every grievance must provoke dissatisfaction, and he who airs the grievance must use language sufficiently forcible to create the necessary amount of dissatisfaction. We have no doubt that the most well-meaning complaint is occasionally the cause of creating even disaffection against Government in people of a certain temperament. Take, for instance, the recently published opinion of Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court in the matter of admitting confessions as evidence. Government have not acted on Mr. Beaman's advice, and it is quite possible that this may have led some people to entertain hatred against a Government that does not adopt what they consider, probably with Mr. Beaman, to be the only effective preventive of torture. But can Mr. Justice Beaman be reasonably saddled with the responsibility for inflaming the minds of such people? No more can we fasten on the *Zamindar* the guilt of inflaming the people against Government when the obvious desire of the paper seems to be reform in the directions which it suggests, and when we find everywhere expressions of good-will towards Government and acknowledgements of its essential beneficence.

And that the warning amounts to is that the articles in question have not been written as M. Tollinton, or rather as Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have written them had he been the editor of the *Zamindar*. This is precisely our complaint also. The editor of the *Comrade* would, we have no doubt, have also written them differently. But then the editor of the *Zamindar* can extend this argument, and take the battle into the enemy's own quarter. He may think that he could conduct the *Comrade* better than we do, and that he could administer the Punjab with less reliance on such tyrannical devices as the Press Act than Sir Michael O'Dwyer. On the whole, therefore, it would be just as well for all of us to keep in our proper stations, and not punish bad logic, bad rhetoric and bad taste in newspapers as high treason. These are no doubt grave defects in newspapers, but they can well be left to the competition of other newspapers that have better logic, better rhetoric and better taste. What is happening now is that a Lieutenant-Governor is stepping down from a high pedestal in order to show the way to a peccant journalist how he should conduct his paper, forgetful of the fact that some day a peccant journalist may also be tempted to make a bid for the vacant pedestal and teach some Lieutenant-Governor how to subordinate personal pique and personal caprice to the good of the country placed under his charge and the demands of a law to which Lieutenant-Governors and journalists are alike subject. To cut a long story short, if the recent warning to the *Zamindar* is not a special favour reserved for our contemporary, but an indication of the Panjab Government's attitude towards all independent journals, then Sir Michael O'Dwyer had better hold a Durbar and ask all independent journalists to shut up shop and organise a corps of volunteers on the lines of Sir Edward Carson wherewith to seek the repeal of the Press Act. He will certainly not kill anarchy in the Panjab with such tactics. He may, however, create it.

The Government of India rushed through their arduous labours of the Legislative Session before the end of March and with commendable haste the Hon. Members shook the dust of Delhi off their feet. They sped in various directions to recover their equanimity and self-assurance by breathing the freer air after it had been somewhat seriously ruffled by the deluge of non-official oratory in the Legislative Council. A long itinerary would seem to provide a sort of mental and physical bath to the perturbed and jaded Executive Councillor before he goes up to the Olympic heights at Simla. Immediately after the Government of India left Delhi to recuperate, various political and social bodies, conferences, associations and *anjumans* in the country entered on a spell of strenuous activity. The month of April has witnessed quite a carnival of public meetings and organised efforts of sects, communities, provincial and district political associations to take stock of their respective positions, redeliver their messages, and rekindle enthusiasm amongst their followers to march with snarer steps under their banners. There were the Provincial Conferences in the United Provinces, Behar, Bombay and Bengal, which maintained in every way the reputations of their predecessors. There were the Jain Conference and the Rajput Conference, and the Sikh Educational Conference, which saw no future for the Panjab unless Panjabis were adopted as the medium of instruction as well as the language of the courts. There was the Panjab Hindu Sabha, which even in its sixth year of birth does not seem to have got over its task of defining Hinduism. These Conferences and Sabhas are on the whole a

reassuring sign of the times, and though some of them lack the sense of proportion and show tendencies of extreme sectarian bias, genuine efforts for self-improvement within the limits of sects and communities will eventually contribute to the general advance of the country.

The number of annual meetings and conferences during the last month relating to different sections of the Moslem community has been considerable. Prominent amongst these were the Bengal Presidency Moslem Educational Conference and the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, which held their annual sessions at Dacca. The Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry, who presided at the Educational Conference, delivered an eloquent address in which he dealt with the educational needs of the Bengal Moslems. He described at length the situation of the community in regard to modern education and traced the historical and general causes that are responsible for its backward condition. The Mussalmans did not take early to Western education because the loss of their political power and prestige had paralysed their energies and they clung all the more tenaciously to their ancient culture and modes of thought. But now that the earlier feelings of alarm and suspicion have passed away other causes have sprung up to handicap them in the race. The Moslem community in Bengal is generally poor. The system of education now in vogue in the province has naturally become more and more adapted to the requirements of the dominant and progressive Hindu community and takes little account of the social, religious and intellectual needs of the Mussalmans. The latter have got to make up an immense lee-way, and their success depends in a considerable measure on their own exertions. But the responsibility of the Government is also great in the matter. The Mussalmans do not plead for privileges and favours at the expense of the Hindu community. They only want an equality of opportunity. Unless Government help to create special facilities for the growth of Moslem education no such equality of opportunity can be attained. The Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry has indicated the various directions in which Government help is needed in all the branches of Moslem education. We trust his appeal for co-operation and assistance will not be in vain. Government owes this to the Moslem community of Bengal whose educational prospects have been so materially marred by the sudden annulment of the partition.

The address of the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, who presided at the Dacca Session of the Bengal Moslem League, is a straightforward and brilliant performance. He states the standpoint of the Moslem community in regard to various public questions with admirable precision and subjects some acts of the Government and a few aspects of its policy to a searching criticism. His views on the creation of the Presidency of Bengal and its effect on the position of the Moslem community are shared by the Mussalmans throughout the country. When the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam has been wiped out without the least regard for the interests and sentiments of the Moslem community, it is only natural that some efforts should be made by Government to guarantee for the Mussalmans some of the advantages of which they have been summarily deprived. He pleads for justice, for a fair recognition of the difficulties of the Mussalmans and of the duty of Government to afford them all legitimate help. His remarks on the Press Act and on Hindu-Moslem relations are worthy of note. We will particularly commend his observations in regard to mosques and other sacred places of Mussalmans to the notice of the Government for they sum up the attitude of the entire Moslem community in India in regard to this delicate and supremely important matter. The *Statesman* roundly declares the straight and sincere talk of the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq as magnificent. We do not know if it is mischievous to give a timely warning to Government about the consequences of measures which are likely to stir up deep religious feeling. No sane Mussalman has ever objected to public improvements, but he can not certainly be expected to welcome such improvements at the expense of his religious sentiment.

The fourth anniversary of the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Talim*, Amritsar, was celebrated on 25th and 26th April under the presidency of Shahi Suleman Qari, the well known preacher and lecturer. There was a large audience, many gentlemen from Delhi, Multan, Lahore and other places were also present. In the first sitting the President read his address dwelling on the need of the moral and educational elevation of the Mohamedan community.

After this the Secretary read the annual report giving a detailed account of the services rendered by the Anjuman in the cause of Moslem education during the past 1 years. Forty students were helped in getting higher education and sixty more students to study in different schools and colleges, the outlay being Rs. 900 per month. He also drew attention to the application submitted to the Government by the Anjuman for free and compulsory education, special schools for villages with better arrangement for accommodation, sanitation and with more teachers than one to teach the different subjects and classes. The Secretary also laid great stress upon the necessity of education in the Physical Sciences and urged upon the Mohamedan students to join F. Sc., and B. Sc., classes. He regretted the paucity of Mohamedan students especially in Engineering and Medical schools and colleges and assured the public that the Society will spare no effort in helping those students who especially wish to join such institutions. The assembly unanimously adopted two resolutions—the one expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the Members of the Society especially and the Mohamedans generally, to the Bahawalpur Darbar for the munificent permanent grant of Rs. 1,000 per annum and the other thanked Captain Malik Mubarez Khan for the handsome donation of Rs. 500 yearly for three years.

The fifth Anniversary of the Muslim Kashmiri Conference was held at Sialkot on the 25th and 26th April under the presidency of Nawab Mohamed Azam Khan Sahib, Rais of Dacca, (Bengal.)

The Muslim Kashmiri Conference.

The audience was very large with delegates from every part of the Panjab. The president delivered an instructive address in Urdu, which besides containing useful advice in general touched every topic of peculiar interest to the Kashmiri community of the country. Resolutions pertaining to the education of the Kashmiris in the Panjab and in the Kashmir State in particular, to the introduction of the panchayat system in the community, to their enlistment in the Army, to the removal of restriction under the Land Alienation Act and to other matters of communal import were adopted. About five thousand rupees were subscribed, the president himself contributing no less than about three thousand rupees towards the objects of the Conference.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, on his return from South Africa, immediately resumed his duties in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He hopes to stay on in Delhi for the greater part of the time till the University term ends in June. After that he will

The Rev. C. F. Andrews.

take up work in Rabindranath Tagore's School in Bolpur, Bengal, where a noble form of national education is being worked out under the port's direction. Mr. Andrews is still troubled owing to an accident which happened to his knee in London and was laid up during the whole time of the voyage. He met the Mohamedan community in Delhi shortly after his arrival and received their welcome back to the city. He hopes still to be able to reside in Delhi for two months in the year doing College work while the Bolpur school has its holidays. During his stay in South Africa Mr. Andrews lived entirely with the Indian Community, both Mussalman and Hindu, in every place he visited. Among his hosts were Mr. Musa and Imam Sahib Bawyer at Durban, Haji Habib at Pretoria and Mr. Gool and Dr. Jool at Capetown. The Mussalman community in each city gave him their warmest welcome, and he bore to them messages which he had received from Indian Mussalmans before leaving India. One of the greatest difficulties which Mr. Andrews had to face during the whole of his visit was the marriage question as it was related to Mussalmans. At present the condition of affairs is utterly deplorable. There can be scarcely said to exist any marriage law at all. Practically no marriages are registered and the greatest possible hardships and sufferings exist concerning wives of Mussalmans who reside in India and wish to rejoin their husbands. It was the refusal to allow a Mussalman lady to land and join her husband which opened up the whole question of marriage validity and made the passive resistance movement necessary. Until the present law is amended Mohamedan's marriage rights are safeguarded by the State itself. The difficulty which Mr. Gandhi had to face was this question of State legitimisation, and Mr. Andrews was able to render him valuable aid in safeguarding Mohamedan interests and preventing any compulsion in matters of religion. He had long interviews with all the leading statesmen on this very question. Mr. Andrews put the Mohamedan point of view clearly before them. In the end, proposals were put forward which would result in the law of South Africa being practically equivalent to that already existing in England, viz.:—the full State recognition of one marriage, combined with no interference from the State if religious marriages take place beyond that number. Mr. Andrews quoted the verse of the *Quran Sharif* "Let there be no compulsion in religion" with great effect, and his opinion on this question was listened to with much attention. There is a considerable hope that this matter, which has been such a long standing and grievous trouble in the past, will now be amicably settled.

The Comrade.

Charitable Endowments.

II

WHILE welcoming those who had responded to the invitation of Government for a conference on charitable endowments, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock defined the scope of the conference. It was only convened to secure an interchange of views, and although they may find many points of agreement, it was not the Hon. Home Member's idea that they should formulate any definite resolutions. All that the Government desired was "a record of the general scope of the various representations."

This was the only thing possible to secure in a conference of 25 official and non-official members who had to discuss a number of most difficult questions relating to charitable endowments within the space of few hours in a single-day-session. But how such a record could be "extremely useful for the future in guiding the Government of India as to the course that it should pursue," is a mystery which only those can disclose who know how to manipulate non-official opinions for official purposes.

The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock defined the attitude of Government during last sixty or seventy years as a policy of holding itself and its officers aloof from any part in the administration of religious endowments and trust holdings, and of desiring that these should be managed by committees of the community interested, those who are dissatisfied with the management of such endowments and trusts having free access to the ordinary courts of law. Where we believe Government has as constantly erred is in thinking that anybody desires that it, or its officers, should take up the management of religious endowments and trust holdings instead of the managing committees of communities interested therein. As we shall show, it is not in this direction that those dissatisfied with the management of such endowments and trusts have asked for reform. What they have desired is that the "free access to the ordinary courts of law," should be free in reality as well as in name, and that before a public-spirited person or group of persons wend their steps towards the ordinary courts of law they should have free access to materials on the basis of which alone the ordinary courts of law could accord to them a hearing.

Sir Reginald Craddock included among the persons most deeply interested in this matter (1) the general educated public who disliked the idea that it should be possible for trusts of this kind to be abused without adequate check; (2) the general body of beneficiaries; and (3) those who are connected with the management and administration of the trusts. The interest which each of these classes took in the matter was described in the following words:—

The first class as a class are, of course, not personally interested, except, that as enlightened citizens they dislike to see what they regard as a scandal going on unchecked. The second class, as a class, are deeply interested, but they may be so backward and so lacking in cohesion that even if they have any views they are not likely to take concerted action. The third class, when most conscientious and honest, genuinely dislike the interference and trouble which legislation for their further control might cause them, while those among them that are dishonest or grossly negligent, naturally do not want light to be thrown on their doings.

After this Sir Reginald Craddock summed up the general aim to which all efforts at legislation have been directed in the following manner:—

- (1) That the persons or committees managing such trusts and charities should be suitable persons.
- (2) That the procedure for determining their suitability and replacing them, if necessary, should be simplified.
- (3) That, in order to simplify this the rendering of accounts and the audit of such accounts should be made obligatory, and thus
- (4) Persons wishing to impugn, by a suit, the managements of such trust and the fitness of the managers should have at hand materials on which to base their suit.

With a view to attain these objects Dr. Rashbehari Ghose had brought in a Private Bill in the Imperial Council and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla in the Bombay Council, the outlines of which we have already given, while Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Govinda Raghava Iyer had brought in a Bill in the Madras Council which was designed to deal with religious trusts by amending Act XX of 1863.

The Hon. the Home Member said he could sympathise fully with the authors of these bills at the delay which had occurred in respect to their proposals, but he said he could assure them that it had been unavoidable, for, "as the" whole history of the controversy shows, the subject is too important to allow anything but the most deliberate consideration." And it was with this important admission that the Home Member commenced that hurried interchange of views on the 16th of March which is to assist Government in formulating another policy and adhering to it for the next sixty or seventy years in spite of the protests of the educated public.

Obviously it is impossible for us to know what transpired at the conference; but we understand that, as promised by Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon. the Home Secretary commenced the discussion on each of the main heads, which had been confidentially circulated a few days in advance of the conference among the members, "with such observations as his careful study of the history of the subject prompted him to make," that the members proved patient listeners and that, like a row of schoolboys, they repeated, each in his turn, all they knew when called upon by the Schoolmaster-President.

With remarkable industry and promptitude the Home Department assimilated all that the members of the conference had said on the previous day and condensed and catalogued it in the form of a Press *Communiqué* on the 17th of March. This *Communiqué* announced that 17 non-official gentlemen (of whom 8 were Hindus, 7 Mohammedans, 1 of the Sikh community and 1 for Burma) and 8 official members had accepted the invitation of the Government of India. The first question to be discussed was the general issue whether the time had now come to reconsider the attitude of opposition which had generally hitherto been adopted by the Government of India towards any proposal to amend the Act of 1863. With regard to this, we are informed that a majority of those present were of opinion that alterations of the existing law were required. We are indeed surprised to find that even on this general issue unanimity should have been absent, specially when the majority made it clear that the alterations of the existing law were required, not with the intention of restoring the direct executive control of Government over the management of these endowments, but in order that the administration of their funds might be safeguarded from abuse.

On the second question, whether the legislation should continue to be uniform for India as a whole, it is stated that opinion was about equally divided. We are told that certain members, in recognition of the fact that the public opinion, and, indeed, practical needs of change varied in different provinces, would allow the provincial legislature to deal with the subject as it thought fit. Others were disposed to hold that the main lines within which greater control should be exercised should be laid down in one Imperial Act, which might be extended to any province at option, supplemented possibly by rules of local application only. For our own part, we fail to see which province of India is so much more advanced than others in these matters that a general Imperial Act would not suffice for all general purposes, nor are we satisfied that any province is so much less advanced than others that it could not keep pace with sister provinces in a very modest forward march. There may be local needs which vary, but such variation was peculiar to localities and institutions rather than to provinces, and we can well understand the necessity of supplementing an Imperial Act by rules of local application only. We can, however, understand equally well the possible tactical necessity of dealing with the matter through provincial legislatures, because provincial satraps differ among themselves in the pace of progress, and some could be induced to go full steam ahead when others are still hesitating about weighing anchor. The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest boat, and we can well believe that the Government of India is unable to steam ahead on account of the slowness of some provincial vessels which keep back the faster units of the Imperial fleet. This was exemplified in the case of Bombay in this very matter, and we dare say other Local Governments are equally ready to move forward if the Government of India give the signal.

The third question that was discussed at the conference was whether secular trusts should be treated differently from religious trusts. We are glad to note that the majority recognised that it would be impracticable to differentiate between the two classes of trusts. When the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah introduced his bill into the Bombay Legislative Council, we had pointed out that he had not specified any reasons for the belief that "it is not considered desirable to apply the provisions of this (Sir Ibrahim's) bill to charities of an exclusively religious character," and we had hazarded the conjecture that he had "learnt wisdom from the eyes of the wolf," and desired to court the least resistance of the Government and its hugbear, the furious theologian. Since writing that it has been amply proved that the Government is in much less terror of the furious theologian and of the cry "Religion in Danger," than it had made itself out to be. Moreover, as the majority of the conference explained, it is not possible in many instances to classify the purposes of a trust under the two heads, secular and religious. The obvious solution is that all charitable endowments must be treated uniformly. As a matter of fact as the origin of the institution shows, all Islamic Waqfs are religious, and only last year Government passed a declaratory Act on the subject of Waqf-ala-l-Anlad recognising the paramountcy of religion even in the matter of comparatively more secular Waqfs. We feel certain Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah himself would be willing to extend the safeguards provided in his Bill to all Waqfs if the Government themselves are not afraid of supporting the demand of educated Muslim opinion.

The main question, however, related to the publication of accounts in order to afford to the public information as to the extent and the method of management of these endowments. The Government *Communiqué* states that "there was a general feeling in favour of such a step," and we may take it that no dissentient voice was raised. This is very satisfactory, and we hope Government have put a proper valuation on this unanimity. We do not know whether the members of the conference included those who are connected with the management and administration of trusts; but it could hardly have been a representative conference if this, the third class in Sir Reginald Craddock list of persons most deeply interested in the matter, had been totally excluded. Presuming, therefore, that this class was represented, and that its representatives in the conference were, in the words of the Home Member, "most conscientious and honest," we may also safely presume that expression was given in the course of the discussion to "a genuine dislike of the interference and trouble which legislation for their further control might cause them." If even then there was a general feeling in favour of the publication of audited accounts, Government have a clear mandate from all persons deeply interested in this matter to legislate accordingly.

The Press *Communiqué* goes on to state that the view found expression that audit was attended with difficulties which might render it inexpedient, and opinion differed as to matters of detail, such as the imposition of this liability on all trusts or only on those above a specified value; the authority to appoint the auditors; whether this should be judicial or executive; the qualifications of auditors and the duties to be imposed upon them (i.e., whether those should extend to administrative audit or be confined to verification of such accounts as might be produced) very considerably. The details are of no little importance, for in some instances they go to the very root of the matter. But as any one could have foretold, they could not have been adequately discussed and settled in a single sitting. In fact, these are matters which require more extended consideration and the assistance and the discussions of more than a couple of dozen official and non-official members. A Royal Commission would have been the most satisfactory machinery for the purpose; but if for some reasons Government could not see their way to recommend one, they could have at least appointed an All-India Committee to go round and take evidence. This suggestion is not too late even now, and we submit it for the consideration of Government. We would here only venture to suggest that a mere verification of such accounts as might be produced by the managers of trusts would not be an adequate and effective safeguard. Committees composed of the members of the community to which the trusts may belong, elected by people themselves, should be appointed in every locality for the purpose of administrative audit.

We are informed that as regards the term of office of members of committees appointed under the Act of 1863, the general view was in favour of a five years' term. We hope the Trustees of the Aligarh College will note this. A life tenure must in many instances mean indolence, indifference and stagnation. If private endowments require the periodical election of trustees for their efficient management, how much more necessary it must be in the case of the greatest national endowment of Indian Mussalmans!

As regards the facilities now afforded to the public interested to move the courts to take action in cases of mismanagement, some desire was expressed that these should be increased, possibly by special concessions in the matter of court-fees and cost. It must be remembered that the late Sir John Jenkins had complained in 1911 that "practically no attempt has been made to utilize the remedies which the law already provides by invoking the powers which the courts possess to enforce the proper administration of such endowments." We recognise that special concessions in the matter of court-fees and costs would afford greater facilities to the public interested; but the chief difficulty in this matter is not connected with court-fees and costs.

The fact is that the public does not know where and what the endowments are. In 1910, the *Times of India* published a leading article on the subject of Muslim Endowments in the course of which our contemporary said: "There are gold mines under our very feet, but before digging them up the Mussalmans have to do not a little prospecting." Writing *apropos* of this, we said in one of our earliest issues, that we know of a case in Rander, the rich Muslim suburb of Surat, in which a philanthropic Muslim trader of Mauritius and Rangoon had left a third of his property to public charity for the benefit of his co-religionists. For nearly ten years the Bombay Secretariat and the district authorities of Surat were ignorant of a public bequest which was believed to amount to 33 lakhs. Few people in Surat itself knew of it, and even in Rander only the haziest notions prevailed as to the character and the extent of the bequest and the persons who were appointed trustees. Need we

say more than this that even Lord Sydenham was unable, through being unaware of the existence of such a gold mine so near Bombay, to successfully persuade the trustees of the Bots Endowment to contribute liberally for the education of the Mussalman boys and girls of Gujrat. What is required is a survey of all such endowments, the preparation and maintenance as a public record of a statement giving (a) the trust property (b) the terms and conditions of the trust (c) a schedule of annual receipts and disbursements (d) the beneficiaries under the investment of trust, and, particularly, institutions of a public nature maintained out of trust funds (e) the names of the trustees (f) the period of their tenure of office (g) the method of appointing their successors and (h) such other particulars as the peculiar character of the trust may suggest. If these data were made available, the beneficiaries could be made to know their rights, and have ready at hand materials wherewith to approach the ordinary courts of law whenever there was any reasonable ground for suspecting mismanagement.

This could be effected only by compelling all trustees to have their trust duly registered within a fixed time, after which it should be declared penal for a trustee to deal with the funds of a trust unless it had been previously registered.

It is true that there are many important trusts already well-known to the public the affairs of which are not particularly well-managed, and that even in their cases the public has not availed itself of facilities already afforded for invoking the powers which the law courts possess to enforce their proper administration. But we contend that even in these cases a public-spirited individual or a group of individuals cannot ascertain the data on which to base their invocation of the powers of the courts without undergoing an excessive amount of odium and inconvenience. Contrast the difficulties of the present with the ease and convenience of the future if a survey such as we have suggested has been carried out, when anybody could go to the Collector's or the Judge's office and on payment of a small fee could inspect the full record of an endowment in which he happened to be interested, and for a little additional fee could obtain a certified copy of the record. With this in his possession he could examine the affairs of the trust, and if his suspicions were confirmed by such an examination he could confidently invoke the power of the courts to enforce better management. Even this would require no little public spirit; but it is too much to expect at any time, and certainly in the present conditions, that anybody, or even any committee or association, would undertake the odium, worry, trouble and expense of ascertaining all the particulars that we have enumerated and would thereafter undertake the further odium, worry, trouble and expense of a law-suit to enforce a better administration of a trust. This is not Government interference in religious matters, and we are sure our own record is not such as to lead Government to suspect that we could recommend to them a policy of active intervention in religious matters. As we wrote three years ago, Government are not asked to depart from their policy of non-interference in religious matters followed with praiseworthy consistency since 1863, but only to deviate into a consistency in mundane affairs as well. A man who forgets the inconvenient distinction between *meum* and *tuum* and pilfers another to the extent of a few pice is sure to be held up by the Police, the Magistracy, and the Jail authorities. But another who robs the dead as well as the living of thousands and lakhs in spite of his fiduciary position is not to be interfered with by the Government, nor allowed to be watched by the beneficiaries interested in his aptitude and honesty. If this is consistency, may we not pray to the Lord to be delivered from it through the wayward agency of our legislatures?

Young India.

II

One would give anything to know of a grown-up person who has not found himself wishing at one time or another that he could live his boyhood over again. That wonderful and divine experience is at once the illumination and the quest of humanity. It treasures up feelings that were full blooded and were not sicklied over by the pale cast of thought, sorrows that were real and whole, hopes that were spells of acute physical joys, desires that embraced without the least cowardly spasm of doubt or fear the entire gracious aspects of life and the universe. Mr. Wells has given a delicious picture of the future of humanity, when, cleansed of its ugly imperfections, it would stand as if on a footstool and reach its hands among the stars. This is in fact an exact picture of individual boyhood—a period of life when no sense of imperfection clings to the free and joyous movements of mind and feeling. It is a time of life when the world seems robed in purple, when everything seems alive with meaning or mystery, when even the wooden table and the stool and the pen and the inkpot have their individuality and seem to be endowed with miraculous articulation and gesture. In this populous world of wondrous tones and tints the little chip of humanity disports as a god. He dips into the secrets of creation. Worlds of magic

loveliness issue every moment from the alchemy of his heart and brain as if from the Creator's hand. This faculty of creativeness and self-projection is the miracle of boyhood. Only the elect among persons of mature age can retain this faculty unimpaired to the last. It is the supreme vital impulse of a living society. It was to this faculty that Goethe referred when he said that man is in every sense divine, "for he builds worlds."

"Or bidding them no longer be,
"Exerts, enjoys a sense of deity."

The young educated Indian has had his boyhood, full of dreams, of creative wonders. In spite of the subdued anxiety and puzzling elusiveness of his home atmosphere, he has had his time when he held communion with the earth-spirit and looked overhead into vistas of light and glory. His public initiation as a "seeker of knowledge" is quite an event in the family. His own feelings about the ceremony have a vague intensity that is little short of an emotional crisis. The *mullah* or the *guru* emerges out of the unknown and the cosmos of the boy is filled with this dread presence. His whole conception of knowledge is tainted by his early experience under the iron rod of this remorseless pedagogue. The *maktab* or the *patshala* becomes to him a living purgatory, learning becomes a dire penance and the teacher oppresses his imagination as a nightmare for years. From the *maktab* or the *patshala* to the public school there is a whole change of atmosphere, but the boy enters it with a lump in his throat. He has tasted of the "fruit" of knowledge and has already made up the attitude with which he goes through his subsequent schooling. It is an attitude of mute protest against a scheme of life that should condemn him for the best part of day to sit with overstrung nerves through a dreary and hateful counting of incomprehensible symbols and rules of thumb and shiver to the very roots of his hair as a scowling face turns on him or a rasping voice dings horrors into his ears. In the public school, however, some relaxation of the nerve is possible. The drastic methods of the *maktab* pedagogue, who regards purging the boy of all his playfulness and mirth as the main end of education, are not generally used by his modern prototype in the public school. But the atmosphere of the public school is frigid and its tone is harsh and impersonal. The *mullah* and the *guru* are the tyrants of the old schools of intellectual and moral discipline, yet they put their whole heart into their work, and their pupils are also their disciples. The boys dread them and yet respect them genuinely and find themselves related to them by many human links. The school-master is a wholly different being. He is a creature of a system that is run mainly on commercial lines. His profession is a mere bread-winning device to him and not a vocation. He is generally concerned with getting the boys under his charge through "a course of instruction" within a definite period of time, and his whole duty ends when he has secured the largest percentage of "passes" within his Division at the annual examination. At his best he is a smooth machine that is generally successful in standardising the mind.

The boy, during his ten years of education at a public school, learns little that is useful. He has some strange facts and ideas stuffed into his memory and acquires some mechanical skill in the manipulation of figures. But he gets little intellectual training and discipline and, in spite of the moral text-book, his moral perceptions are usually dim. His character at its most critical stage receives no help and guidance and is subject to a variety of chance-influences in the process of formation. Some race instinct or religious injunction or even a superstitious admonition that had gone deep into his soul while yet a mere child, leaps out of his sub-conscious regions when he is face to face with a moral crisis and guides his conduct. The teaching of the school has no relation to his home life. It has no relation to the life of the street and the market place. It does not fit in with the conceptions of joy, happiness, social purpose and duty that his own individual experience is evolving in his mind. Before he has finished his school course he becomes vaguely conscious of the duality of his inner life. His parents and the general people around him are living their lives and thinking their thoughts, and their hopes and fears, their joys and griefs, their pursuits and occupations, their dealings with one another and the ways of their common intercourse in daily life give him one measure of social life and individual destiny. The secular spirit of the West that glimmers upon his sense through the obscurity of the school instruction and the text-book suggests an entirely different scheme of values and relations. The culture, social institutions and the beliefs of his forefathers claim his devotion and he is infinitely relieved if he can give them his unquestioning loyalty. The new gods of the West utter strange oracles from afar, and he held in trance by the glamour and prestige of novelty. The young mind abhors philosophical doubt and neutral grounds, and can never do without lusty faith and downright conviction. In spite of his many puzzles the boy hastens to strike an emphatic attitude in relation to the enormous questions that the Indian society has got to

solve. It is at this stage, that is, a year or two before the young prodigy matriculates and passes on to the college, that some aspects of the general controversy and deep struggle of thought of Young India are impressed on his mind. He perceives for the first time, however dimly, the vast burden of his race. He becomes conscious of the social, political and other problems of his country. The whole tangle is far beyond his mental grasp, yet he begins to see some aspects of the tangle and hears distinctly the shouts of men engaged in straightening it up. The cries and catchwords of the press and the platform attract him and he begins to take sides in the momentous controversy which is still going on about the destiny of the Indian people.

The boy feels the pulse of change and sees the new spirit that moves over the surface of the waters. The school teaching does not help him much in realising the significance of what he sees and feels. The vast literature of controversy, the newspapers, the general talk and discussion around him give him some clue to the thoughts and riddles that inflict the mind of Young India. He takes a mental vow and is initiated into the service of his creed, community or country. The patriotic feeling is born in his breast and for the first time after his childhood he feels the richness and luxury of being. The magnitude of the task does not appal him, for he has a very hazy conception of it. With the simple vitality of his faith he sets out to plan a new heaven and a new earth. His patriotism is mostly communal in its origin. If he is a Hindu he seeks inspiration from the vision of Bharat that is revealed to him through his religious lore and literature and round which cling the tenderest associations and the aroma of fine deeds and noble idealism of a great and gifted race. If he is a Mussalman he glories in the achievements of his ancestors in all parts of the world—in art, literature, commerce and empire. His visions of the past fill his dreams about the future. Patriotic poems touch him to the core—he learns them by heart and they form the deep music of his soul. He can sing them well and his "recitations" at the communal gatherings win him the plaudits of the "potent, grave and reverend signors" of the community, and his face is flushed with excitement and incommunicable joy for a week. He begins to talk earnestly of social reform and of what he would do when he comes to take an active and responsible part in social life. In the meantime he holds forth amongst his fellows, and in every company in which he finds himself, on the folly and wickedness of the ways of men and their social institutions. The old men shake their heads at the young dreamer's vigour and zest and his reforming zeal. He takes delight in scandalising the women of his family by telling them half-a-dozen times every day what he thinks of the *purdah*, and of woman's existing status and how he would revolutionise the whole scheme of things. In religious matters he is often for "reform", and he measures his own talent and capacity by the extent to which he can rouse the ire of the school *maulvi* or the *pandit* by riddling him with heresies. The Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit classes in the secondary school are in fact small, young, debating religious societies, with the *maulvi* and the *pandit* as their permanent chairmen. The battles of Young India against obscurantism and the dark hosts of superstition and stereotyped dogma begin in the school room, and begin with all the heat and energy of boyhood. The *maulvi* is the symbol of the past with its fixed standard, and settled polity. The young boy bears in him the spark of the new illumination and is the promise of the future. The *maulvi* is a kindly, indulgent and easy-going man with a taste for puns and witty anecdotes. In controversial duels he often feels his ground slipping from beneath his feet, but he recovers his balance by shrewdly running off at a tangent and silencing the young enthusiast by a long and pointless tale. The *maulvi* has his idiosyncracies and his freaks and they furnish an inexhaustible fund for witty and irreverent gossip to the young iconoclast. He is rapidly disappearing from his place in the school and his new successor from the normal school and the training college is hardly an improvement upon the old type. The *maulvi*, in spite of his inefficiency and imperfections, has retained a distinct corner in the hearts of his pupils and in many cases has helped to lit a torch that has burned with steady flame to the last.

The young boy is deep in the splendours of his dreams when he matriculates and prepares to go to the college. His visions are fresh and inspiring; he has faith in his powers; he is unshakable in the strength of his patriotism; he is, in short, sure of his ground. The college draws him like a magnet and he goes with a heart full of rich emotion. He hopes he would find there the key to his riddle and an enormous accession of strength and faculty to recreate the world. His illusions are his stars and he walks in their light, secure from the dark shadows that have descended on the paths of older men. The college life of the young Indian is the most important phase of his career. He begins the spring-tide of his romance. He reaches out his hands to the core of things. He finds some degree of self-expression. But the process of disillusionment soon sets in and the lights of his early heaven drop out star by star.

The Aligarh Old Boys' Dinner.

The following speech was made by Mr. Ross Masud at the Aligarh Old Boys' Dinner while proposing the toast of the College:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—(Of all the duties that fall to one's lot there is none which is more pleasant than that of proposing the toast of one's *Alma Mater* on an occasion such as the one which has brought us together to-night. Whichever side I turn my eyes, I see the faces of old and dearly loved friends and I begin to wonder whether all the long years of separation have been a myth or not. I wonder how many of us realise the fact that gatherings of this kind help to keep one young. The very walls of our *Alma Mater* resound with a welcome and the atmosphere they exhale and in which they envelope him who has lived there before, takes that man's mind back to the days of his youth and so strong and magical is its power that as long as he stays within the four walls of his *Alma Mater* he no longer feels himself the old and careworn individual that he is in the world outside.

I also wonder how many of us have recognised the debt we owe to the institution where we have received our education and where we have spent the happiest time of our lives. Throughout our lives this college of ours is our haven of refuge, and from the storm and stress through which one has to pass in this world we turn to it as one would to his mother for peace and solace of mind. And remember if there be any Old Boy who does not rejoice when visiting this institution and who does not look upon it with the affection he would bestow upon his home, then I say that man is not the true son of this college and, miserable, indeed, is his lot. When we are sore beset with temptations and when we are faced with what seem insurmountable obstacles in our struggle for existence, it is the memory of having belonged to a worthy institution with noble traditions that comes to our help, and these traditions form our shield when we battle with all that is low and mean in this world. The feeling that one belongs to a corporate body of men and the reversed sense that one carries on one's shoulders, the honour of one's *Alma Mater*, are things which give stimulus to a man's soul and courage to his heart and thus help him to crush the temptations and overcome the obstacles that he finds in his way. Thus the debt we owe to our *Alma Mater* can never be repaid.

You must remember that in this world of ours every bond that helps to keep human beings together, and everything that engenders a spirit of kindness and fellow-feeling, are sacred. And I ask you, is there any bond which can unite men of various temperaments and nationalities more firmly together than the bond of having belonged to the same *Alma Mater*? There is one thing upon which I should very much like to lay emphasis to-night, and that is that each and every true son of this college should do his best to annihilate all those forces that tend to weaken this bond of union and that are prone to create a spirit of schism amongst the *alumni* of this institution. Let all of us—those who have already issued forth from the dearly loved portals of this College, and those who are to leave them soon—be firmly united in the common and noble endeavour of improving the social and the intellectual condition of our community, by crushing all that is evil and by creating all that is good and consequently great. Let it never be said of the students of this College that they have helped to increase evil in this world and that they have brought into it not union but disunion. Our aim should be to unite the friend and the foe, and not to disunite friends. It is thus and only thus that we who pride ourselves on being the sons of this institution can ever hope to do any good to our community and to the land to which we have the honour to belong. Frankness, truth, courage and self-sacrifice should be the motto of those who have been educated here.

Speaking as I do on behalf of the Old Boys, to whom I have the honour to belong, I should like to tell you who are the present students of our College that we expect great things from you. Not only are we, but also the eyes of your community are watching you most anxiously, for all its hopes rest on you. You have yet to pass through a great ordeal—the ordeal of life; you have yet to be tossed on the ocean of worldly strife, you have yet to face manifold temptations, and we who are your elder brothers are anxious to see how you behave in the world that lies beyond the walls of this College. And let me tell you why we, Old Boys, expect great things from you. It is because you have had better chances than we had, it is because you began your student life at a time when education was the cry of your community, it is because you have had better opportunities of comparing things than we had, and, last of all, it is because you are receiving your education at a time when your native land—the land of Hindustan—can no longer be called a country that lives in its past, a country that is asleep. You who are destined to play a very important role in the history of your country should prepare yourselves earnestly and carefully for the work that awaits you, and I assure you that as long as sincerity and toleration are your watchwords you can never go wrong. We wish you to be the best representatives of the highest intellectual life of your country, and in you who are our younger brothers we wish to see that combination of sound intellect, modesty and toleration of mind which is possessed

by those who belong to a community that is healthy, a community full of mental energy.

But before I sit down to-night I should like to say something about a topic which is very dear to me. These annual dinners give us, the Old Boys, the best opportunity of giving you, the present students, any advice which we think might be useful to you. You must remember that you are now on the threshold of professional careers and I request you most earnestly to think carefully before you choose your profession. India is changing rapidly and life here is becoming more complex. A person with an incomplete knowledge of many things can no longer be admired nor can he do any good to his country; the time for specialisation has come and you must follow no idle family traditions or sentimental whim in your choice of a suitable profession. I take it that we all wish to see our community and our motherland great; now it is my firm conviction that that can only be done by our developing to the highest pitch all that is good in us. Each and every healthy inclination of the mind should be encouraged to the highest extent. In other words, what I want you to do is to take your real inclination to be your only guide in choosing a profession.

Gentlemen, I now ask you to charge your glasses. I have the honour to propose the toast of "The Dear Old College and the Trustees who govern our *Alma Mater*."

*Hindu Immigration to the United States.

THE New York *Evening Post* says in a rather playful editorial,— "The sciences are booming in Washington. Geography is being written anew by Congressmen who are reconstructing the boundaries of Asia. Astonishing contributions to anthropology are being made by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, whose scent of racial distinction is nothing short of marvellous. New principles of economics are embodied in bills providing for an international sliding wage-scale test."

This sounds big, but there are facts behind it. The House Committee on Immigration is considering two Bills for excluding Hindus and another which excludes all Asiatic laborers. Note here Armenia is not counted as being in Asia. Various ingenious ways are being suggested to keep out Asiatics out of the country. One of the most novel one is by Commissioner-General of Immigration Caminetti, who says that the best way of excluding Asiatics would be to require all aliens to pass the physical tests required for recruits to the U. S. Army. Perhaps he was thinking of undersized Chinese and Japanese, but he overlooked the fact that that condition would not bar many Hindus, a race of Asiatics he would keep out of the United States at all hazards.

These Immigration Bills for excluding the Hindus are limited only by the Labor Unions and a few Pacific coast citizens. There are only 6,656 Hindus in a country which is about double the size of India. The Philadelphia Public Ledger rightly remarks that "only a Brobdignagian imagination could construe this to mean an invasion in force or a real problem." But the Labor Union men are following in the wake of Canada, South Africa and Australia.

Of these 6,656 Hindus, 300 are students attending the various American Universities. When this Hindu Exclusion Bill goes into law, as it surely will, there will be another obstacle in the way of poorer students who used to come here. Among other things the Bill provides that an intending student to the United States is required to have a letter from his District Officer, a certificate from the principal of the school he last attended, and a letter of recommendation from an American Consul in India guaranteeing that his parents will send him monthly the amount specified by the U. S. Government as enough to get a college education in America. All these are subject to the approval of the Immigration Authorities in the port of entry. On entering the country he will have to register and he must not do any other thing than what he is registered as. So one more chance is gone for Hindu students who used to work their way through school in America. Henceforth it will be only those possessing a long purse, who will be able to come to the American Universities.

To protest against the Hindu Exclusion Bills a deputation was sent conjointly by the Hindustan Association of America, the Pacific coast Khalsa Diwan Society and the Indian Defence League. The members of the deputation interviewed the British Ambassador in Washington and asked him to protest against the exclusion of British subjects from the United States. The ambassador could only reply that he would cable "home" and await instructions. In fact, there is mighty slim hopes of anything being done from that quarter. The House Committee on Immigration gave a four hours hearing to our deputation and said they would consider our point of view. It seems we are fighting a losing fight, but we are fighting it bravely. We are single-handed when public opinion in the mother country itself is voteless. Thus one more mark of the helot is being placed on our brow without a protest from the Power, into whose hands, for a time at least, our destinies are placed.

* The term Hindu is generally used for Indian, to distinguish from Red Indians who are known as Indians too.

Let us note in this connection that the Mussalmans of India have lost one more chance. Everybody is not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Poor Mussalman students could take advantage of the open-door policy of the United States all these years. But they slept. Now they will have to wait till we develop educational institutions on a par with Europe and America, and that can only be done when the fiscal policy of India is left in our hands.

I will close by stating that some of the democratic papers have been pleading our cause, but, alas they seem to have very little influence on the representatives of a nation "which was conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equals." We wonder, if any more American missionaries need to go to India to preach about the "brotherhood of man."

IOWA CITY, U. S. A.

RAFIDIN AHMED.

February, 28th, 1914.

The Indian Press Act.

THE following letter was sent by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan to Mr. Philip Morrel M. P., in appreciation of his efforts to bring about some modification of the Indian Press Act:—

My Dear Sir,—I have received a number of letters from the readers of the *Zamindar* and other eminent Indian Muslims expressing their grateful appreciation of the interest you have taken in the Press Question and asking me to convey their sincere thanks to you for the efforts you are making to render the lot of the Indian Journalist more tolerable. The obligation imposed upon me is as agreeable as it is sacred and I take this opportunity of thanking you most sincerely on behalf of my countrymen for your sympathetic treatment of their grievances.

As regards the daily *Zamindar*, my people have lodged an appeal against the decision of the Panjab Government in the Chief Court. It is to be hoped that an early hearing of the appeal will be granted and the judgment pronounced one way or the other before the Session of Parliament is over.

In spite of the interpellations in the House of Commons Magistrates in British India continue to harass the luckless journalists and abuse the practically unlimited powers which the Press Act has vested in them. In February 1910 when the drastic nature of the Press Act in respect of the vast powers it gave to Magistrates to impose prohibitive monetary security, was being discussed in the Viceroy's Council, the Government had observed: "Unless we are to assume that the Magistrate is by design a malevolent creature, we may take it for certain that in ordinary cases he will not ask for more than Rs. 500, the minimum." The assurance of Government has turned out to be illusory, and Magistrates when demanding securities from present or prospective journalists have failed to show that benevolence on which the Government had counted. The latest exhibition of Magisterial eagerness to discourage independent journalism was made at Laypuri, a district in the Panjab, where a Sikh gentleman who intended to start a Press called the "*Khalsa Press*" for printing a vernacular paper, the *Khalsa Akhbar*, was mulcted in a security of one thousand rupees. The press and paper were both yet in embryo, the Magistrate could not know whether they were to be used for seditious propaganda or not, and yet he demanded a security of one thousand rupees. If it was necessary to bind down the unfortunate proprietor the minimum security (five hundred rupees) could have been demanded and if the paper had been objectionable the security could have been increased, as that course is open to Magistrates under the Press Act. But to demand a heavy security at the very outset before even the press was started or the first number of the newspaper had appeared, shows the spirit in which the Press Act is being administered. I asked Mr. Seed to explain all this to you and I am glad to learn that you are going to ask a question in the House.

I enclose a copy of an Open Letter to Lord Crewe from my friend Mr. Kamauluddin. It deals with the alarming attitude taken up by the Panjab Government with regard to the suppression of newspapers dealing solely with religious topics. To suppress papers like the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* on the plea that they contain "words which have a tendency to bring into contempt a certain class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India namely Christians," is to use the Press Act for purposes which, to say the least, were never contemplated by its framers. The policy of His Majesty's Government in India has been never to interfere in the religious beliefs and observances of various sections of the Indian community, to whom perfect liberty in matters sacredotal has been guaranteed by law. For upward of half a century Christian Missionaries have been vilifying Islam and Hinduism, with a great deal of vehemence and have in turn been treated by their rivals to rejoinders which though pungent were nevertheless more in keeping with that laws of controversial propriety. Yet Hindus, Muslims and Christians have lived in India side by side in perfect peace and amity, and the Government has had no occasion to remind them that they have been using words which were calculated to breed mutual contempt or hatred. The admirable attitude of the Government in this respect may be summed up in

he reply which a Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab gave to a representative Muslim deputation which waited upon him in 1897 with a request that a Missionary publication entitled the "Ummahat-il-Mominin" (the Mothers of the Faithful), should be suppressed on the ground that it was full of the vilest and the most indecent abuse of the Prophet. The Lieutenant Governor replied that he could not accede to the request of the Muslims for the simple reason that to interfere with the freedom of religious opinion was against the established policy of Government. The Muslims felt the refusal very keenly but had to console themselves with the prospect that although they could not as Muslims indulge in ribald abuse of Christian Missionaries, they yet had the right to defend themselves against their attacks in a becoming manner as enjoined by their faith. This satisfaction appears now to have been taken away from them by Sir Michael O' Dwyer's Government, which, in suppressing the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* has shown that whereas it is perfectly legitimate for a Christian Missionary to revile the Prophet and denounce Islam in the grossest language, a Muslim paper has no right to defend itself against Missionary attacks even in an appropriate manner. The Rev. Thomas Howell of Lahore publishes a book ("Isbat-i-Kaffara," printed at the Nawal Kishore Press, Lahore, 1913), which may be called the Billingsgate of theology. Its fulminations against Islam are simply disgusting. If the Indian Press Act could by any stretch of imagination be used for the suppression of theological polemics, the book of the Rev. Thomas Howell ought to have been proscribed under it. But the Panjab Government, while deliberately shutting its eyes to the stream of abuse poured from this book over the devoted heads of Muslims, castigates the *Ahl-i-Hadees* which only published a reply to Howell in a spirit of defence. A translation of the article which formed the basis of the Government order inflicting a security of two thousand rupees upon the proprietor of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* will be found in the letter above referred to.

The action taken by the Panjab Government against the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* the latter having been required to pay a security of three thousand rupees because it discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation from a scientific standpoint—has created the painful impression that the Government is beginning to depart from its time-honoured policy of non-interference with freedom of religious thought. This impression is further intensified by a recent order passed by the Panjab Government to the effect that persons not belonging to agricultural tribes would, on embracing Christianity, be included in that favoured list and would become entitled to small holdings and other privileges enjoyed by agricultural tribes. It is a well known fact that Missionary enterprise in the Panjab as elsewhere has succeeded only where pariahs, or according to the Hindu caste classification, the "untouchables," are concerned. That it is eminently desirable in the general interests of India that this unfortunate section of the Indian community should receive every consideration and have their status elevated, no one will question. But it is the height of bad official taste to convert a non-agricultural class into an agricultural class because it accepts baptism. Instances are not wanting in which the applications of high class Muslims and Hindus to be declared as agricultural classes have been rejected by the Panjab authorities. The inference is obvious and significant. If these applicants, over whom precedence has been given to persons of admittedly non-agricultural antecedents on the score of baptism, had likewise embraced Christianity, the fate of their applications would have been different. People are beginning to ask whether Government is going to assume the role of Missionaries. A member of the Panjab Legislative Council is going to ask a question in the Council in connection with the Government order, above alluded to.

I trust that the promise you have obtained from the Secretary of State to place on the table all the proceedings taken against Indian newspapers under the Press Act, will be fulfilled in due course. But I would particularly invite your attention to the cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* which have caused much heart-searching in Muslim circles. A question in the House might help in reviving not only these two defunct papers but also the confidence of Muslims in the non-sectarian traditions of Government.

Once more thanking you for your kindness and sympathy.

YOURS VERY TRULY

Zafar Ali Khan,

The Abuses of European Civilization in Islamic Countries.

At a Meeting of the Anglo-Ottoman Society, held at Caxton Hall, London, on April 2nd 1914, the following address was delivered by Mr. O'Donnell of O'Donnell on "The Abuses of European Civilization in Islamic Countries."

The Chair was occupied by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who in introducing the Lecturer said that strong drink was admittedly a curse to humanity—a degradation morally, physically and mentally; but at the same time from the very beginning it had permeated the human social system and every growth and development of civilization. It was very difficult indeed to trace its origin, but as old as

the days of the mighty Pharaohs they found on the plains and cities, on the banks of the Nile and its Delta, evidences of the manufacture and commerce in intoxicating liquors. Similar evidences were to be found among the records of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Athenians and the Romans, and also the Jews. For 1900 years the Church of Christ could not see any inconsistency between wine-bibbing and the teachings of Christ; but when the non-Conformist Conscience awakened, they saw the sin in wine-bibbing, and the spirit of strong drink was to-day recognised as poison.

The Lecturer said: Very Reverend Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been asked by the Anglo-Ottoman Society to deal with this question which is of supreme importance for the peace as well as the hygiene of the East.

The great Teacher of the Mohamedan religion, as the Rev. Chairman had reminded us, had 1300 years ago inculcated doctrines of sobriety upon the warriors of Arabia; and as Moslem dominion extended the dominion of sobriety extended. Wherever you land on the coast of Africa—at any of those seaports frequented by European trade—you now see huge cargoes of Anglo-French Gin coming ashore and being distributed among the merchants of the place. You may be sure it is not under a Moslem banner that this wholesale trade in the degradation of negro races is being carried on.

I have taken as the leading subject of my address what is happening in what is called the French protectorate of Morocco. I intend, besides dealing with this subject, with this branch of the drink question among native races, also to deal with another fearful abuse maintained by the British Government in India. Unless here, in the Capital and centre of the Empire, a healthy feeling is roused which will insist upon the introduction of reforms, we can never expect those reforms to be carried out at vast distances from the Metropolis.

I deal with this question of the abuses under the French Protectorate of Morocco because it was under the protection of Britain that the French flag was hoisted over the independent Sultanate of Morocco. But a few years ago Morocco was an independent Mohamedan kingdom, and if any one—any Christian nation—or nation reputed to be Christian—was to take a leading place in Morocco in the apparent future, England might have looked forward to that position. Yet, for some unknown reason, the British Government itself repressed the enterprise of British nationality in Morocco, and gave up all the superiority Englishmen possessed to their European rivals, and literally placed the sovereignty of Morocco at the disposal of the French Republic.

How is the French Republic fulfilling the obligations which have been committed to its protection? I have here extracts from the Report of the French Senate drawn up by the Senator, M. Hubert, upon the horrible increase in the trade in intoxicating liquors which has occurred in the few years during which the French flag has been hoisted over Morocco. In the French Republic the various classes of drink producers and sellers form a confederacy still more formidable than the Brewers and Distillers whose sacred interests are respected by every British political party. In every constituency the drink interest in France is so powerfully organised that it is practically impossible for any candidate to put up, with any hope of success, who does not do the work the drink sellers want him to do. As a result, Morocco is being opened, shamelessly, to the most foul trade in intoxicants which has ever disgraced our nominal civilization.

In that country there is a systematic plan for creating Colonies of Alcohol Dealers who spread themselves over the conquered land. In this Report of the French Senator there are such examples given as the following:—In the year 1907, in the seaport of Casablanca, which was the first seaport which fell into the hands of the French invasion, there were only five drink shops in the town, and these were notoriously for the custom of the foreign sailors who attended the port. To-day, or rather two years ago, in the year 1912—only five years after the first occupation,—the five drink shops had risen to the enormous number of 161! But there is a more striking and scandalous example of what has been done by this civilized European power in the Moslem land which is under their protectorate. In Fez, itself the Capital of Morocco, the Holy City of the Moors,—in which the virtues commended by the Moslem religion were practised by a fanatical population—in that City of Fez there were in 1912 400 French "citizens" resident in the newly protected City. Of these 400 citizens 300 were sellers of intoxicating drinks! (Shame.) The contagion has gradually spread among the lower classes of the population surrounded by temptation, often badly fed, often underpaid. The Moorish workmen are led by the example of their European taskmasters to take the drink; and I have here the depositions of French Factory owners themselves, who admit that one-third of their Moorish workmen now spend their wages in intoxicating drink. That, very Reverend Sir, is the horrible legacy that a civilized country of Europe has bequeathed to your Moslem people. Now the only justification that the French Republic can give for this state of things—for this inhumanity—the only excuse is, that the drink trade brings in large profits to the French Treasury.

There are other evils of the grossest kind, not only tolerated but permitted and officially organised by the British Government in those districts of the East which have come into the trust of the British nation. We, the Reform party in India, have long been in possession of the proofs that what is called here the "White Slave Trade", that the equivalent of the White Slave Trade, is being carried on in a wholesale manner by the British Government in India, for the demoralisation and detestable pleasure of the British soldiers in India. (Shame.) During the last few days the witnesses upon this subject have been reinforced by the testimony of a British Reformer who commands universal respect, and has deserved the widespread gratitude of all lovers of humanity in this English land. I refer to the distinguished public servant who gave the final stroke to the Belgian tyranny in the Congo, the distinguished Sir Roger Casement. Within the last few days, he has published what was already known to Indian Reformers, the Circular of the General Commanding-in-Chief the British Army in India; and it is enough to quote one paragraph of that official Circular:—"In Bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women; to take care that they are sufficiently attractive; and to provide them proper homes." That Circular of the Central Authority was already known to us; but Sir Roger Casement has gone beyond the knowledge possessed by the Indian Reformers—he has not only got the Order of the Central Authority, but he has been able to trace the general effect of that order in the orders which have been issued, in conformity with that circular, by the Colonels Commanding the British regiments in Indian provinces, Sir Roger Casement, as an Irishman, has had no hesitation about publishing the abominable Circular which the officer Commanding an Irish regiment—the regiment of the Connaught Rangers—has issued to his subordinates. Writing to the Assistant Quartermaster, the Colonel Commanding directs as follows:—"The Cantonment Magistrate has already on more than one occasion been requested to obtain a number of younger and more attractive women, but with little or no success. He will again be appealed to. The Major General Commanding should invoke the aid of the Local Government by instructing the Cantonment Magistrates, whom they appoint, that they give all possible aid to Commanding Officers in procuring a sufficient number of young, attractive and healthy women."

Since civilisation began was there ever a more infamous document penned than that? Consider the example that England of the Missions gives to all the Moslem and Hindoo East. Consider the use of the Officers and Representatives of Justice—the Cantonment Magistrates themselves—in order to procure the young and attractive victims that are destined by the British Government in India for this infernal degradation. It is for you, Ladies and Gentlemen, each within your sphere to bring the facts, now fully unrolled, before every gathering and every organisation of men and women in this land. If an argument were wanted in order to prove that women must have political power in this country, the argument is afforded by the revelation of the hideous system that is carried on by a Government that is not shared by women.

Now we have here the admission that not only do the Military Authorities use whatever power they possess and whatever influence they possess among the vilest elements of Native society in order to gather this hideous tribute of young and attractive women, but we have also the demand for the infamous co-operation of the Officers and Representatives of Justice, and the Magistrates themselves! "The Cantonment Magistrate has already on more than one occasion been requested to obtain a number of younger and more attractive women." The Court of Justice presided to be the vestibule of the house of ill-fame! Might I ask who is the War Minister? Colonel Seely has resigned. Mr. Asquith is in Fife. I venture to ask him—most respectfully—what sort of gratitude is displayed in return by the British Government to the victims which it has selected for performing this service to the British Crown? Are Medals of the Indian Empire won by these women by their awful campaigns? We have now got the facts. We have now got the evidence of Sir Roger Casement—a name that can stand against any authority; and from this platform of the Anglo-Ottoman Society, which was framed and founded to bring about a better understanding between the English and Moslem races, we demand a wide and sweeping reform which must put an end to this abomination.

Very Reverend Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is impossible for any word of mine to add to the persuasive force of this hideous circular itself. That is what we see a European State doing in Asia—we see what another European State is doing in Western Africa—and unquestionably the establishment of those innumerable houses of intoxication among the sober populations of Islam is necessarily accompanied by every other vice and degradation.

I will not weary you by dwelling further upon this subject upon this present occasion. I have felt it my duty to lay before you the simple facts; and upon you, and your influence and the influence of this meeting and of those whom you are able to inform and guide, depend the wiping away of this vile blot of European civilization, and the doing at length of common justice to that noble civilisation of Islam, which, continually derided and denounced,

is on so many points infinitely superior to the rule of its conquerors. (Loud Applause.)

At the conclusion of a general discussion of the subjects dealt with in the address, which then ensued, the following Resolution, proposed by Mr. Arthur Field (Hon. Secretary of the Society) seconded by Mr. Blake, was unanimously adopted, viz:—

"That a letter be addressed to Sir Edward Grey calling his attention to the abuses introduced by the French Protectorate in Morocco in spreading the trade in intoxicating drinks among a Moslem population."

A resolution of warm thanks was moved by Mr. O'Donnell to the very Reverend Chairman Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, and to his distinguished colleague, the Very Reverend Imam Qazi Haireddin Islamic Chaplain to the Ottoman Embassy. The resolution of thanks was carried unanimously by acclamation.

Mr. Arnold's Appeal Dismissed. Judgment of the Privy Council.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

THE judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at which there were present yesterday Lord Shaw, Lord Moulton, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, dismissed the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold, the editor and proprietor of the *Burma Critic*, from a conviction of defamation and a sentence of one year's imprisonment by the Chief Court of Lower Burma. The proceedings were taken under the Indian Penal Code by a district magistrate, who alleged that Mr. Arnold defamed him in two articles headed "A Mockery of British Justice."

Sir Robert Finlay, K.C., Mr. D. A. Wilson, and Mr. A. Page appeared for the appellant; Sir Eile Richards, K.C., and Mr. A. M. Dunne for the respondent.

The arguments were recently heard before a Board composed of Lord Shaw, Lord Sumner, Lord Parmoor, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, when judgment was reserved.

JUDGMENT.

Lord Shaw, now in delivering their Lordships' judgment said that the appellant was charged with having defamed Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate, of Mergui, by the publication of two articles in the *Burma Critic*, on April 28, 1912, entitled "A Mockery of British Justice. Mr. Arnold had had experience as a journalist, and he was at one time the chief editor of the *Bangkok Times*. He ceased to be editor in the end of September 1911, and in January, 1912, he was registered as one of the proprietors and the editor of the *Burma Critic*. The proceedings against him were initiated June 11, 1912, by Mr. Andrew. On October 3, 1912, the trial began before Sir Charles Fox, the Chief Judge, with a jury. It lasted from October 3 to the 19th when the jury returned a unanimous verdict of *Guilty*, and a sentence of one year's simple imprisonment was pronounced. After undergoing four months' imprisonment, the remainder of the sentence was remitted.

Their Lordships listened to a long argument in support of this appeal, during which the entire history of three stages of proceedings was discussed. These were, first, the details of the conduct of McCormick, a planter, who was charged with having abducted a Malay girl of about 11 years of age; secondly, the conduct and proceedings of Mr. Andrew as District Magistrate at the investigation conducted before him into this charge and which ended in his declining to commit McCormick for trial; and thirdly, the proceedings at the trial in the present case.

It was important to see what were the provisions of the Penal Code which applied to the case. "Whoever," says section 498 of the Indian Penal Code, "by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations, makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputation of such person, is said, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, to defame that person." His Lordship then referred to the exceptions under the section and said that it was upon the ninth exception that the determination of the appeal solely depended. That was in these terms:—

"It is not defamation to make an imputation on the character of another provided that the imputation be made in good faith for the protection of the interest of the person making it, or of any other person, or for the public good."

In connexion with that exception it was necessary to take its language along with of that section 52 of the Code, which was to this effect:—"Nothing is said to be done or believed in good faith which is done or believed without due care and attention."

It was contended by the appellant that in the course of the charge there was misdirection by the Judge and that the jury's minds were diverted from this, which it was admitted was the true and only issue, to other questions. What were these? They were the very things which the prisoner's counsel had throughout the trial insisted on introducing—namely the question of the conduct of McCormick and of Mr. Andrew, the narrative as to Mr. Andrew being accompanied by the suggestion

that it was after all indefensible and corrupt. Their Lordships recognized that that mode of conducting the defence, which it appeared to have been difficult to repress, was not unlikely to lead to confusion; but it was at least satisfactory to find that the learned Judge in charging the jury made no mistake in stating what the true issue was.

THE NATURE OF THE LIBEL.

It was expedient to state what the libel contained. Being headed "A Mockery of British Justice," after a considerable amount of inflammatory matter, it proceeded to "speak out against those officials who have forgotten their duty and have dared trifle with the fair fame of England." Having made these very serious allegations the appellant added:—"The facts before us indicate that he (Mr. Andrew) conspired with Mr. Finnie to burke the case; that he conducted it *in camera*; that he refused to heed the protest of the complainants that the interpreter employed was a paid parasite of McCormick, and did, in fact, deliberately mistranslate; that of the witnesses for the prosecution only those called by the District Superintendent of Police, and not even all of them, were allowed to give evidence; that in a word the whole inquiry was an outrageous make-believe and a mockery of what he is nominally representative, the fair play and judicial honour associated with the name of England. By what looks like the meanest of tricks, the unfortunate complainants were unrepresented by any lawyer at this judicial force."

The libels were at least seven in number. First, of conspiracy with Finnie to prostitute justice by saving McCormick. Secondly, of having, apparently knowingly and as part of the partisanship, bailed out McCormick for a non-bailable offence. Thirdly, of having misled the Malay girl, her parents and friends, by leaving them without professional advocacy, which they had been led to expect. Fourthly, of having perverted the course of truth by a partisan interpreter. Fifthly, of having tried the case *in camera* (very little was made of that in argument). Sixthly, of not having called certain witnesses in the inquiry; and seventhly, of Mr. Andrew's having heard the case knowing that certain people objected to his doing so. Of these libels the first was the real basis of all. It imputed corruption. Several of the others might not appear, but for their resting upon that basis of corruption, to be of so serious a type. But in their Lordships' opinion that could not be said of the third and fourth for if it were true that the magistrate had designedly deprived the complainants of legal assistance, and provided them with a false interpreter, then such wicked conduct would not only be itself indefensible but would colour all the rest. Upon the whole it could not be denied that if any substantial part of this defamation was true, it meant ruin to the career of Mr. Andrew and any others engaged in conspiring with him as alleged.

THE POINTS FOR THE APPELLANT.

The points put forward in the appellant's favour as establishing that although the charges were false yet he was excused by statute because he believed them *bona fide* and had given due care and attention to their truth were substantially three. In the first place it was urged that he relied upon a letter published with the signature of "Vigilance," and addressed to the *Rangoon Times*. It was dated August 31, 1911 and at that time the appellant was connected with that paper. It contained a long narrative incriminating McCormick and also Mr. Andrew and others, the second element proposed in support of Mr. Arnold's good faith was of a different and an important character. It was this:—In the district of Tenasserim referred to the position of sub-divisional magistrate was occupied by Mr. Buchanan. It was alleged that Mr. Buchanan had been on unfriendly terms with McCormick but their Lordships did not think that there was anything substantial in that allegation, and they further thought it right to put on record their opinion, which was in entire concurrence with that of the Chief Judge, that Mr. Buchanan in his investigations and conduct was actuated by entire good faith. Although his conclusions and suspicions might have been erroneous, their Lordships saw no reason to think that from beginning to end he did not act in accordance with the best traditions of the service. Mr. Buchanan himself made inquiries and came to the conclusion that McCormick should be put upon his trial.

The third point, which was more important than either of the foregoing in support of the contention that the writer of the libels believed them to be true, was the admitted conduct of McCormick himself. Although it was no part of the submission of the counsel for the appellant at their Lordships' Bar that McCormick was guilty, their Lordship thought it was an element relevant to the consideration whether Mr. Arnold was acting in good faith in these libels to show that he believed that McCormick's own admissions would have justified his committal for trial. The last matter which their Lordships reckoned to be a perfectly relevant one in the category of elements in the case which bore upon the point of the accused's good faith was this. Importance was attached to a pronouncement by the magistrate. After investigating the facts, and declining to commit, he went on to say that in his opinion McCormick's conduct was pure and philanthropic. Their Lordships could not agree with such an opinion, and their views coincided with those of the Chief Judge upon that subject.

They were of opinion that there were thus several elements in the case which were all with perfect propriety submitted to the jury in support of the defence. Their Lordships were also of opinion that a fair and statable case in support of the statutory defence and of the belief in the wickedness of Mr. Andrew was put forward on the points which have been already enumerated, but that no others were of any real weight. In putting forward, however, the points mentioned, their Lordships thought that a case was made which demanded an answer. Such an answer was given, and it also was both fair and statable.

THE LETTER SIGNED "VIGILANCE."

In the first place a serious and weighty reply was made on the subject of the letter signed "Vigilance." It was not confined to the remark that the letter was no valid excuse for a belief in gross slander. The points proved were these:—When that letter was received by the *Rangoon Times* a most proper course was taken, and that with the appellant's knowledge. It was forwarded by Mr. Stokes, the assistant editor, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, so that there might be official confirmation of its allegations before its being published. These allegations were examined into, and on October 31 the Chief Secretary wrote stating that the Lieutenant Governor had caused inquiry to be made and had found that the allegations against the officers were without foundation. By this time the appellant had ceased to be editor of the *Rangoon Times* and the incident was closed. In 1912 the attacks were renewed in the defendant's paper, the *Burma Critic*, but at the trial he neither defended the articles as true nor gave any assistance as to what were the actual things on which he founded his own beliefs, nor, finally, what the steps were, if any, on which he took to investigate their truth before giving them to the public. Every officer who had investigated the case except Mr. Buchanan had agreed with the conclusion at which Mr. Andrew arrived—that the charge should be dismissed.

It was alleged that the prosecutors were led on to the trial by Mr. Andrew, and that Mr. Andrew had wickedly conspired suddenly to leave them in the lurch without an advocate and furnish them with a false interpreter. That was not only untrue, but particularly cruel. In their Lordships' opinion when it was discovered that the truth with regard to Mr. Andrew had not been that in these particulars he wickedly conspired to defeat justice, but that he was, on the contrary, anxiously endeavouring to secure that justice should be furthered and guarded, then the mistake should have been acknowledged and an apology tendered. That was not done, but upon the contrary the case was conducted to its close upon the footing that an unstated defence was the real and good defence—namely, that the libels and all the libels were true. Nobody was to be blamed in these circumstances for thinking that the plea of good faith on the part of Mr. Arnold had sustained a serious shock.....

"THE PRIVILEGE OF THE PRESS."

Proceeding Lord Shaw said:—"Their Lordships regret to find that there appeared on the one side in this case the time-worn fallacy that some kind of privilege attaches to the profession of the Press as distinguished from the members of the public. The freedom of the journalist is an ordinary part of the freedom of the subject, and to whatever lengths the subject in general may go, so also may the journalist, but, apart from statute-law, his privilege is no other and no higher. The responsibilities which attach to his power in the dissemination of printed matter may, and in the case of a conscientious journalist do, make him more careful, but the range of his assertions, his criticisms or his comments is as wide as, and no wider than that of any other subject. No privilege attaches to his position.

Upon the other side it would appear from certain observations of the learned Judge that this false and dangerous doctrine may have been hinted at, that some privilege or protection attaches to the public acts of a Judge which exempts him, in regard to these, from free and adverse comment. He is not above criticism, his conduct and utterances may demand it. Freedom would be seriously impaired if the judicial tribunals were outside of the range of such comment. The present case affords a good illustration of what is meant. When the examination before Mr. Andrew concluded with his declaration that in his judgment the action of McCormick was pure and philanthropic, the whole trial would seem to have been laid open to searching and severe observations, and no blame could be attached to these. But when the criticism was converted into an attack upon the magistrate as a conspirator against justice, a traitor to his oath a trickster, a man who had manoeuvred his procedure so as to defeat truth and protect an associate, then, of course, it is for the person who has uttered these things to justify them, or, under the Indian Penal Code, to establish affirmatively that he believed them to be true, and that on reasonable grounds. On both of these matters last mentioned the learned Judge seems to have properly directed the jury.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It is the duty of their Lordships to consider the special position and function of the Board, in criminal cases as the advisers of the King. The powers of his Majesty under his Royal authority to review proceedings of a criminal nature, unless where such power and authority have been parted with by statute, is undoubted. Upon the other hand, there are reasons both constitutional and administrative, which make it manifest that this power should not be lightly exercised. The over-ruling consideration upon the topic has reference to justice itself. If throughout the Empire it were supposed that the

course and execution of justice could suffer serious impediments, which in many cases might amount to practical obstruction, by an appeal to the Royal Prerogative of review on judicial grounds, then it becomes plain that a severe blow would have been dealt to the ordered administration of law within the King's Dominions.

These views are not new. They were expressed more than 50 years ago by Dr. Lushington in his judgment in the *Queen v. Mkerji* (1 Moore N. S., 272), and Lord Kingsdown, in the case of the *Falkland Islands Company v. the Queen* (1 Moore N. S., 312), stated the matter compendiously in these words: "It may be assumed that the Queen has authority by virtue of her Prerogative to review the decisions of all colonial Courts, whether the proceedings be of a civil or criminal character, unless her Majesty has parted with such authority. But the inconvenience of entertaining such appeals in cases of a strictly criminal nature is so great, the obstruction which it would offer to the administration of justice in the Colonies is so obvious, that it is very rarely that applications to this Board similar to the present have been attended with success." Their Lordships desire to state that in their opinion the principle and practice thus laid down by Lord Kingsdown still remain those which are followed by the Judicial Committee.

There have been various important cases in recent times to which, naturally, reference has been made. The first in the case of *Re Dillet* (12 A. C., 459)..... Lord Watson there observed that "the rule has been repeatedly laid down and has been invariably followed that her Majesty will not review or interfere with the course of criminal proceedings unless it is shown that by a disregard of the forms of legal process or by some violation of the principles of natural justice or otherwise substantial and grave injustice has been done."

NOT A COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL.

The present case brings prominently before the Board the question of what is the sense in which those words are to be interpreted. If they are to be interpreted in the sense that wherever there has been a misdirection in any criminal case, leaving it uncertain whether that misdirection did or did not affect the jury's mind, then in such cases a miscarriage of justice could be affirmed or assumed then the result would be to convert the Judicial Committee into a Court of Criminal Review for the Indian and Colonial Empire. Their Lordships are clearly of opinion that no such proposition is sound. This Committee is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. It may in general be stated that its practice is to the following effect:—It is not guided by its own doubts of the appellant's innocence or suspicion of his guilt. It will not interfere with the course of criminal law unless there has been such an interference with the elementary rights of an accused as has placed him outside of the pale of regular law, or, within that pale, there has been a violation of the natural principles of justice so demonstratively manifest as to convince their Lordships first, that the result arrived at was opposite to the result which their Lordships would themselves have reached, and, secondly, that the same opposite result would have been reached by the local tribunal also if the alleged defect or misdirection had been avoided. The appeal in *Dillet's* case has been referred to, and their Lordships do not think that its authority goes beyond those propositions which have now been enunciated.

Their Lordships were referred to the dicta of Judges and the rules set up with regard to the procedure of the Court of Criminal Appeal in England; but they are not the rules adopted by this Board, which as already stated, is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. And the authority of these decisions, which apply to a different system, a different procedure, and a different structure of principle, must stand out of the reckoning of anybody of authority on the matter of the procedure of this Board in advising his Majesty.

The application to the present case is simple. Even had this Committee been a Court of Criminal Appeal it is hardly doubtful that the appeal would fail. *Ad hoc* their Lordships are left in no doubt as to their own duty in conformity with the practice of the Board. They will humbly advise his Majesty that the appeal be dismissed. There will be no order as to cost.

The Army Crisis. Debate in the Commons.

[Concluded from our last.]

Mr. Holt and the Opposition.

THE GOVERNMENT'S PROFESSION.

THE GOVERNMENT professed that the measures they contemplated were what I might almost call peace measures of protection. Their case is that they moved the military to protect certain depots as they would have moved policemen to protect a town hall. I cannot reconcile that with statements we have heard from the Government, and I accept the word of the Secretary of State, but I confess his description of the intentions of the Government are irreconcilable with the action which was taken by the Government. If he correctly interpreted the considered opinion of the Cabinet, then somebody in high quarters has betrayed the Cabinet by taking action behind their backs. (Cheers.) The Government profess to have given us the whole truth but they have refused or neglected to give us an essential part of it. What is General Paget's version of what he said to his

officers? (Cheers.) We are asked to believe that the instructions given to General Paget were those contained in the document of December 16 and the letter of March 14. Where in those instructions did General Paget find his authority to offer officers domiciled in Ulster and desiring to be excused service the opportunity of disappearing until the operations in Ulster were over? (Cheers.) There is not one word to show what the Government said to General Paget or what General Paget said to his officers. If the Government were merely contemplating making secure against a raid by irresponsible people on certain magazines and stores in Ulster they never would have told the General that he was to excuse from service officers domiciled in Ulster; and no officer domiciled in Ulster would have asked to be excused from such service. (Cheers.)

THE HONOUR OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

Nor am I able to reconcile the statement made by the Cabinet with the known facts. The Prime Minister late on Sunday night sent for a representative of the *Times* and conveyed to him for publication a message intended to reassure the public. In the course of that message he denied the rumours of extensive naval preparations, and said that the whole foundation for them was two cruisers being ordered to Ireland. But we now know on the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty himself that that statement was inaccurate at the time it was made. I do not accuse the Prime Minister of wilfully misleading the country in that statement. My inference is that he did not know, and that is the most curious thing of all.

Mr. Churchill.—The movement of the First Battle Squadron was the result of a Cabinet decision taken more than ten days ago.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—Does the first Lord tell me that when the Prime Minister said on Sunday, the 22nd, that no movement of ships in connexion with Ulster was contemplated he knew that the First Lord of the Admiralty had on the 19th ordered a battle squadron to Lamlash, in proximity to the coast of Ireland, in case of serious disorder? The honour of the Prime Minister is at stake, and it is the First Lord who stakes it. (Cheers.)

At this point in Mr. Chamberlain's speech, Mr. Asquith who had been absent from the House, returned to his place, and was received with cheers, and Mr. Chamberlain repeated that his honour was at stake.

THE GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL GOUGH.

Passing to that part of Mr. Asquith's speech which dealt with the action of the officers concerned, Mr. Chamberlain said:—The Prime Minister has told us that no one ought to ask an officer what would be his course of action in future contingencies, and that no officer ought to ask what the Government would expect of him. That no one would dispute, and if in the case under consideration most unhappy results had followed from the Government's breach of this rule the blame with all its consequences must be accepted by those who first violated it.

I listened not without emotion to the right hon. gentleman's speech under that impression; but when, after the Secretary of State, the Prime Minister had spoken, what did we find? That the whole thing was a put-up job (prolonged cheering), that it was a hollow comedy played by the Secretary of State, who, if he had asked to resign, knew while he was speaking that his resignation was not accepted. (Cheers.) I confess that I have never seen anything more humiliating than this drama of spectacle played before a credulous and deceived House of Commons. Now we know from another source of information that these paragraphs which two Ministers stood at this table to-day and declared to be the sole work of the Secretary for War and to have been inserted by him because he had not been able to be present throughout the sitting of the Cabinet, were prepared by him in consultation with another member of the Cabinet, Lord Morley, who, I believe, had been present throughout that sitting, and could not have consented to have put those paragraphs in unless in his opinion they were a fair interpretation of what the Cabinet had decided. We do not hear that he has resigned, and we know now why the Prime Minister does not accept the resignation of the Secretary for War. (Cheers.) There are some things which Prime Minister—and, if the present Prime Minister will permit me to say so, he least of all or as little as any—will not do. They will not throw over a colleague for doing what they themselves in fact if not in words had assented to. (Cheers.) The Secretary of State for War and Lord Morley are pledged by that paper which they gave. (Cheers.) The Government may throw them over if they like, but if they are thrown over, if the word they pledged is repudiated, as men of honour they cannot stay in the Government a day longer (cheers), and if they stay then the paper which they approved and one of them initialed, and the interpretation of that paper which the Chief of the General Staff gave to General Gough and authorized him to read to his officers, is a binding obligation alike on them and their colleagues. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Churchill's Defence.

Mr. Churchill rose to reply amid Opposition cries of "Time." Mr. Bonar Law remarked.—"Let us know what he has got to say."

Mr. Churchill.—Under ordinary circumstances with the regular succession of our Parliamentary debates there is very little opportunity for judging the character of individuals or of parties, but there are occasions when the temperature is raised, as I dare say it

may be raised, to the point where you will interrupt the Government reply.

Mr. Bonar Law.—You are only doing this to avoid saying anything.

Mr. Churchill proceeded to say that he intended to deal with the most insulting charges made by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. One might expect sneers from political opponents, but for Mr. Chamberlain to say, after Colonel Seely's frank and manly statement, that his resignation was a put-up job was an illustration of chivalry as practised by the Opposition. (Cheers.)

Mr. Churchill went on:—

Lord Morley came into the room while the Secretary of State was opening for the first time the box in which the letter of General Gough was contained. He came into the Cabinet room, deserted by the Cabinet, who had repaired to lunch, to find out from my right hon. friend what were the precise terms of the declaration he had to make in the House of Lords. He never revised or examined those paragraphs, or took any decision upon them. My right hon. friend takes upon himself the whole responsibility. I dare say we shall see the right hon. gentlemen at the head of a Government in this country. (Ministerial laughter.) I can only say I hope that in that day he will have a colleague as loyal and as chivalrous as Lord Morley. (Cheers.) Although my right hon. friend takes full responsibility for the decision taken, Lord Morley, who was only indirectly brought in, considered it right and proper to say that he took full responsibility for it. (Cheers.)

THE BATTLE SQUADRON.

As to this battle squadron. A fortnight ago to-day the Cabinet decided that a battle squadron and its attendant ships should be taken to Lamlash. This particular squadron was at Arosa Bay and was coming home. The battle squadron was allowed on its course as long as it was not certain that the movement would be effected without bloodshed or serious military opposition. As soon as it was clear that the movement had been safely effected my right hon. friend suggested to me that it would be a good thing, as there was great excitement and there were many lying rumours in the Press, to delay the movement of the battle squadron for another fortnight. But it is going to Lamlash, and there it will stay during the continuance of this crisis. (Cheers and counter-cheers, and Unionist cries of "How about the artillery!") The Vice-Admiral desired to have the guns on board in order that the men might work them as occasion offered.

When movements, however limited, precautionary, reasonable, non-provocative in themselves, have been made, it is necessary that contingent preparations should also be taken into account in case what we all hope and trust will be avoided were to suddenly break out upon us. That is the explanation of a great deal that you will read in the next few days in the newspapers of stores, ships, men and guns, ambulances and pontoon sections, and so forth, that were taken into general consideration in case contingent movements should be necessary. That is the only explanation.

A DISORDERLY SCENE.

Mr. Churchill continued:—When the question of the officers had been put aside, and everything said that could fairly be said to reduce that action to its proper proportions, the fact remained that the great issue had been raised of the Army *versus* Parliament. (Cheers.) We are content to let that issue, in so far as it has been raised, move forward steadily to its ultimate conclusion. Another issue has been broken in upon—I mean that of the Army *versus* the people. (Cries of "Oh" and cheers.) Every effort has been made with the greatest dialectical skill by the right hon. gentleman the member for the City of London and by the Leader of the Opposition, who emulates his dialectical force without all his dialectical subtlety (laughter) to show that it is always right for a soldier to shoot down a Radical or a Labour man—(cries of "No" and cheers) and always wrong—(cries of "Withdraw," "Rub it in," "A lie," and "A damned lie.")

These are the two great issues which at the present time overshadow the local issue, the complicated, delicate issue with regard to Ulster. If these issues are raised we on this side of the House are prepared at any time, in any way, by any method whatever—

Lord H. Cecil.—To misrepresent your opponents. (Cheers.)

Mr. Churchill.—I would most earnestly ask the House to end this debate by considering where it is that we are actually drifting to-day. (Opposition cheers.) I earnestly suggest that when we have got to the point when rebellion, organized, avowed, applauded (cheers), and stimulated, is set on foot against the ordinary working of our legislative system, when attempts to deal with that rebellious movement if it should be necessary are attempted to be countered, when attempts are made to paralyse the executive in dealing with rebellion, by fomenting, stimulating, or suggesting mutinies and resistance in the Fleet and the Army (An Opposition member:—"Never!")—I welcome any one who says "Never" to that—when that stage has actually been reached in our sober, humdrum, prosaic, British politics, it is about time for serious and responsible people

of all parties to see whether they cannot do something to make the situation a little better. (Cheers.)

THE DIVISION.

The House divided and there voted:—

For the second reading	...	...	314
Against	...	...	222
Majority for	...	...	—92

The Bill was then read a second time.

The House stood adjourned at 10 minutes to 12 o'clock.

Women in Egypt.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, March 20.

It is fairly generally admitted that the future of all Moslem races, and the elevation of their moral and physical standard, depends in a great measure on the better education of the Moslem woman and on her emancipation from the very secondary—one might with all truthfulness say, degraded—social position that she occupies even to-day. There are signs that this fact is gradually receiving recognition in Egypt. The spread of education among the male section of the population is slowly broadening the views of the Egyptians as to the social position of their womenfolk. Polygamy, except among the lower classes, is as much an exception to-day as it was the rule some score of years ago. The increase in the cost of living may, of course, have had something to do with this change, but as this monogamistic tendency has been noticeable among the Pasha and Bey class, it is not unreasonable to assume that the spread of education has not been foreign to it. Furthermore, the movement in favour of the abolition of the veil which has sprung into prominence during the past two or three years, and the articles, some of them exceedingly outspoken on that subject, and on the urgent necessity for improving the position of the Egyptian woman, which appear in the vernacular Press, afford interesting indications of the transformation in the general outlook which is slowly coming to pass.

The raising of the standard of education among the men has had for natural consequence a demand for educated wives, and parents, realizing this fact, are seeking by all means in their power to obtain for their daughters the instruction that will render them intellectually attractive when the time comes for them to be married. The Government, has done its best to assist in the matter, and has established a great number of schools where girls can receive elementary and advanced tuition. But the demand for admission far exceeds the available accommodation.

NEW SOCIETY FOUNDED.

While official efforts have been made to meet this new situation, it has become increasingly evident that the instruction afforded at the public and private schools was not having the useful result that was expected, in that girls who had completed their studies had no means of further extending their knowledge, and that those whose early marriage had brought their education to a premature close had no facilities for completing that education if after their marriage they desired so to do. With a view to filling this want there has been founded in Cairo, under the auspices of the Khedivah-Mother and of the wives of the Ministers and of the chief European and native notables, a society called the Women's Educational Union. Its objects as set forth in its statutes are:—

1. To unite in a common bond women of all nationalities interested in education, and thus promote the cause of female education in Egypt.

2. To assist mothers and teachers to understand the best principles of education, and afford them opportunities for consultation and co-operation so that the wisdom and experience of each may be profitable to all.

3. To provide for this purpose lectures dealing with education in its physical, mental, and moral aspects.

4. To afford to girls and young women who have been well educated an opportunity of maintaining their interest in intellectual and literary matters, and to publish for that purpose a magazine dealing with educational subjects in a language understood by the majority.

Two meetings have already been held at the Egyptian University, and at the last Mme. El Bassel, who is well known as a writer, gave a lecture in Arabic on "The Influence of Women." A large number of adhesions have been received, and there are many signs that the society will meet with great success, since every effort is to be made to observe the wishes and customs of those for whose special benefit it is intended.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
AL-BAYAN FI ULUM-UL-QURAN
 HELD AS AN
 INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY
 OF THE
HOLY QURAN
 CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

THE original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings, their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of these statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration and revelation, the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deed; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicious cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade*:—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctification, Angels, Genii, Soul Resurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, polygamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Buddhism Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj and Jihad. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zoroastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern **علم الكلام** were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully.

FATEHPURI, Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq, has been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.R.O.S., I.R.C.P.

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about Islam may easily purchase it.

APPLY TO—THE MANAGER,

The General Newspaper Agency

and Islamia Book Depot, Delhi.

Or Haji Mohamed Ishaq, Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

Notice.

BENGAL VETERINARY COLLEGE.

Candidates for admission to the Bengal Veterinary College for the Session 1913—14 should present themselves with necessary certificates in original, as required by the Regulations, at the College in Calcutta, Belgachia, at 11 A. M. on 20th May 1914 for selection.

D. Dey,

For Principal, Bengal Veterinary College.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, Rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.)

Suit No. 37 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

Mutsaddi Lal, son of Ghansham Das,
 Nanikram, son of Chaturbhuj of
 Mohalla Sahabganj, Fyzabad ... Plaintiff.

Versus.

1. Ram Nath 2. Hira Lal ... Defendant.

To

Name 1. Ram Nath 2. Hira Lal son,
 of Naram Das of Nayagoun Cantonment, District Jhansi ... Defendants.

Whereas the above named Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 533/14/9, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 14th day of May 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 29th day of April 1914.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

(2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

(3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say,—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the 11th day of May 1914.

*Fill in "copy of the plains" or "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be vide Order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

Hours of attendance at the office of the Munsif's Court, Fyzabad from 10 A. M., till 4 P. M.

**Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor
of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.**

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar-i-Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1918, writes : "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive in as much as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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Annas 4.

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Annual Subscription
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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

London, May 1.

There is much speculation as to Government's action regarding Home Rule. It is stated that Government will offer the establishment of a Commission drawn from both sides, to consider the Federal system, empowered to fix a date by common consent on which Federalism shall become operative. Thus the time-limit on which the Nationalists insist will be retained, but in the meantime the Irish Parliament will have an opportunity to prove its capacity and goodwill towards Ulster. Hence the ultimate inclusion of Ulster in the Irish unit will depend on the good behaviour and efficiency of the Dublin Parliament. Mr. Redmond and his colleagues refuse to speak on the matter at present owing to delicacy of the situation. The difficulties of a compromise are evidenced by the slight hardening tone of the papers.

The "Daily Chronicle" and lobbyist Liberals would have liked Government to take strong action against gunrunners and blame Mr. Churchill for again taking independent action without the knowledge of his colleagues. They fear that pacificatory utterances of Mr. Balfour and Sir Edward Carson were meant to drive a wedge between the Liberals and the Nationalists through the abolition of the time-limit.

Telegrams from Dublin announce that the prosecution of Ulsterites has been abandoned owing to Nationalist representations.

London, May 2.

Speaking at Swindon, Mr. F. E. Smith said that Unionists would never assent to a settlement of the Home Rule question, providing for an automatic inclusion of Ulster after a period of years.

In course of a speech at Buncorn, Lord Hugh Cecil declared that Unionists were still bitterly opposed to Home Rule and would adopt every Parliamentary means to prevent it being passed.

At a meeting at Coventry "to protest against the use of British forces to shoot Ulster loyalists for political purposes," Mr. Balfour said that he was glad that at least some members of the Cabinet now recognised that nothing could meet the Ulster difficulty but a clear-cut separation of Ulster. He was confident that nothing else could avert civil war. Unlike the constitutional problem as to whether Home Rule ought to be given before the country was consulted that was a problem which could not be finally and peacefully settled by a General Election, for even if the country did reverse the verdicts of 1886 and 1895, there would still be the position of Ulster to make the Bill unworkable.

London, May 6.

Several papers state that preliminary communication passed between Government and the Opposition yesterday with a view to a conference regarding Ulster.

The "Daily Mail" says that Mr. Asquith met Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and it is believed that Mr. Churchill was present.

The "Daily News" states that Mr. Redmond was not consulted at yesterday's approach to fresh negotiations and adds that this is one of the several disquieting features of the political situation from the Liberal standpoint. The same paper declares that a hundred Unionist members of the House of Commons met on Monday with the object of reviving the "Die-hard" movement.

London, May 7.

According to newspapers Mr. Asquith had a conference with Mr. Redmond yesterday. The latter, it is stated, is not eager to enter a conference but desires the Home Rule Bill to leave the House of Commons first and to have any compromise embodied in an amending Bill.

London, May 8.

The papers assert that Mr. Asquith saw Mr. Bonar Law yesterday and subsequently Mr. Redmond and also Mr. Devlin and Mr. Dillon. A deputation of "Die hard" Unionists waited on Mr. Bonar Law yesterday to protest against concessions on the Ulster question.

Mr. Redmond has made a statement to the effect that so far as he knows conversations regarding Ulster have not been renewed. He denies that he has consulted Mr. Asquith with reference to new concessions, and says that the position of the Irish party regarding concessions has not changed since the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Redmond adds that he is confident that Bill will be sent to the House of Lords in its present shape before the Whitsuntide recess.

the Haj Pilgrimage.

Bombay, May 5.

The Government of Bombay have submitted to the Government of India revised proposals in connection with the Haj pilgrimage. These will be circulated to other Local Governments before any decision is arrived at.

Albania.

Durazzo, May 2.

Epirote insurgents, with many guns, captured Kolonia. Despatches say that they massacred women and children and gutted the town. It is reported that they are advancing.

The news has caused the utmost indignation in Durazzo. Crowds are parading the streets, and patriotic speeches are being made and anti-Greek cries raised.

A meeting is to be held to-morrow to protest against the massacre.

Durazzo, May 4.

Late in the evening the Government received the news of important attacks made on insurgents in course of the day. Many villages in the enemy's possession had been retaken and Government forces had pushed forward to Bomati near Kolonia in the hope of being able to recapture the latter place shortly.

Athens, May 7.

There was a sanguinary engagement at Kodra yesterday. Five hundred Albanians were killed and wounded and the Epirotes also had heavy losses.

Durazzo, May 7.

A Greek band with artillery and machine-guns is marching on the Berat Road to Valona and Durazzo is occupied by strong forces, consisting largely of Greek regulars.

London, May 7.

Reports from various sources confirm the news of the crucifixions at Kodra. Nails were driven through the chests, hands and feet of the victims. Children were found at Hormova cruelly tortured; many had their fingers cut off. It is also asserted that many Albanians at Vrbecko and other places near Leskovitch have been massacred or burned in their houses by the Epirotes.

The Epirote Government has consented to suspend hostilities on the intervention of the International Commission which will undertake to supervise and guarantee the continuance of concession by the Albanian Government.

Macedonia.

Constantinople, May 2.

It is stated that the emigration of Greeks from Thrace has stopped. It is reported that the Porte has drawn the attention of the Powers to the intolerable position of the Moslems in Greek Macedonia, adding that it cannot remain indifferent to it.

New Delhi.

London, May 2.

A feature of the Royal Academy is seven water-colour drawings of the preliminary designs of the approaches and buildings at central points of New Delhi, showing Government House and the Council Chamber.

A Research Scholarship.

Lahore, May 2.

A research scholarship of the value of Rs 60 per mensem will be awarded by the Government annually to a diploma of the Punjab Agricultural College for post graduate study provided a sufficiently promising candidate is forthcoming who will have to present a thesis after scholarship period.

Seditious Literature.

Lahore, May 4.

An informal Conference of the Principals of the various Lahore Colleges and educational institutes was held about the week-end with a view to devising ways and means to check dissemination of seditious literature among the alumni. All heads of the institutions promised to support and co-operate in keeping off possible malign influences.

Islamia Mission to the West.

Lahore, May 4.

Maulvi Sudderuddin, Head-master of Islamia High School Qadian, proceeds to England on 16th May to assist Khwaja Kamaluddin in his Islamic Mission to the West.

The Kurds.

Constantinople, May 3.

Eleven Kurds, including Shaikh Shehab-ed-din, have been hanged at Bidlis in connection with the recent revolt.

The Late Duke of Argyll.

London, May 8.

The funeral service of the late Duke of Argyll took place to-day in Westminster Abbey before a vast congregation. The King and Queen, Queen Alexandra and other members of the royal house

were present. Members of the Cabinet, Ambassadors and Ministers members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons and representatives of the Dominions also attended.

The Oriental School in London.

London, May 6.

A large meeting was held at the Mansion House to-day in support of the Oriental School in London. The Lord Mayo presided. Lord Curzon moved a Resolution in support of the view that great Imperial and commercial interests were dependent on an adequate provision for instruction in Oriental languages literature and social customs. Lord Curzon called attention to the work of the School in teaching Oriental ideas, traditions and customs. To know the language of the East, he said, was a great thing. To know its spirit was greater. The commercial importance of a scheme for removing London's inferiority to Continental capitals in this respect could not be overestimated. Unless the representatives of our mercantile houses in the East were equipped with the knowledge of local languages and ideas, the spoils of commercial enterprise would be taken from us, as they were already being largely taken in the Far East, by indefatigable rivals, especially Germans. The provision of the School was a great Imperial obligation.

Lord Crewe said that though there were two schools of thought the largest body of informed opinion held that it was of the greatest possible advantage for young officials, instead of leaving language study till their arrival, to go out with a strong substratum of formal knowledge.

Lord Reay, Lord Inchcape, Mr. Faithful Begg, and Sir Montagu Turner also spoke. Sir William Anson, Sir Algernon Firth, Mr. Ameer Ali, Lord George Hamilton and Lord Lamington were present.

Immigration to Columbia.

Simla, May 8.

The following Resolution has been issued in the Commerce Department with reference to the resolution of the Government of India, No. 8446-9461-3, dated the 7th November, 1913. Intimation has been received that the prohibition against the landing of artisans and skilled or unskilled labourers at ports of entry in British Columbia as issued by the Government of Canada, has been extended to the 30th September, 1914. The Governor-General in Council accordingly requests all Local Government and administrations to make the above intimation as widely known as possible, particularly in places from which immigration to Canada is believed to be most common. Intending immigrants should also be warned at the ports of embarkation of the risk they run in proceeding to that country.

Public Service Commission.

London, May 5.

Mr. Drake did not think it possible to train Indian students of practical forestry in India so efficiently as in German forests, where training had been going on for centuries.

Mr. Seton, of the India Office, said that the rates of pay were not sufficient to attract, first-class men for educational posts.

In accordance with the suggestion, contained in the Currency Commission's Report, Lord Crewe has sanctioned the creation of a second Financial Secretaryship for the India Office and has appointed Mr. William Robinson to be Financial Assistant Secretary thereto.

The Indian Currency System.

London, May 5.

Mr. Rupert Gwynne in the House of Commons to-day asked: "What is the ultimate aim of the India Office with regard to the Indian currency system and what effective measures are being taken to reach the same?" Mr. Roberts said: The chief aim is the maintenance of the exchange value of the rupee at sixteen pence and the chief measures are the provision of a gold standard reserve, other sterling reserves for the regulation of the coinage of rupees and sales of drafts between England and India.

Congress Deputation.

London, May 6.

Lord Crewe will receive next Monday the delegates of the Indian National Congress when contemplated reforms of the India Council will be discussed. A meeting with the members of the House of Commons has been fixed for Wednesday. Sir William Wedderburn will give a breakfast in honour of the delegates on Thursday. They will afterwards attend the Conference at which Lord Courtney will preside.

House of Lords.

London, May 7.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith announced Government's intention to lay proposals before the House for the re-construction of the House of Lords, during the present session. He would introduce on Tuesday a procedure resolution regarding Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment and the Plural Voting Bill.

South Africa.

Capetown, May 7.

It is understood that General Smuts has promised a deputation of Johannesburg Mussulmans that the Indian Commission's recommendations generally will be carried out. He also promised to do everything to settle the marriage question satisfactorily. He said that when the Immigration Act came before Parliament for revision, Government did not intend to put any hardships in the way of Indians.

Indians in British Columbia.

Intimation has been received that the Canadian Government have extended to the end of September next, the operation of the order in Council, prohibiting the landing of any class of artisans of labour in British Columbia.



Our London Letter.

London, April 17.

LORD HARDINGE AND THE INDIAN MUSLIMS.

The Indian mail of last week has brought us the full text of the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address that has been presented to him at Delhi by the Muslim deputation. It is, indeed, noteworthy that in spite of the very weighty and significant tone of His Excellency's declaration on that historic occasion, we had been left absolutely in the dark even as regards the barest summary. Reuter and other news agencies, and even the ever-watchful *Times* had been, curiously enough, conspicuously silent over this affair. It is true, a very brief paragraph in the *Times* had informed us that a Muslim deputation had been received by Lord Hardinge at Delhi and that the Viceroy had promised to convey to His Majesty the expressions of loyalty contained in the Address. But that was all!

Those of us who have been carefully studying the Indian policy of this journal—a policy that has been so emphatically confirmed of late by means of the "Indian Peril" bogey—could, however, easily understand the remarkable attitude of silence that had been mysteriously adopted in that particular quarter. It is plain that had Lord Hardinge dropped even the smallest hint that he was inclined to treat seriously, if not actually to believe, what had been said lately against the Indian Muslims in certain influential quarters in India as well as in England, we would have certainly been treated not only to lengthy telegraphic reproductions of His Excellency's words, but also to elaborate leading articles on the subject in some of the leading Tory newspapers in London. Knowing that it had been decided by the Indian Muslims to wait upon Lord Hardinge in deputation, the Indian "experts" connected with the various Tory journals here were on the tip-toe of expectation. Were they going to receive a sort of official approval of their wicked attitude towards the Indian Muslims? Was the Viceroy about to formally bless them for their pseudo-Imperialism? Were seventy millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India going to be cruelly labelled by the head of the Indian Government?

We now know that all such false hopes have been shattered to pieces. Lord Hardinge has given yet another proof of his sound and wise statesmanship. He has for once and for all knocked the very bottom out of the scandalous and mischievous theory of the "disloyalty" and "revolutionary policy" of the Indian Muslims that has been so widely and so freely advertised of late. The Indian Muslims have now been told by His Excellency himself in language that could not have been more emphatic that their loyalty and their attachment to the Crown had never for a moment been in doubt. They can thus in future well afford to contemptuously ignore the noisy but harmless barking of these "Imperial" hounds.

A careful perusal of His Excellency's speech at once shows how thoroughly Lord Hardinge has grasped the position in which Indian Muslims find themselves. He does not ridicule the Muslim sympathy that had been so keenly and so justly roused in India for the fate of their co-religionists in other parts of the world, as has been ignorantly done elsewhere. Nothing could be more to the point than Lord Hardinge's reference to the unreasonable attitude adopted in the Press of this country towards the Indian Muslims, and no more severe condemnation of that attitude could be imagined than what has fallen from His Excellency's own lips. "It is true," says Lord Hardinge, "that writers in the English and foreign press have been misled by such expressions (of sore feelings) and, owing to a merely superficial comprehension of the Mohamedan train of thought, have misrepresented the attitude of your community, and attributed to them actions and thoughts which those who know you well can only regard as a deep misunderstanding." Furthermore, the Viceroy has dealt a fatal blow to those who had so deliberately organised the malicious anti-Muslim campaign. His words—"I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the

unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community"—will go down in the history of Indian Muslims as a record of their goodness and a testimony to their wisdom during the very momentous period thorough which they have just passed.

We do not wonder at all at the deep silence that now prevails in the editorial offices of the reactionary Tory papers in London. Lord Hardinge's utterance has fallen on them as a bombshell. It has paralysed them beyond any hopes of recovery and it has proved to the world the wretched untruth of all their writings and statements.

The personnel of the deputation could at once dispose of any attempts that may be made at arguing against its representative character. It consists of Indian Muslims of all shades of opinion and contains representatives of various provinces and presidencies. It has been led by a man that is held in great esteem and regard by the entire community. There is, however, a touch of humour in the distinguished list of the gentlemen who had formed the deputation. We find therein one or two names to whose claim of representativeness the *Times* and other self-constituted authorities in London had offered very serious objection on their visit to this country last autumn. It was apparently left for these "judges"—and not for the Indian Muslims themselves—to decide who should or really could represent the Muslims. Even the general recognition from the overwhelming majority of the community that followed the sudden departure of these two gentlemen from India last year was not sufficient to convince these superior personages in London of the representative nature of their mission. Much to their disappointment, they have now to put up with the hard fact that the deputation representing the whole Muslim community of India has included these two "irresponsible individuals" and we sha'n't be surprised if they were the most prominent members of the deputation. Yet only six months ago the reactionary circles in England were at pains to impress upon the British public the "bogus" character of these two gentlemen's mission to this country, that they were only representing themselves, that they had no voice in the counsels of the Muslim community in India, and all the rest of it.

It is now plain that this Indian Muslim bogey is, to all intents and purposes, dead. We cannot, of course, even now expect to witness the burial of this malicious doctrine. It would be more than human if that were to occur. It would be antagonistic to the "honourable" traditions of its authors if they were now suddenly to give up the reckless crusade in which they have indulged so long. We shall, no doubt, meet with weak reminders of their existence from time to time, but such occasional outbursts in future are bound to fall on deaf ears. Even the bulk of the British public—which is not as a rule well-versed in Indian matters and which is very likely to believe the articles on India which appear in the reactionary press of this country—has at last discovered the fraud that has hitherto been practised upon it. It had been cunningly prepared for a regular revolutionary upheaval among the Indian Muslims and, now it is told on the highest authority that the Government of India has never for a moment entertained such sinister ideas as regards the community. All this is due to Lord Hardinge's sagacity and high statesmanship. A man of his calibre and experience could never fall a victim to the treacherous scheme that had been devised in certain quarters. He has been brought up in the excellent school of diplomacy and his training helped him to look through the "affair."

The Muslims of India—and indeed all the communities as a whole—are essentially loyal. Grievances they have had and no doubt still have; and nobody could accuse them of disloyalty if they, from time to time, adopt means—purely constitutional and legal means, let it be at once said, to bring their complaints before the authorities and to seek remedial measures. They are certainly at perfect liberty to offer such criticism and opposition as they can to any policy of the Government which they honestly believe to be injurious to the interests of their community or country. A Government which does not tolerate reasonable criticism, it can safely be said, is not fit to govern. Nobody is more fully alive to the desirability and in fact the necessity of honest criticism than Lord Hardinge himself. His words in the course of his recent speech at Bombay in reply to the Address of the Municipal Corporation bear ample testimony to this. "Criticism and opposition," said His Excellency, "have their value, and so long as they are inspired by no mean or self-interested motive they are to be welcomed, and indeed when you consider the enormous problems to be dealt with in India, and the gigantic interests involved in any large question of policy, it would be very astonishing and a poor compliment to the intelligence and public spirit of India if there were not fair and reasonable opposition." Lord Crewe, addressing the Indian Civil Service probationers last year, has likewise shown the importance he attaches to criticism in India. It will be remembered, that speaking as the Secretary of State for India, he impressed upon his hearers the significant formula of tolerating and facing fair opposition to their action or policy in India.

Lord Hardinge has again spoken as the "man on the spot", and his speech in reply to the Muslim deputation's Address cannot but produce an excellent impression on the minds of those people in this country who had been so wickedly misled by the writers of a certain type in the Press. It has further brought home to the Muslim community of India the significant fact that, in spite of deliberate attempts in various quarters to misrepresent them to the outside world, the able statesman at the head of the Government of India has clearly shown how utterly indifferent he has been himself to all such insinuations and how emphatically convinced he is of the unwavering loyalty of the community to His Majesty's person and throne. Lord Hardinge's speech has made a very favourable impression on the Indian Muslims in London.

COLONEL AZIZ ALI'S CASE.

The *Times* has been giving undue prominence to Colonel Aziz Ali El-Masri's case, which has just been concluded at Constantinople. This journal has already written two leading articles on the subject, protesting against the "partiality" of the court-martial, which has been trying the Egyptian officer, and demanding the interference of Great Britain in the matter to secure the release of the prisoner. We are once more reminded by this paper that British prestige demands such a course and are incidentally told that all that has been meted out to Aziz Ali is due to Enver Pasha's well-known jealousy!

We now know that the sentence of death which had been originally passed on the Egyptian Colonel has been committed to one of 15 years' imprisonment and that there is every possibility of further reductions in the sentence. I am, of course, in no way entitled to comment upon the justice or injustice of the whole case, but in spite of the agitation that has been created in Egypt as well as in the Press of this country by the *Times*, I can safely state that no thinking man in Egypt or Turkey can ever accuse Enver Pasha of jealousy. Neither could anybody who is at all in touch with modern Turkey, charge the Ottoman Government with deliberately securing the arrest of Colonel Aziz Ali with the fixed motive of having him imprisoned or put to death without giving him any opportunity to defend himself.

Throughout the stormy agitation that has been so meanly engineered in London over this case, the most hopeful sign has been the utter indifference to the *Times*' protests that has characterized the attitude of the Sublime Porte. They were dealing by court-martial with one of their own subjects and it was no business of any one outside to interfere in the matter. Even now if the Turkish authorities are convinced of the innocence of the Colonel, there is every probability of the sentence being squashed; but it is certain that they are not prepared to permit any external influence being brought to bear upon them on the occasion. Whatever His Majesty the Sultan may do of his own accord on the advice of his Ministers is another matter.

If British prestige becomes involved when a Moslem subject of a Moslem Sovereign is being tried according to the military laws of the country, on the ground that England, being a Moslem Power, could not afford to see a foreign Muslim unjustly (?) put to death or imprisoned, one wonders what had happened to this particular sensitiveness of feeling about prestige in England when thousands of innocent Muslims (men, women and children) were being deliberately slaughtered in the Balkans or in the oasis of Tripoli. Then, of course, it was perfectly unreasonable for the 70 million Moslem subjects of Great Britain to impress upon her the fact that they were sorely feeling the butchery that had been going on in Africa and South-Eastern Europe and to remind her that she, as the greatest Moslem Power in the world, ought at least to exercise her undoubted influence over the European Chancellories to put an immediate stop to the brutal anti-Moslem crusade that had been undertaken. Then evidently no question such as that of the British prestige was involved; but now, when we have no reason at all to doubt the impartiality of the Court-Martial which has been trying the Colonel, an Ottoman subject, in the name of the Sultan himself, we are immediately told that, unless Great Britain interferes in the matter, British prestige will suffer. The sinister motive is not far to seek. The object is to thoroughly misrepresent the case to the Egyptians with the off-chance of the wretched scheme working successfully and the hitherto cordial and affectionate relations existing between Cairo and Constantinople becoming in consequence strained.

If Colonel Aziz Ali is deserving of mercy, he is bound, sooner or later, to receive the Imperial pardon. The affectionate hold which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan retains on every Muslim heart—nowhere stronger than in Egypt—will never allow this latest anti-Moslem campaign in England to attain its mischievous end.

TETE À TETE



We are happy to learn that our distinguished countrymen who have recently gone to England as delegates of the

A Distinction and some Differences.

Indian National Congress are to be received by Lord Crewe on Monday. One of the Congress delegates, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, as Chairman of the meeting held at Bombay, on the return of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, to welcome them, referring to the Secretary of State's refusal to receive the Moslem delegates, had said: "With the greatest respect for Lord Crewe, it seems a denial of a most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible. . . . Let us hope this will not form a precedent." In spite of the *Times of India*'s obvious chagrin at this statement, no fair-minded person would fail to regard this as an almost self-evident truth, and we are happy to record Lord Crewe's reversion to the universal practice of his great predecessor in office, and, let us acknowledge, of Lord Crewe himself. Lord Crewe's refusal to receive Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali has given to his promise to receive the Congress delegates the appearance of a distinction, though the real distinction lies in being delegated by one's people and not in being received by the Secretary of State. It appears, however, that the reception of the delegates is not going to be a ceremonial affair, as such "distinctions" are apt to be in the cases of those whom officialdom labels as "the natural leaders of the people". Our distinguished fellow countrymen who have proceeded to England do not belong to this class of people but are the real leaders of the Congress school of politicians. Naturally, therefore, they mean more business than ceremony when wishing to be received by the Secretary of State, and we understand that the main topic which will be discussed on the occasion will be the contemplated reforms of the India Council, though we trust other important topics, such as the repeal of the Press Act, the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive and the extension of Executive Council Government at least to such major Provinces as are still subject to one-man-rule, will not be ignored. Evidently the Marquess of Crewe does see that, unlike the case of the Moslem delegates last November, some public advantage would arise from such a reception and discussion. But we wonder whether his lordship feels certain that his action would not be misunderstood by any of the fellow-countrymen of the Congress delegates with whom they are not in accord and who claim equally with them to represent the political attitude and temper of the people in India. On certain questions the majority of Hindus and Muslims interested in politics hold the same, or at least similar views, much to the annoyance of a section of the bureaucracy, and both communities will heartily join us in wishing the utmost persuasiveness to the eloquence and logic of the Congress delegates when urging the Indian view on the Secretary of State's attention. But it cannot be denied that on some questions neither the Hindu delegates of the Congress represent the views of the entire Hindu community, nor do the Moslem delegates of the Congress represent the views of the entire Moslem community or even of the majority. Indeed, it is so obvious that the delegates would not themselves deny it. How has the Secretary of State guarded himself then against a possible misunderstanding of his action in receiving these delegates by those with whose views they are not in accord. Besides there are heaps of toadies in both communities who would have been only too willing to start croaking against the representative character of the Congress delegates if officialdom had once suggested such a thing to them. What would the Secretary of State have done under the circumstances? Would he have sought refuge, as he did in the case of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, in the certainty of his action being misunderstood by these unflinching auxiliaries of the bureaucracy? Would he have assured the Congress

delegates that the sentiments and aspirations of Indians of the Congress school of thought deserve and receive the fullest attention and sympathy of His Majesty's Government and that he himself spares no pains to inform himself on the matters through the many authoritative sources of intelligence that are open to him. Well, well, we need not dwell too much on what his lordship did six long months ago. It is enough for our purpose to know that this "most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible" has not been denied in the case of the Congress delegates and that the case of the Moslem delegates has not formed a precedent. As a matter of fact nothing that is done against the Mussalmans ever forms a precedent against others, and it must afford special satisfaction to the school of separatists who are ready to fight the battles of everybody except their own community and share the sentiments of the poet who said :

شرکت غم بھی نہیں چاہی غیرت میری

But while on this subject, let us ask the reader to note that so far as we know the Congress delegates were not elected in a formal manner, by the Congress itself but that every prominent Congressman who expressed his readiness to go to England this summer at his own expense was accepted by the All-India Congress Committee as a delegate. We wonder what the precisionists in the Moslem community think of this after having objected to the delegation of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, although it was formally accepted by several properly constituted political bodies, including the All-India Moslem League Council, and, what is still more important, hailed by hundreds of thousands of Mussalmans who otherwise care little for politics and political bodies. Let the Mussalmans also note that Delhi missed an abortive meeting of Rai Bahadurs and Rai Sahibs on the 30th of April convened to protest against the claims of the Congress delegates to represent others besides themselves. We have already said that Hindus as well as Mussalmans have their *Jo-Hookams* and *Ji-Hozaars*. But note the difference. The Hindu sycophants know that like one of the two sets of the elephant's teeth, according to the Indian proverb, they are only meant for show and not for use. The Mussalmans unfortunately do not merely exhibit their sycophants but also use them, and thus force others to abuse them. What they should really do with them is to put them under glass cases and warn them of the evil consequences of throwing stones at others from that *bi-jou* Crystal Palace.

So far as we have ascertained we receive much less frequently than some other contemporaries of ours unsolicited favours in the shape of literature of varying degrees of temperature from strong nationalism to red-hot revolution. In ordinary times one's first impulse is to consign it to the waste-paper basket. But when terrorism is making itself felt the proper course appears to us to forward such literature to the police. For the first time we received such literature sometime after the Delhi Outrage, and communicated with the Director of the Criminal Investigation Department, to whom it was delivered. Subsequently we used to forward it to the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, or, in his absence, to the District Magistrate of Delhi. What happened to it afterwards we did not know, nor felt any particular inclination to enquire. After that for some months we were not favoured with such literature, but recently some such matter is being sent to us, though we must add it does not directly concern India, nor is equally inflammatory. It deals with the question of the emancipation of Egypt which has a political status very different from that of India, opposition to the British occupation cannot be called high treason there. Nevertheless it is a curious fact that when patriots of this class set out to emancipate their country they are stimulated by so much optimism that they do not rest satisfied with working for their own country but devote a good deal of attention to half-a-dozen other countries also. Possibly this may be due not only to their love of liberty throughout the world and sympathy with all those who strive for it, but also to a desire to win the sympathy of all lovers of liberty in every quarter of the globe. Anyhow, if only these enthusiasts knew that instead of receiving any assistance in the attainment of their chief object they embarrass those whose cause they take up along with their own they would very probably desist from bestowing on them such unsolicited favours. We daresay the authorities in India now get forwarded to them more literature of this kind than they can satisfactorily deal with and consequently they decline to receive any more. The best course perhaps under the circumstance would be for every one to destroy all such literature the moment it is received, for we find that although the possession of such matter is not illegal, the police look upon the possessor of it as a sure and certain conspirator and accomplice of some bomb-thrower. But the difficulty is that it is not always possible to say what is seditious and what is not. For instance, it is quite possible that according to the standard of Mr. Tollinton

a pamphlet published in Japan on the myrtardom of Sherket Pasha may be considered, treasonable publication and who knows that the possession of the *Economic History of India* by Mr. Dutt and his numerous contributions on Indian Land Revenue, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji's speeches and writings on the Drain Theory and other efforts to "rouse the British conscience" and Mr. William Digby's "*Prosperous*" *British India* may land the possessor into jail as a guilty conspirator. Every one who receives these unsolicited favours has not sufficient time to go through all he receives in this way and it may happen that something is left undestroyed. Now we venture to ask whether it is right and just to hold such a person guilty of conspiracy and wreak on him the vengeance of the Police for all undetected political outrages. Government should make it clear that the possession of a leaflet of this character will not bring on the head of a person all the wrath of the Police and the consequent punishment as a conspirator.

In the course of the preliminary examination in the Delhi Conspiracy Case some "Liberty," "Yoga" and other leaflets were produced which Mahatma Munshi Ram of the Haridwar Gurukula had sent to Sir James Meston along with a letter of his own. In this letter the Mahatma refers to the pain that has been caused to him and says that his heart "is sad and heavy to learn that there are still misguided men in India who do not understand the mischief they are doing by publishing rank nonsense to inflame the 'unthinking, half-educated masses'". The leaflets were addressed to four of his professors, some of which he sent to a friend in Simla with a request to place them in the hands of the Viceroy. The rest he forwarded to Sir James Meston "with the hope that something could be done to find out the publishers of this mischievous leaflet". The Mahatma proceeds: "The envelopes bear the post-mark of Lahore, all the addresses appear to have been printed, and thus the perpetrators of this foul deed appear to have taken good care to evade detection; but the quotation from the last Mogul Emperor 'and the appeal to the Ghazi spirit shows the leaflet to be the work of some one well imbued with the spirit of *jehad* in Mohamedanism. Although an allusion to Arjuna of the Gita appears, yet it is the fall of Turkey and the usurpation in Persia which are deplored." After delivering this innocent little verdict, the Mahatma lapses into his role of humility and winds up with an expression of his sense of shame "that one of my own countrymen, a child of mother Bharat, appears to have prepared this most un-Aryan leaflet, and can but pray to the Divine Mother to lead away such misguided sons of Bharat from the path of unrighteousness." The Delhi Conspiracy Case is still in its preliminary stage, and we do not, therefore, wish to say a word about the proceedings that have so far taken place—about the accused in the dock, the witnesses that have been examined and the evidence that has been recorded on behalf of the prosecution. It is evident, however, that the "Liberty" and "Yoga" leaflets, to trace the authorship of which the Mahatma of the Gurukula has liberally drawn upon his truly "Aryan" spirit and psychology, are alleged by the prosecution to have been the work of some of the accused in the Conspiracy Case, for which an enormous mass of evidence has been produced. We do not know whether all the accused share the faith with which Mahatma Munshi Ram has lit his torch, but they are all Hindus and are presumably nearer in spirit to the Yoga philosophy than to the teachings of Islam. The evidence against them has yet to be sifted and we sincerely hope that if they are really not guilty they may be able to establish their innocence. But in the light of all that has so far happened it was an impudent and wicked presumption on the part of this busybody of a Mahatma to have gone out of his way to traduce the "Ghazi spirit" and "the spirit of *Jehad* in Mohamedanism." The Mahatma talks of "the Aryan spirit" of "Mother Bharat" with unction. This may be a good and beautiful thing, and it would be a stimulating experience to see in flesh and blood the spirits that he is summoning at Gurukula from the vasty deep of the Vedic Ages. But if they are to be imbued with a spirit as "Aryan" as the Mahatma's, the "Divine Mother" will not have much reason to be proud of her children. Gushing souls with a taste for the archaic have made pilgrimages to the Gurukula and, under the spell of the Mahatmaj's "tall and commanding figure," his "charming manners and simple life," the severity of the school regime, its cloistered purity and picturesqueness and its naive idealism, have felt as if they have come into visible touch with the Spirit of Peace which has found a new dwelling and will shortly spread forth on earth to assuage the bruised heart of man. This picture of the Mahatma and his work has been coming into vogue quite recently. We wish it were as real as its patrons would have us believe. This effusion of the Mahatma, at any rate, gives us quite a different picture. It reveals a narrow-minded bigot, whose heart is shackled with sectarian hate. Sir James Meston and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald may have to tone down their effusive praise.

Mr. S. KHUDA BAKSHI, Bar-at-Law, who has given to the public from time to time his studies and researches in Islamic history and civilization has prepared a translation of "*Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker*," the famous work of the well-known German author, Dr. Weil. The book will be published on the 15th of this month by the University of Calcutta, and we will review it at some length when it comes in our hands. We may, however, indicate the scope and nature of the work by quoting the following passage from the Introduction written by Mr. S. Khuda Bakshi, an advance copy of which has been supplied to us:—"Dr. Gustav Weil is too well-known to require any introduction or recommendation. Among Oriental scholars in Germany he holds an honoured position, and in spite of continuous researches and the unwearied industry of his countrymen his work still retains the confidence of scholars all over the world. The work of which I now offer an English translation is a volume at once handy, compact and scholarly—suited most eminently for students who need a safe and trustworthy guide to lead them through the labyrinth of Mohamedan history. It is, moreover, free from cumbersome foot-notes, which, though necessary and useful to scholars, are yet somewhat distressing to students. I have not, however, altogether succeeded in avoiding the foot-notes, but I have been as sparing as possible. I could not overlook the results of more recent investigations and researches, and I have, therefore, thought it necessary to incorporate them wherever I deemed such a course essential in the interest of learning and scholarship."

We reproduce elsewhere some extracts from the Report of the Indian Enquiry Commission which was appointed by the Union Government of South Africa to go into the question of the Indian grievances. It is on the whole a satisfactory document and the Commissioners have dealt with some of the main issues of the Indian problem in a spirit broader and fairer than was expected from some of them. The scope of the inquiry was limited to the immediate causes of the recent strike of Indians in Natal and elsewhere and the allegations of acts of violence and torture committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike. The broader issues of the status of Indians in South Africa and their right to an equality of treatment as citizens of the Empire were, of course, not included in the terms of reference. The matters that the Commission was authorised to investigate and report upon related to (1) the Orange Free State question, specially enactments which disallow Indians to have immovable property registered in their names or to carry on trading or farming operations in that State, with the provision that every Indian entering that State before being permitted to settle there should make a sworn declaration before a Magistrate that he will not engage in any trading or farming operations; (2) the Cape Colony question; (3) the Marriage question; (4) Repeal of the £8 tax and (5) the administration of the Immigration and Licensing Laws. The Commissioners' recommendations, which are the result of their inquiry, are summed up at the end of the Report. They recommend, among other minor things, the repeal of the £8 tax and the recognition of the validity of a monogamous marriage even if it is solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy. These recommendations are a great improvement on the existing order of things, and we trust the Union Government will immediately carry them into effect. The other recommendations are also sound as far as they go and their full acceptance will materially diminish the rigours of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913. The marriage question will lose much of its heart-burning and bitterness if the Commission's views take full effect, but we are afraid it will not entirely cease to exist. The only solution that would commend itself to the Indians, whose religion allows them under certain conditions to have more wives than one, is to leave them to a free practice of their usage of which their faith and conscience approve and to recognise it as lawful. The recommendation of the Commission on the subject amounts to this, that a man may have one wife recognised by the law, while his other wives will not get legal recognition and therefore his connection with them would be irregular and his offspring from them would be illegitimate according to the law. The Commission recommends a considerable advance from the original position, but the hardship and humiliation of the situation would not end. Next week we shall reproduce the views of the Commissioners on the question and discuss them in detail. The Commissioners complain that the Indians refrained from giving evidence in a body and entirely ignored the Commission, and, therefore, they could not enquire into the allegations of ill-treatment. It should, however, be remembered that the Indians had objected to the personnel of the Commission, and their demand for the inclusion of a member who would command their confidence was absolutely unheeded. In view of this they took a solemn vow not to give evidence before a body for whose freedom

from bias they had no assurance. But their abstention has now proved to have been well advised on other grounds as well. "As is common knowledge among the Indians," writes *Indian Opinion* in a recent issue, "they had over three hundred witnesses excluding many Europeans who had made affidavits and who were ready to tender evidence. Every association throughout South Africa would have led evidence on the main grievances. This would have meant a delay of at least six months in the issue of the report of the Commission thus rendering it impossible to introduce remedial legislation during the current session of Parliament. And it would certainly have been disastrous if the settlement had been delayed for so long. What is, however, more important is the fact that the settlement spirit that pervades the atmosphere would, it is highly likely, have been marred. Mr. Andrews' great work of conciliation could not have been done. For the Indian community would have led voluminous evidence as to ill-treatment. This would have been hotly combated by the other side, and hot words would have passed between opposing counsel. The sitting of the Commission would have roused the keenest excitement between the Indian and the European sections. Instead of all this, thanks to the Indian abstention, we have still the atmosphere of conciliation so silently, so effectively and with such wonderful love and humility created by Mr. Andrews."

One of the favourite arguments with which philosophers of the White-Man's-Burden school oppose any measure to give the subject races of the "coloured" Finance and Politics. variety the least responsible control over their own affairs is the inherent unfitness of the latter for such responsibility. They are held to lack every one of the qualities that have equipped the peoples of Europe for self-government. They have no physical or moral stamina, no vigour and decision of character, no sense of responsibility, no conception of disinterested public service, no political honesty and so forth. This sense of righteous superiority is, however, shattered occasionally by inconvenient and dramatic exposures of the methods with which national and international affairs are conducted in some of the most advanced States of Europe. Madame Caillaux's revolver has not only put an end to the life of a Parisian journalist who had considerable influence in French politics but also laid bare the colossal corruption of French politicians in which even the Ministers of the Republic are involved. This scandal illustrates the whole connection of politics with finance in France. The French are a nation of investors and the French Government is supposed to be the guardian of the National Savings Bank. Investment is an instrument of diplomacy, a wedge of penetration, a source of influence. The financiers have captured the machinery of the State. As the *Nation* says, the banks have become in France what the trusts are in America. They dominate politics. They own the Press. They control the political parties. It is not, therefore, strange that M. Tardieu's is a name as well-known in high finance as in journalism and politics, and that an affair like that of the American Marconi and British Cabinet Ministers and the Liberal Whip, which created so much excitement in one of the *Entente Cordiale* countries, should be but a normal circumstance in the public life of another, which is its neighbour.

The recent scandal which shook the French Ministry, drove M. Caillaux out of office, and involved the characters and reputations of four ex-Premiers, relates to the exploits of Rochette, a Company promoter, who, by a long series of frauds, succeeded in robbing the French investors of about two millions sterling. He was put on his trial, but the legal proceedings dragged on for three years, and he was subsequently condemned to three years' imprisonment—after he had fled and disappeared. A certain Minister was generally accused of complicity in his flight. For a detailed exposition of the facts we make no apology in quoting the *Nation* at length. It says:—Undoubtedly, a great part of the responsibility falls on M. Caillaux. His own explanation is really more interesting, and in a sense more damning, than all the vague suspicions against him. No one has been able to show that he was personally intimate with Rochette, or shared in any of his ventures. His own story is, first, that he owed an obligation of gratitude to Rochette's counsel, who had acted for him in his private affairs; and, secondly, that Rochette through his counsel had threatened a sweeping exposure of the whole system of 'Republican' finance. He was the rank outsider, the disreputable, if successful, adventurer. But he had compiled a rather deadly book, which a discreet middleman of the politico-financial *demi-monde* was allowed to see in proof. It was a statistical history of the last twenty years of investment in France. Here was the record of all the really respectable popular 'issués,' foreign loans, foreign railways, and the like, the ventures promoted by boards which number ex-banks, the operations recommended by boards which number ex-Ministers among their directors. It was a history of inflated values, high commissions, and the inevitable fall of prices, which showed, as are told, a net loss to the French investor of four hundred millions

sterling. A malicious parallel chapter described how similar institutions in England and Germany had made in the same period a gain of 680 millions. All this would figure in Rochette's defence at the trial, and the book would be behind it. Rochette had already spent a third of a million on 'publicity' for his various ventures; the press might be trusted to do something for a client so munificent. M. Caillaux had already a sufficiently nauseating scandal on his hands—the defalcations of the liquidator Duez, amid which so much of the confiscated wealth of the religious orders had evaporated. He did not want to have to answer as Minister a fresh series of accusations which might readily be so handled as to suggest that the whole Republican political world was nothing but a vast fraudulent concern engaged in robbing the small investor. On our reading of the facts, this unpublished book of the audacious Rochette is really the centre of the affair. He blackmailed the Republic, and M. Caillaux happened to be the Minister in power at the moment; the chances are that any other of these none too scrupulous and none too courageous politicians would have acted as he did. Into the details of the affair it would be tedious to enter. It is a morass of meanness, disloyalty, and lying. Ministers give orders to judges; legal officials bend to pressure and take their revenge by making revelations; one Minister has an eavesdropper concealed behind a curtain; another steals a State paper, hides it for three years, and at last produces it to destroy a rival. Finance, in short, has done more to degrade politics than any other alien interest in social history. Good observers tell us that the French public is stupefied, indignant, and resolved to make a sweeping change. But to what group or party can it turn? Indeed, the White Man's Burden is a heavy one; but we admire his persistence and his altruism that he would saddle no one of a sable hue with the weight of—how many millions did Rochette say?

The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler opened the Islamia College, Peshawar, last year. Standing close to the mouth of the Khyber Pass, he was naturally impressed with the import of the ceremony he had been invited to perform. The event was certainly

The Islamia College Peshawar.

impressive in more ways than one. The sturdy Mussalman races of the N. W. Frontier Province, which had hitherto shown no inclination to move with the times, had raised large sums of money of their own accord to found a first grade college for the education and training of their youths on modern lines. The independent border tribes were also interested in the scheme and made voluntary contributions to the College fund. The enthusiasm, the energy and the measure of self-help displayed in the cause of Western education by these virile races, whose attitude towards Western influences had been so hostile in the past, marked the beginning of a new era in their history. Fancy may indulge with pardonable freedom in picturing the future when the younger generations of the border communities would be equipped with modern knowledge and begin to guide the destiny of their race in the light of modern ideals. The future is rich with hope, but the fulfilment of its abundant promise depends entirely on the extent to which the opportunities of the present are utilised. It is satisfactory to note that the foundations of the new educational movement have been laid well. During the first year of its existence the Islamia College has made wonderful progress. It opened in April, 1913, with 14 students; it has now 313 boys on its rolls, 70 of whom are from trans-frontier districts. The first Annual Prize Distribution, which came off on the 30th of April last, was attended by hundreds of raisas, khans and chiefs, including a large number of European officials. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner presided over the function. Mr. Tipping, the Principal, whom his Aligarh pupils remember with affection, reviewed the last year's work in a report which is a record of remarkable progress. The College is affiliated to the Punjab University up to F. A. and its affiliation up to B. A. has already been recommended by the Syndicate. The credit of the good results achieved by the College in its first year of existence is due to the energy of the Principal and the staff. The College also owes much of its present success to the services of its indefatigable and resourceful Secretary, Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan C. I. E. The provincial Government is in entire sympathy with the aims of the College and is ready to lend it active support. The work of planting the seeds of higher education among the Pathan community of the Frontier Province has started under the best auspices. Its future success would mainly depend on the degree of self-help and self-sacrifice shown by the community itself. Government co-operation is indispensable, especially at this stage, and we trust it will always be readily forthcoming. The main thing to be kept in mind is that the control and direction of the affairs of the College should be entirely in the hands of the chosen representatives of the people, for only thus can the educational movement become thoroughly national and therefore most likely to yield the best results. Those who think that they can educate people and still retain them in leading strings have not yet learnt anything from experience.

The Comrade.

A Complaint from the North-West Frontier.

We receive from time to time appeals from people who think they have been injured by the actions or the decisions of officials, but almost invariably we have to ignore them, because we do not regard ourselves as a Court of Appeal with pretensions to judicial authority. But occasionally we receive the statement of a case which falls within the purview of a newspaper, because there is apparently no avenue open to the aggrieved party for securing the redress of his grievance except the publicity given to the case in the columns of a newspaper. It is obviously impossible for a journalist to go into these matters like a judge and jury, and one does not expect from a newspaper such care and attention. Nevertheless a newspaper can arm itself with sufficient data to establish a *prima facie* case for the person appealing to it, and is, we think, fully entitled to bring the matter to the notice of Government with a view to have an enquiry instituted into the case.

Such a case is that of Nawab Mohamed Ghulam Qasim Khan Sahib, Nawab of Tank in the district of Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province. We have received from the Nawab Sahib a letter enclosing copies of a memorial in English submitted to the Hon. Sir George Roos-Keppel, then Chief Commissioner of the Province, another memorial in Urdu submitted with a copy of the English memorial to the Hon. Mr. Donald now Chief Commissioner, and translation of a resolution of the Government of the Punjab and a *Sanad* of the same Government announcing certain honours and dignities conferred upon the Nawab Sahib's grandfather, Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, in 1875, together with some *jagirs* and exemptions from payment of Revenue and Police charges, for the maintenance of the dignity and position of Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan and his successors. One of the enclosures is a pedigree of the Nawab Sahib which is a document of considerable interest.

From the first memorial we learn that the Nawab Sahib traces his troubles and misfortunes to the displeasure of Mr. T. B. Copeland who was posted as the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan some years ago. It seems that certain allegations of high-handed dealings towards a section of the residents of Tank had been made against him, and that in the course of the enquiry Mr. Copeland made an adverse report to Sir George Roos-Keppel, "in consequence of which," says the memorial, "he had not only the misfortune of incurring Your Honour's displeasure but also his agent, Karamat Huzain, was ordered to leave the district under section 36 of the North-West Frontier Regulations." But, the memorial adds that "subsequently coming to know the real facts of the case, Your Honour was graciously pleased to restore the petitioner to your favour, thereby winning his deep gratitude." The sequel, however, proves, that deep gratitude is more easily won in the N. W. F. Province than a petitioner who has had the misfortune to incur a Deputy Commissioner's displeasure, and consequently the Chief Commissioner's, is graciously restored to his favour.

The memorial cites an application submitted on the 14th April, 1912, by the Chaudharies of Tank as proof of the fact that the complaint from which the Nawab Sahib's troubles arose were baseless. It then goes on to say that Mr. Copeland was transferred from Dera Ismail Khan and nothing further happened till he was re-transferred to the district subsequently. When this happened the Nawab Sahib was carrying on some litigation both in the Revenue and the Criminal Courts against some of his tenants-at-will. He paid shortly afterwards a visit to Mr. Copeland in the course of which the Deputy Commissioner asked the Nawab Sahib to withdraw the prosecutions against the tenants, and if he did not desist from such "rascality" (*badmashi*), threatened him with expulsion from the Province, a power which Government has with little forethought or wisdom conferred upon its officials on the North-West Frontier Province. It appears that the Nawab Sahib gave information of this conversation to Sir George Roos-Keppel in a registered letter on the 31st of July, 1912, but received no reply.

If the report of this remark of Mr. Copeland could be believed, we could offer some comment of our own which, we may take it from previous experience of this province, would be accounted in us as high treason, and possibly we might immediately lose another subscriber of the *Comrade* who had paid the full subscription for the year—from the public exchequer. But for reasons far more valid than the fear of the Press Act and the hope of some unearned subscription we prefer instead to quote from the memorial the comment of the Nawab Sahib himself. In concluding his memorial to the Chief Commissioner he says: "The honour and position of Nawab was granted to him by the benign Government, and he is ever willing to obey all orders which Your Honour or the local authorities may lawfully issue. It is obviously impossible for him to carry out such wishes of Mr. Copeland as are calculated to disgrace

him in the eyes of his people, to injure his legal rights and to cause unjustifiable loss to him. Surely from a political as well as personal point of view, it is hardly justifiable for Mr. Copeland to seek to bring disgrace upon those whom the Government have invested with the honour and status of Nawabs."

Among others we have done not a little to expose the real character of a certain section of those on whom officialdom confers its so-called honours. But our best supporters in this enterprise have been the officials themselves who "honour" this class of people on the New Year's day or the King-Emperor's birthday and dishonour them every day of the year. Even the worm turns and no wonder that a nobleman of the Frontier whose ancestors had rendered great services to the State, and whose own services were rewarded with the title of Nawab, now turns round to rebuke Government for its contradictory attitude. Either the Nawab Sahib, who, according to the Sanad of 1875, was selected by Government as a successor to the Tank Nawab on account of being the most suitable member of the family, was deserving of this selection and of the title of Nawab, or he was not. But if the Government do not confess that their selection and recognition were gross blunders, they must protect their protégé from the shocking manners and awful fury of "hot-headed youths" (that's the phrase, is it not?) who have put no more than ten years' service in India before being posted as Deputy Commissioner over large districts. Even the maker of counterfeit coins would not refuse to accept at its face value a spurious coin of his own manufacture that is tendered to him; but officials have often no hesitation in dishonouring their own creations. Well may the titled gentry say to them:

زبان خود را یافزای قدر
که هرگز آید ز بروده عذر

(Increase the dignity of the Nawabs of your own creation; for never does your own creation turn against you.)

The Nawab Sahib of Tank's tale of woe is as follows. In a theft case in which the police were prosecuting the accused on the complaint of the Nawab Sahib, Mr. Copeland interfered and recorded his opinion against the maintenance of the prosecution, but this order was set aside by the Judicial Commissioner. Nevertheless, the lower court acquitted one of the accused on the very ground on which Mr. Copeland had recorded his opinion, and Mr. Copeland himself reduced in appeal the sentence of the second accused. As a result of this action this court dismissed other complaints which the Nawab Sahib had preferred against the number of other tenants, though ultimately these orders, too, like Mr. Copeland recorded opinion, proved to be without justification and were set aside by the Session's Judge. The memorial complains that encouraged by rumours of the Deputy Commissioner's displeasure the Nawab Sahib's tenants presented a number of frivolous applications to the Deputy Commissioner upon which Mr. Copeland passed orders obviously prejudicial to the Nawab Sahib, causing him considerable loss. A noteworthy circumstance in connection with these Revenue proceedings is that the Nawab Sahib, now thoroughly warned as to the weather he could repeat and fearing further trouble through Mr. Copeland's displeasure, presented applications to the Assistant Collector for withdrawal of some notices of ejectment against a number of his tenants who had instituted suits under the Tenancy Act for the in cancellation. The Assistant Collector rejected these applications, and Mr. Copeland, who was curiously enough informed that the applications had been submitted merely to please him, and was requested to bring about a settlement, called for certain information which was supplied, but did nothing to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. As a result of all this the Nawab Sahib's tenants, non-proprietary residents of Tank and Kamins refused to carry out their legal and customary obligations towards him. They have been led to believe, says the memorial, that, however illegal their conduct may be, no official would give him any relief because he had incurred the displeasure of the head of the district.

Nor is this all. At the instigation of the Nawab Sahib's enemies a complaint of enticing a married women for illicit intercourse was instituted against him in the court of Mr. Copeland which, says the memorial was so obviously unfounded, that finally Mr. Copeland directed it to be consigned to the records on the ground that "the complaint did not wish to pursue the matter further "at present." This is, indeed, a curious order, for it does not appear whether the complainant still retains the option of coming one day to Mr. Copeland's Court to pursue the matter further. We think the man should have been compelled to substantiate such a charge or withdraw it. When nothing further was done the Nawab Sahib prosecuted the complainant for defamation, but we are told that the Sub-Divisional Officer of Tank has ordered that this complaint should remain pending till the return of the accused from the Veterinary College of Lahore, where he is receiving his education. The Nawab Sahib complains that even the inspection of the record, for which he applied, and to which he is entitled, has not hitherto been permitted to him.

Incidents have since then occurred which give rise to apprehensions concerning his personal safety. He cites paragraph 180 of the

Political Diary No. 52, dated 21st December, 1912, to show that two residents of the Tank Sub-division, stated to be *Bhatias*, went to *Ilaga Mahaud* in order to arrange a raid or dacoity for the purpose of killing the Nawab of Tank, that they offered Rs. 6,000 to a group of dacoits for that purpose and that they put up with some people with the object of arranging the raid but were not successful in inducing the men to commit it. Some more evidence of such designs was available soon after and the Nawab Sahib caused it to be officially recorded. But he has since been informed that the papers have been sent to the headquarters of the district. No enquiry seems to have been made into this affair, nor do any steps seem to have been taken against the persons who are alleged to be intriguing to bring about the Nawab Sahib's death. These apprehensions may seem to us at first sight somewhat needless, but we have to remember that we are dealing with the affairs of the North-West Frontier, and, as the Nawab Sahib reminds us in the memorial submitted to Mr. Donald in Urdu, not long ago the son of another prominent frontier man, Khan Bahadur Azeem Khan, was killed in the bazar and the culprit has, it is alleged not yet been punished.

In the memorial submitted to Sir George Roose-Keppel the Nawab Sahib of Tank seeks the protection of the Chief Commissioner "against a state of thing which involves not only material injury and personal indignity but also danger of life. "He respectfully prays that the Chief Commissioner may be pleased to enquire from Mr. Copeland how he had failed to discharge his duties as the Nawab of Tank and to grant him an opportunity of "showing causes" against whatever complaints Mr. Copeland may have against him. He urges pathetically that all the Deputy Commissioners of Dera Ismail Khan ever since he became Nawab of Tank have been satisfied with the manner in which he has discharged his duties towards the Government and his people. He humbly refers to the services he has rendered on various occasions in connection with dacoities and "confidential political affairs," of which, he says, he possesses ample documentary proofs. Finally, he gives expression to a feeling of childlike want of comprehension which indicates far more vividly than any critic of the system of administration followed in the North-West Frontier Province could have done, the absence of that security which we associate only with the "Reign of Law." He asks why Mr. Copeland has adopted this attitude towards him, what it is that he wants him to do and in what he has failed to carry out Mr. Copeland's orders. He also asks whether "the line of policy adopted by Mr. Copeland is in accordance with Your Honour's wishes", for he confesses that, if it is so, he will "bow before the will of the representative of the sovereign to willingly abide by Your Honour's directions." He says he bore the consequences of Mr. Copeland's unjustifiable displeasure with patience so long as they were confined to injury to his property and legal rights. But now, in the words of the memorial, "the situation having become very serious, he is not only afraid of some false case or cases being concocted against him, calculated to bring disgrace upon him and his family, but is also in fear of danger to his life. "The subordinate district authorities, very naturally following the example set by the head of the district, listen to misrepresentations on the part of his enemies, and he cannot, for obvious reasons, even obtain legal advice in the district of Dera Ismail Khan." How significant are the words "very naturally" and "for obvious reasons!" But even more significant is the final appeal in which he asks the Chief Commissioner either to enquire into the causes which are at the root of the matter, or "to be instrumental in restoring between Mr. Copeland and the petitioner those amicable relations which ought to subsist "between the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan and the Nawab "of Tank."

We know that there is an Indian Penal Code containing the penal law of the land to the shaping of which went the genius and the sustained labour of many distinguished English jurists. We also know that there is a Criminal Procedure Code which lays down at great length and in minute detail the procedure for the application of the penal laws. There is also a well established revenue system and regulations dealing with it, clearly laying down the rights and duties of landlords and tenants and the powers of the Revenue Courts. There is also an Executive and a Judicial administration in the Province maintained at no little cost to the tax-payer. But throughout this long memorial, drawn up no doubt by a lawyer, there is no appeal to any code or law or Regulation and no protection is sought from any Court. The central figure of this pathetic document is a young gentleman no older than one of our "young hot-heads," probably an *alumnae* of Oxford or Cambridge who has left behind him at his College the reputation of extreme amiability and brought with him the culture and refinement of his University. It is not probable that he has a quarter of the wealth or any thing like the position in his own country which the humble memorialist enjoys. But we miss in the memorial the true features and the expression of our amiable cultured and refined University man, and only see the lineaments of a stern, inexorable, vindictive god who has to be propitiated by all kinds of offerings, and to obtain whose good-will the trembling

worshipper seeks the intercession of two of the *dii majores*. This young god stands to him in the place of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and all the Rules and Regulations of the Province. He represents the Revenue System, all the Courts and every Department of the Administration. In short, as the poet says:

سب کی جی میں ہی جگہ تیری جو نو راضی ہوا
مجھ کو کیا اک زمانہ مہربان ہو جا نیگا

(Every one has a place in his heart for thee. If only thou wert satisfied it would be as if the whole world was kind to me.)

We ask whether it is right or just to leave hundreds of thousands of people in all stations of life throughout large areas at the mercy of a single official whose word, and not that of King or Parliament or any Indian Legislature is law to the entire population placed in his charge, even though his College may remember him as an extremely amiable man and he may have brought from his University a good deal of its culture and refinement. Even in other provinces the power and prestige enjoyed by the head of the district develops in him self-reliance to an undue extent while they play havoc with college reputations for amiability and University traditions of culture and refinement. But in a province where the regulations place extraordinary powers in the hands of young men practically responsible to nobody but their conscience, we are not in the least surprised to hear the most prominent nobleman of the district being called a rascal by a gentleman who most probably used to say "Please" and "Thank you" to his servants, nor are we shocked to receive complaints of absolute defiance of law by one appointed to administer it who would not perhaps bear even a common soldier being deprived of his right to disobey a General acting on the authority of the Cabinet if the order was unreasonable.

It appears that no satisfactory answer was received by the Nawab of Tank to his English memorial, while the Urdu memorial submitted to the present Chief Commissioner together with the copy of the English memorial to Sir Roos-Keppel has not answered at all. We do not know how far the allegations contained in these two memorials are correct, but a strong *prima facie* case has been made out and the Nawab Sahib of Tank, knowing only too well the risks he runs by thus publishing his grievances, is still determined to run them rather than risk those still more serious consequences to which he has referred in his memorial. We think he should be given an opportunity of substantiating his complaints against Mr. Copeland and Mr. Copeland should also have an opportunity of meeting those complaints. We, therefore, trust the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of the Province, or, failing him, the Government of India would institute an inquiry into the matter and publish the true facts of the case along with the Government's decision. The second memorial is the obvious result of despair, and the Nawab Sahib of Tank appears to be so worried that he would prefer to exchange his land and *Jagirs* with some land on the Punjab canals and altogether give up his domicile in the Frontier Province. This is not a small matter for evidently the Nawab Sahib of Tank has considerable stake in the land even according to the highest bureaucratic standard. Let us wait and see how this matter is viewed by Government and what decision is arrived at in a case in which aristocracy is pitted against bureaucracy "in these democratic days".

Khwaja Kamal-ud-din and his Supporters.

Some years ago Khwaja Kamal-ud-din left off a lucrative practice at the Chief Court Bar of Lahore, fell out of the ranks of those who were making a name for themselves as leaders of Moslem thought in India, and, unassisted by public funds, went to England to spread Islam in Europe or at least refute the baseless charges brought against Islam by the Christians and cultured pagans of Europe alike. To all intents and purposes he was given up as lost by Indian Mussalmans, and beyond receiving his little monthly magazine from London and glancing through it with a half-critical half approving eye they took no interest in him and his work. There was nothing sensational in his work, nothing like a pitched battle with the Secretary of State on the question of the Moslem University, the resolute defence of their desert homes by the Arabs of Tripoli, or the determined Ottoman defence of Adrianople, its loss and ultimate recapture. How could the Khwaja, then, expect any assistance or even interest in the work that he was so resolutely and so quietly doing? He was only fighting the battle of Islam against unheard of odds, and what was Islam to Indian Mussalmans that they should watch the struggle with interest?

But luck did not altogether desert the Khwaja. The first convert whose last remnant of doubts about Islam he helped to remove turned out to be a Peer, and although we feel sure Lord Farooq Headley is too good a Moslem to base any claim of superiority on anything but the basis of Islam's aristocracy, *taqwa* (or God-fearingness, if the term be permitted), Indian Mussalmans had left the theory of Islamic aristocracy sufficiently far behind and acclaimed the conversion of a Peer quite in the spirit of the *nouveau riche* of America acclaiming

a Peer as a son-in-law. *Ecce signum!* Behold the miracle! The requisite sensation having been provided, Moslem India instantly turned towards the Moslem Missionary in England, and for three whole months he was the unfailing theme of every conversation in Moslem India. Nothing that Indian Mussalmans could do for him was too much. Subscriptions were being opened on all sides for him and because we ourselves were unable to give the time necessary for this work many of our friends accused us of being lukewarm in such a sacred cause. Some Ahmadi gentlemen at Lahore had, however, constituted themselves into an All-India Committee for the purpose, and we directed everyone who wished to offer any assistance to the Khwaja Sahib to the doors of the Lahore Committee. But despite much talk of Moslem solidarity we found to our great regret that sectarian doubts began to assail some Mussalmans in this country. The charlatan also found this to be an excellent opportunity, and availing himself of sectarian suspicions, began to work for his own selfish ends. We shall be failing in our duty if we did not mention that the action of some Ahmadi gentlemen assisted the designs of the charlatan by providing considerable material for sectarian doubts.

The net result is that hardly any assistance has been rendered to the Khwaja Sahib and even the ambitions of those who wished to profit by the Khwaja Sahib's success have not been satisfied. That's what the men have done, though we must add that some kind friends in Bombay sent their contributions as soon as they were informed that the Khwaja Sahib needed assistance and were satisfied that he was doing good work. But the response of Moslem women has not been equally slow or selfish. None of them has, of course, tried to ride on the crest of the wave that the conversion of Lord Headley created in our languid sea. That is some negative proof, but positive proof also has not been wanting. Mrs. Khedive Jung (Tyeba Begam), the gifted daughter of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, has followed in the footsteps of her father and has equally liberally assisted the Khwaja Sahib with her own contributions. Mrs. Humayun Mirza, the Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam (Moslem Women's Association) of Hyderabad, has sent Rs. 500, and now Tyeba Begam has sent another Rs. 500 (Hali) through Mr. Shaikat Ali, the Secretary of the Khaddam-i-Ka'ba.

This last is a contribution of Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah Bahadur, the Vice-President of the Hyderabad ladies' Association. In *Paigham-i-Sulh* appeared a simple message from Khwaja Sahib in these words:—

میرا ارادہ ہے کہ نبی کریم کی بعض حدیثیں مختصر سی لاکتوں میں جمع کر کے
ہزار چاب دون اور مفت تقسیم کروں۔ یہ امر اس قابل غین کہ اس کی لٹی چندہ
کہولا جائی یہ سوال صرف دو تین سو روپیہ کا ہی۔ اگر کوئی عمد کا شیدائی
اپنی آفاقی کلام کو مغرب میں تقسیم کرانا چاہتا ہے تو یہ سہل طریقہ ہے *

We do not know what effect this simple and direct appeal created on Moslem manhood, but we now know how it affected Moslem womanhood. Khwaja Sahib can bring out two series of Pocket Editions of selections from the great Prophets' Traditions or publish three or four thousand copies of one series instead of a thousand and only for which he had asked some lover of Mohamed to contribute. Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami, (the daughter of the late Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed Ali Hasan whose sad death occurred at Delhi only the other day) has also sent Rs. 1,000 (Hali) through Tyeba Begam who is her sister-in-law. This is what a few women who love God and fear Him have done. In a way it was easier for them to do this, for men have taught them only too well the lessons self sacrifice and devotion to duty. But have the teachers themselves nothing to learn in this direction? Let them answer the question—if they dare. Khwaja Sahib is not alone now at Woking. Another enthusiast who has worked in America and Japan before this has joined Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, and let us assure those who suffer from sectarian suspicions that the assistant whom Khwaja Sahib has received with open arms is a Sunni and non-Ahmadi. We shall be glad to give further information to any one who asks for it and assist him in sending the funds to the Khwaja Sahib and to his assistant. But once more our eyes turn towards a woman, noble, brave and patriotic, to whom no one has appealed for a good cause in vain. Sultan Jahan Begam's is a name familiar to all who work for such causes, and if, by any chance Her Highness has not already made a liberal grant for this purpose, we are sure that she would do so now and that the support from Bhopal would be in proportion to Her Highness's well-known munificence. It seems to us that the time has come when in all public affairs of the Mussalman the lead should be taken by noble women like Her Highness the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal, like Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah (a lady who, we are told, possesses talents and learning equalled only by her zeal in all good causes and who contributed most liberally for the Turkish Relief Fund), like Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami, and, last but not least, like Tyeba Begam Mrs. Khedive Jung. It is the women of Islam that are the foremost in all such enterprises and it is our experience that while retaining all their womanly grace they are far more manly also than men.

The Lonely Homestead.

I SHALL always look back with feelings of pleasurable regret to the cold weather of 39-00, most of which period I was employed on special duty making enquiries regarding cattle theft along the Jumna Khadir, that portion of it which lies in Muttra district and stretches away into Gurgaon and towards Delhi.

The work was of a most interesting nature and one escaped the daily scribbling, so common a feature of Police work either at headquarters or out on tour. Beyond making notes, to be utilised in framing a Report at the completion of my task, a pen was seldom in my hand, its place being more worthily occupied by gun or rifle, since capital sport was usually obtainable at every stage in my wanderings. The *jhau* held quantities of black partridge; *muggur* were wont to bask on sandbanks for a few hours of a morning, the lack of *gheds* in Muttra led to geese and duck frequenting backwaters of the Jumna, while on the wide *usar* plains adjoining the river large herds of black buck gave plenty of work for my rifle. A very intelligent Muhammedan Head Constable and a Hindu Constable belonging to the District accompanied me on my wanderings, and between us we managed to collect a mass of rather curious and interesting details concerning the cattle thief and his *modus operandi*. My Report however—on which I relied for earning some little *kudos*—was never heard of after its despatch to headquarters. Probably the lack of columns of statistics damned it in the eyes of officialdom, or some of the views it contained must have run counter to theories favoured by those in high places. Some day I must endeavour to reproduce the substance of my investigations, in the hope of the public according it more consideration than it met with from the authorities. I had held charge of Muttra all the hot weather, being relieved by a piece D. S. P.—I was a mere Assistant—in November, and had acquired a fairly intimate knowledge of the District, one of the most attractive in the Provinces for anybody keen on ancient Indian history and the traditions and old world customs prevalent among dwellers in the land of Krishna. Dacoities, the work of gangs from across the Bhurtpur border, aided by local *budmashes*, had been rather frequent during the year and afforded the Police plenty of work. When engaged in cases of that sort I naturally gathered a heap of information of a useful description from a professional standpoint, and became acquainted with most of the bad characters, and learnt the names of prominent leaders, so as to be in a position to form a good idea of what gang was responsible when a dacoity occurred. One almost invariably came across some feature in the case that served to connect it with another performance by the same lot of criminals, and the exact manner in which a dacoity was carried out differed according to whether it was the work of Mewatis or Minas from Bhurtpur, a gang from the adjoining part of Agra district or a *sour de force* of local men.

Encamped at the little Thana of Majhoi, situated on the right bank of the Jumna and with a huge stretch of low jungle a mile away which harboured a herd of wild cattle, a sowar arrived one afternoon with a letter from the Superintendent of Police directing me to join him at Sonkh—a Station within three miles of Bhurtpur boundary line.—to assist in tracing out a big dacoity that had taken place between that Thana and the town of Gobarthan, places about thirteen miles apart. A copy of the first Report and the English memorandum submitted in all cases of serious crime had been sent to me, and I amused myself after dinner—orders for marching next day having been issued—in reading those documents and consulting a large scale map I always kept in my office box. It was evident from the documents before me that the dacoits must have crossed the road at some point between Sonkh and Gobarthan, if they did not proceed along that highway when en route for the village which had been the scene of their operations. I suddenly recollected a well on that road, close to a walled garden, where resided a *fakir* with a far from unblemished reputation. That personage gave me cause to remember him, for when riding past his abode one hot evening in the Rains his particularly rude demeanour and truculent aspect had impressed the holy man on my memory. It seemed likely that the gang would halt at the well for a drink and smoke and the presence of a body of travellers at a lonely spot after sundown must have been remarked by the *fakir*, let him deny the fact as much as he liked. Majhoi was over thirty miles from Sonkh and I had some important business at Koni next morning, so I sent back the sowar with a note explaining that I would reach the Superintendent's camp the evening of the second day and suggesting that the Circle Inspector might do worse than interview the *fakir* in question. I also sent my Head Constable on ahead to try and gather some information "on his own", directing him to wear plain clothes and let the fact of his belonging to the Police be a secret for the time being. As a rule it is most unwise to work

"unbeknownst" to the officer directly in charge of an investigation, for he generally detects such procedure and, feeling that he does not possess your confidence, ceases to exert himself more than is absolutely necessary and declines to act on his own initiative. However, the Thanadar at Sonkh was a fine specimen of an Oudh Thakur, had worked with me in several dacoity cases that year, so was not likely to misunderstand my motive in sending the Head Constable to make a few enquiries on the quiet. Arriving at the camp of the Superintendent of Police on the date promised, I found the Junt Sahib also present, and it was a treat to meet some Europeans again after my solitary rambles along the *khadir*. That evening I interviewed the Circle Inspector, an officer of fine detective ability and one of the extremely few Indian subordinates who did not hesitate to tell you things as they actually were; what is termed the "*kachcha hal*" of a case. Trusting on his confidence not being abused, and sure that proper use would be made in due course of the information he furnished, this Inspector was as good a Police officer as I met during all my service in the Department. Loyal to his immediate superiors and fearless in the execution of his duty, he was brutally murdered in the Kotwali at Bareilly some few years later. Ignorant of the noble art of self-advertisement, he never trumpeted forth the services he rendered, but—for my part—I freely admit that a large portion of the praise I received for work at Muttra was justly due to the sound advice and prompt obedience to orders on the part of poor Shabbir Hussain. To return to the Sonkh dacoity. As the Head Constable had not rejoined me, the Inspector and I agreed—after consultation with the Station officer—to await the advent of my Head Constable, men having gone out in various directions in search of news, while others were at the scene of the dacoity where the preliminary proceeding of the usual investigation were being completed.

The following morning the Inspector came to my tent soon after daylight and had important tidings to reveal, supplied him by the Head Constable who had reached Sonkh late the previous night. The latter had visited several villages along the border, pretending to be seeking for a camel that had gone astray, but in reality to try and get a clue to the movements of bad characters suspected of belonging to a dacoit gang or who, at any rate, were cognisant of men who did so. His inquiries proved fruitless to a great extent, though he discovered that—as I surmised—ten or twelve persons had been noticed sitting at the well near the *bagh* of the *Fakir*, a party of pilgrims returning from Gobarthan—one of the sacred spots in Muttra—having encountered these strangers and had a brief conversation with them. When within a mile of Sonkh, the Head Constable's attention was drawn to a couple of houses standing apart from other habitations and partially hidden by an encircling hedge of tall bamboos. The nearest village was over a mile distant and the hamlet intervened, so he thought it would be as well to ascertain the sort of people who lived remote from their neighbours. The men of the house—of whom he saw three—did not give him a hearty welcome and seemed doubtful as to the truth of his story concerning the missing camel. He could not obtain access to the house and had to rest content with a few minutes conversation ere he went on his way to the Thana. When questioned the Station Officer could not at first locate the dwelling referred to, but soon remembered the place about which we were enquiring. It was a fairly large homestead, jointly owned by four Mahomedans, who stood to one another in the relationship of brothers and cousins. Their names did not figure on any of the Thana records nor was anything known against their character. All the same, the Head Constable appeared so convinced that there was something fishy about these men, and in Police work—as elsewhere—it is the unexpected that often happens, that Shabbir Hussain and I resolved to pay an early morning visit to the place and search the premises. If the inhabitants of the house were honest folk, such proceeding would be an additional proof of righteousness for them, and if they were mixed up with dacoits the public would gain by their being brought to justice. In order to reach the homestead before any of its inmates were stirring, or left their charpoys for the fields, it was necessary to start from the camp at a terribly unseasonable hour, shortly after 4 a. m. It was a bitterly cold night, a wintry moon shedding its ghostly light across the open plain we had to traverse to reach our destination. Quitting the cart-road, we walked along the little paths that exist in all village lands and by which field labourers proceed to and from their daily toil. A sudden rustling in the tall *arkar* plantation betrayed a herd of deer, disturbed in their nocturnal feast on the crops; but beyond those startled animals we neither saw any living thing nor even heard a village cur bark. It was "false dawn" when we reached the place and sat beneath a fine *peepul* tree in front of the building, awaiting daylight when one could demand admittance and be sure that none of the household contrived to get away unobserved. We had not been there long when the main gate, leading into the big courtyard, opened and a man coming out went to a well for some water. He did not notice our little party, so was considerably surprised to be stopped on his way back and told who we were, while he was

ordered to take us inside the enclosure and at once collect the rest of the household. In the centre of the yard—round which long low sheds and dwelling apartments formed a quadrangle, with a byre for cattle at one end—a fire was smouldering which we soon stirred up and enjoyed the welcome heat afforded by the flames. There were four men in the house, no women-folk nor any servants except a *bhishti*. Three of those persons were brothers, dour caterans who said nothing but sat in moody silence eyeing their visitors with a gaze of unconcealed hatred and wrath. Directly it was light enough, I sent a constable to fetch two witnesses from the nearest village, so as to conduct the search in accordance with the rules prescribed by law. Meanwhile I went up a rude flight of steps on to a terrace that ran round three sides of the courtyard and was in fact the roof of the rooms beneath. With me was an Orderly, an Afridi from Swat Bonair who had found his way to Muttra from Blurtpur some time back and had enlisted in the Armed Police, bringing about half a dozen of his countrymen later on to follow his example. With them the personal factor reckoned before anything else, and I found them capital men for the Armed Branch, if they required more careful handling than the average Indian recruit. His quick eyes spotted an object inserted in some thatching that covered a portion of the terrace and further examination revealed the hidden article to be a *tulwar*.

This was first blood to our side, and when the two "respectable persons" arrived to witness the search, we set to work in the hope of unearthing more weapons and possibly some stolen property. Our anticipations were not doomed to disappointment, since during the next two hours we found more *tulwars*, half a dozen guns and pistols of sorts, and a queer weapon composed of a small round buckler fastened between two black buck horns, the tips of the latter furnished with steel points so as to stab an opponent in a fight at close quarters. Most of the firearms were buried below the manger where the cattle fed, but their comparative freedom from rust showed that they had been in use at no distant date. Then one commenced finding a different class of goods, silver ornaments artfully placed in the earthen walls of the rooms, carefully plastered over with mud to retain them *in situ*. Digging up the floor in one of the sheds we unearthed a pile of umbrellas, evidently never used, and which one of the search witnesses promptly claimed as his property, stolen from him when returning from a weekly bazar a short time ago. There was hardly one shed that did not yield its tale of stolen goods chiefly ornaments of Indian pattern, anklets, wristlets, nose-rings, and so forth. The cousin mentioned above was a much younger man than his relatives and showed greater alarm at our proceedings than did the older culprits. When he saw the heap of recovered property gradually increasing in size, he signed to the Inspector his desire to make some communication to him, and then declared his wish to point out where things were concealed on condition of being accepted as Queen's Evidence. No Police officer is empowered to hold out hopes of pardon or make promises to that effect, besides the case struck me as too firmly established to need bolstering up by a confession, and I warned the would-be informer accordingly. However, he probably felt that he had committed himself in the opinion of the other members of the family, so took us to a little drain where after a spell of removing brick and draining off some very dirty water Monsieur le Cousin drew out a couple of really handsome silver chains, followed by a few trinkets of lesser value. It was midday by the time the search had reached this stage, and I was glad when a man arrived with myiffin basket containing sandwiches and a drink. News had also been sent to the Joint Magistrate, who kindly rode over, a step that I calculated on to checkmate the usual assertions of Pleaders for the defence to the effect that the wicked Police themselves plant stolen property in order to secure the conviction of poor honest people. It was almost dark before our business was finished, the four accused marched off in safe custody to the Sonkh Police Station, and our find conveyed to the same place in a cart I commandeered for the purpose. The Lower Court committed the prisoners to Sessions and one had no fears about the result of the trial. But I failed to take into account the peculiar working of the judicial mind and the Judge in question (long since retired) took a view of the case as extraordinary as it was unexpected. The Defence counsel produced some Ruling bearing on Hindn law, whereby the inmates of a common dwelling are not responsible for the actions of their fellow tenants. The unlucky cousin, least culpable of the quartette, adhered to his resolution to make a clean breast of the affair and related the dacoities in which he and his relation had taken part. Better for him had he preserved silence on that, and other points, for the Judge sentenced him to seven years imprisonment and acquitted the remaining three men on the ground that although inhabiting the same house they were not necessarily aware of the evil practices of their youthful relative. The hypothesis possessed quaint features, as it must have been based on the theory of one individual bringing stolen goods galore to the common courtyard and concealing

them in a score of different parts of the homestead without being perceived by the other inmates. Further he must have dug up floors and hidden guns and tulwars without any suspicion of such conduct being aroused. Legal expenses perhaps punished the family to a certain extent but a wilder travesty of justice I have seldom come across even in this land of perverse verdicts. The Inspector had a good entry recorded in his Character Roll; some monetary rewards were paid to the subordinate police engaged in the search etc, and a complimentary note from the Inspector-General formed my share of the satisfactory results of our raid on the Lonely Homestead.

A. N. G.

Aligarh Wins the Beighton Hockey Cup.

IN brilliant weather and in the presence of the biggest crowd that has ever watched a game of hockey not only in Calcutta, but in India, too, for that matter, fully fifteen thousand people having foregathered on the Calcutta grounds, was the final of the season's Beighton Tournament concluded on Saturday, the Aligarh College triumphing over Jamalpur by three goals to two. Indeed the size of the crowd reminded one more of a football match than even a hockey final, despite the fact that the latter game has taken a great hold over the city of recent years. The most remarkable thing about the attendance was their non-partisan spirit, neither of the finalists being local teams, and it speaks volumes for the sportsmanship of the Calcutta crowd that even having had no interest whatever in the final issue, they had come down in their thousands, determined to cheer every bit of good play, it mattered not whichever side were responsible therefor. And they did applaud every bit of good play they saw, and of brilliant play there was quite enough on either side, so that the cheering was almost continuous from the time the teams took the field right up to the finish.

The seating arrangements on the Calcutta ground were, as usual of the best, Mr. C. R. Clayton having marked off a number of enclosures on the western side for the convenience of C. F. C. members and their friends the League Clubs, the Jamalpur and Aligarh visitors, and the military, while separate arrangements obtained on the other three sides of the ground. The turf was in the pink of condition.

Before appearing in the final, Aligarh met and defeated the Police in the second round by 4—2, Calcutta, in the third round by 1—0 and the Customs "B" in the semi-final, after extra time had been played, by 2—0. Jamalpur, on the other hand had disposed of the E. I. R. Apprentices (Lilloah) in the second round by 10—0, which stands as a record score for the season's tournament, the Medicals by 2—1 in the third round and the Customs "A" in the semi-final by 1—0 after a draw of 1—1, in which extra time was gone through.

JAMALPUR'S GAME.

Saturday's final furnished one of the most exciting contests that have ever been witnessed in the Beighton Cup. No fewer than five goals were scored, Aligarh leading at half-time by 2—0, Jamalpur scoring once on crossing over, before the College netted again, while almost on time the Railway added another goal. When the students led by 2—0, many thought that they would have a run away victory, like the Customs achieved a few years ago against Calcutta, but Jamalpur recovered wonderfully and gave their opponents as stiff a fight as they had ever had. The game was a very fast one—indeed a faster game has not been seen during the season—and it is a wonder how the teams stood the great pace right through, while as a scientific exposition of hockey the game would be hard to beat. The finer points of the game were being demonstrated by either side almost every minute, and the enthusiast wished for nothing more.

Aligarh were undoubtedly the better side during the first half, but in the second, either team attacked alternately, and Jamalpur had, if anything, the best of the exchanges. The fact that they had been a couple of goals down at the interval had no effect on Jamalpur except that of infusing fresh life into their movements. Each set of forwards missed open goals, due to over-eagerness to score.

PLAY AND PLAYERS.

As forecasted in these columns on Saturday, Aligarh proved themselves the better-balanced side and won as such. Their forward play was magnificent, superior in point of combination to that of Jamalpur who were more brilliant individually. Curiously enough the outside left of either team did not shine in comparison with the rest of the respective attacking lines. Anwar Ali, Fatch Mohamed, Mustafa and Asad for Aligarh and Alexander, Piggott, Boileau and Rogers on the other side were all at the top of their form. A better centre-forward than Boileau has not figured in the season's tournament. Alexander's centres were real beauties. Asad Ali's command over the stick was admirable. It was at half and at back that Jamalpur were really beaten, though few could notice it. The Jamalpur trio worked very hard indeed, but their display lacked that finish which was Aligarh's own. Calistan, the Apprentice's centre-half, has done better, and it

is a pity the support he received was not of the best. The Aligarh halves, on the other hand, were a happy family, and Azher Ali and Mahbub at centre and left respectively were brilliant. Jamalpur had a great back in Mills on the right, but Jordon was decidedly "off colour." Both the College backs were superb and indeed there was not one weak spot in the team. Gasper and Aga Meerza, the respective goal-keepers, were responsible for some very excellent saves and neither can be blamed for the shots that went past them.

SIXTH INDIAN WIN.

This is not the first time that the Cup has been won by an Indian team, but the Aligarh College are the second Indian combination to achieve the feat. During the twenty years that the trophy has been fought for it has been annexed by Indians half-a-dozen times, the famous Ranchi eleven having held it on five occasions namely, in 1897, 1898, 1903, 1906 and 1907, and on Saturday, another Indian victory was registered. This was the first time that either Aligarh or Jamalpur have appeared in the final, both having taken part in the competition several times before.

FIRST HALF.

Aligarh were the first to appear, and they were closely followed by Jamalpur, both teams being loudly applauded. Boileau and Mustafa Hossain bullied off at 5-21, Jamalpur defending the garden-end goal. The game was started with one referee and an old ball, and there was nothing in the opening play until Boileau got down and collided with Azher Ali both falling. Pigott received and all but got through, Rahmat effecting a clearance. Asad Ali transferred play on the College left but was sent back by Mills. Another rush by Aligarh was stemmed by Calistan, after which Fateh Mohamed forced an unproductive corner. Calistan intercepted a pass by Imamuddin to the forwards, and Aligarh were having the best of the deal until Boileau got down on his own, being robbed in the circle. Alexander, who obtained possession, failed to centre, and Anwar Ali and Fateh-Mohamed invaded the Railway circle, forcing a short corner. The ball was beautifully placed and Azher Ali put through with a splendid shot eight minutes from the start. Great cheering followed. The pressure on the Jamalpur goal was maintained and Mustafa had hard lines in not scoring, the ball just going behind. A little later Jamalpur threw away an excellent chance of scoring, Alexander centring well, but the rest of the forwards missed the ball. In succession Alexander put in another centre for Azher Ali to hit away. Jamalpur were awarded a "free" in their opponents "twenty-five", but Alexander's shot went behind, and another invasion of the Jamalpur citadel followed—a beautiful piece of combination on the part of the forwards—and Mustafa, having had time enough to steady himself, aided the second goal fourteen minutes from the start. Tremendous cheering signalled the incident. The game continued to be very fast, and Alexander had hard lines in being pulled up for "off-side." Fateh Mohamed forced a corner, and after Sadiq Hossain had been penalised for "sticks", Asad Ali got down in fine style, displaying rare stick work, but Mills again came to the rescue of his side. Boileau next distinguished himself with an excellent sprint, but was beaten back by Sadiq Hossain, and the Aligarh forwards again assumed the aggressive, forcing another corner which, however, yielded nothing. Alexander made another capital run right through the defence before passing to Pigott, who centred right across, but none could accept it. Jordon broke up a combined run by Asad and Mustafa, while Mills was responsible for stopping Fateh Mohamed. Anwar Ali was very tricky on the right and caused Jordon no end of trouble. Receiving in mid-field, Asad got away beautifully and had only Gasper to beat when the latter rushed out and kicked away. Just before half-time was called, Aga Meerza saved splendidly from Boileau, and the interval saw the teams placed thus:—

Aligarh—Two goals.

Jamalpur—Nil.

SECOND HALF.

A new ball was provided when the game was resumed, and hard exchange hitting characterised the first two minutes' play. The first man to get prominent was Pigott, who was robbed in the circle, but the ball went out to Rogers, who dribbled through the backs and reduced the margin with a beauty. Boileau all but equalised the next minute—the game had not been resumed five minutes yet—but he lost his stick just as he was going to shoot. Jamalpur were pressing and Pigott experienced hard luck in being ruled "off-side"—a decision which did not go unchallenged. From the ensuing "free" Asad Ali broke away and was only stopped in the circle by Nicholas. Jamalpur attacked again and obtained a corner, Aga Meerza saving a hot one from Rogers. Asad Ali was again conspicuous for a brilliant run, and when he had beaten everybody but Gasper, the latter rushed out in the nick of time and prevented a certain goal. Porthouse similarly livened up matters on the Jamalpur left, but he

lost to Imamuddin. Anwar and Fateh Mohamed combined, and the latter passed to Mustafa, who was adjudged "off-side." Alexander twice centred beautifully, forcing a corner the second occasion, but the Aligarh defence could not be easily beaten again. Going down well together, the Aligarh forwards again invaded the Jamalpur "twenty-five." Mustafa appeared to be "off-side," an appeal being preferred, but not heeded, and Anwar and Fateh Mohamed combining, the latter put on the third College goal amidst deafening cheers, fifteen minutes from the resumption. At the other end Porthouse claimed a corner, which was disallowed, and a couple of "off-side" rulings against each side followed. Off a corner against the College, Boileau sent behind. Mills stopped Mustafa. Jamalpur were triers to the bitter end and, although they were a couple of goals down worried the College defence beyond measure. Boileau once rushed down but was penalised, and the Aligarh forwards had again a look in. Alexander transferred play, losing to Sadiq Hossain. Anwar Ali ran down the College right and passed on the line to Fateh Mohamed, who had only Gasper to beat, but he gave "carried," and a splendid chance was lost. Pigott was pulled up for "off-side." A couple of minutes from the close, Pigott, breaking through in fine style, scored Jamalpur's second goal, and although each side tried their best to score again they failed, and Aligarh won, the final score reading:

Aligarh—Three goals.

Jamalpur—Two goals.

The teams were:—

Aligarh College:—Aga Meerza (goal); Rahmat Khan and Sadiq Hossain (backs); Imamuddin Hyder, Azher Ali and Mahbub Alam (halves); Anwar Ali, Fateh Mohamed Khan, Mustafa Hossain, Asad Ali and Altaf Hossain Khan (forwards).

Jamalpur:—Gasper (goal); Mills and Jordon (backs); Nicholas, Calistan and Woolman (halves); Alexander, Pigott, Boileau, Rogers and Porthouse (forwards).

Referees:—Messrs. A. B. Rosser and E. Studd.

THE PRESENTATION.

At the conclusion of the game, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who presided, and had keenly watched the game from start to finish, rose amidst cheers to make a short speech before the prizes were given away. "I have been asked," said the Chief Justice, "to give a short summing-up before the presentations are made. I have always been accustomed to give a lengthy one (laughter). This is hockey, and not football, and I don't think it requires a very lengthy speech, and there are no gold medals to be given away, but silver ones. Still the wishes are the same. There was only a single goal's difference between the teams. The game was a very good one, and although Jamalpur displayed first-rate form, they did not get as many goals as Aligarh." "Let us not congratulate the winners the less," continued Sir Lawrence, "because they do not live in Calcutta, but come from Aligarh, which used to be in the North-West Provinces of Bengal." The Chairman complimented Jamalpur on the fine exhibition of hockey they had given and expressed the hope that both the winners and the losers would come down again next year, though they might not meet as they had met that evening.

Mrs. Richardson, wife of Mr. T. H. Richardson, President of the Bengal Hockey Association, then distributed the various hockey prizes of the season. The Aligarh College received the Beighton Cup and the Bengal Hockey Championship Cup, besides eleven silver medals. Now that the Cup has been taken away for the first time since 1907 it can reasonably be hoped that next year the number of entries will be larger.

THE AFTERMATH.

The scene at the end of the match was unique. The Aligarh team, being all Mahomedans, hundreds of their co-religionists watching the game made a dash for the C. F. C. enclosure, and Mr. Clayton had all his work cut out to preserve order. The invasion was a short-lived one, but there were quite a number of stalwarts, who braver than the rest, presented themselves before the winners and garlanded everyone of them, the whole team being eventually carried shoulder high across the maidan amidst frantic cheering. It was quite dark when the crowd melted away, satisfaction being expressed on all sides at witnessing a most stirring struggle.

—The Indian Daily News.



Indians in South Africa.

The Commission's Report.

We give below some of the salient points from the Report—

On the Community's Abstention

Unfortunately the main object which the Commission had in view in recommending the release of Messrs. Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach was, to a great extent, frustrated by the attitude taken up by these persons.

So far from assisting the Commission by placing before it the case for the Indian Community for the redress of alleged grievances

and by collecting evidence in support of the serious allegations of acts of violence committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike, the leaders decided, on various grounds which it is unnecessary to mention, entirely to ignore the Commission. The result was that not only was the Indian community not represented by counsel, but that, acting upon the advice given by Mr. Gandhi, no witnesses appeared to substantiate the charges of violence.

Fortunately, during the latter end of our sitting, a few Indians, chiefly from the Mohamedan section of that community, who represented the Natal Indian Congress, did appear before us and gave evidence of considerable value and importance. At a latter stage of the Enquiry, when the Commission sat in Cape Town from the 23rd to the 27th February, several other Indians presented themselves who claimed to represent various societies, three of them having travelled from the Transvaal for that purpose. These persons were, we think, well advised to refuse to follow the advice given by Mr. Gandhi to his fellow-countrymen to ignore the Commission. By appearing and giving evidence they were able to give us important information on certain subjects, and, by doing so, they, in our opinion, rendered considerable service to the Indian community.

On the Causes of the Strike

The documentary evidence as contained in the various Blue-books, which have been placed at our disposal, makes it clear that the strike was immediately due to dissatisfaction on the part of the leaders of the Indian Community with the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.

Being unable to obtain from the Minister what he considered to be satisfactory assurances on these points, Mr. Gandhi deliberately decided to take the grave steps which immediately led to the strike and the subsequent disturbances which are the subject of this enquiry. In his letter of the 28th September, which closed the correspondence between the Minister and himself, he informs the former that the step which he purposes to take "consists in actively, persistently and continually asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment, and, what is more important, in asking those who are now serving under indentures and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of the indentures, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn."

This is the first occasion on which, in the course of the correspondence already referred to, mention was made of the £3 tax. It was a matter, however, on which there can be no doubt that many of the Indians felt very strongly, and it had been one of the chief subjects of discussion between the Union Government and Mr. Gokhale when he visited South Africa in 1912. The feeling of the Indians on this subject had been much aggravated by the statements made to them that the Union Government had promised Mr. Gokhale that a Bill would be introduced in the next session of Parliament to repeal the tax.

When, therefore, no such Bill was introduced and when, in addition, the Government repudiated having made any promise to that effect, the result was that there was grave disappointment on the part of the Indian community, especially in Natal. It is impossible for us in this Enquiry to enter into the controversy which has arisen on the subject of the promise alleged to have been made to Mr. Gokhale; it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Indians had been led to believe that such a promise had been made and that on failure to introduce the expected legislation there was considerable feeling on their part against the Government.

There were other matters affecting Indians which we were invited by certain witnesses to investigate, but which, in our opinion, did not fall within the scope of our reference. Our enquiry into alleged grievances is limited to those which in any way contributed to the strike. We have no authority to investigate and to make recommendations upon the general position of Indians in the Union, and the disabilities under which they suffer.

There was one other subject, however, upon which, though we at first felt some doubt as to whether it was within the terms of our reference, we ultimately decided to hear evidence. Complaints were made that the laws of the Union, more especially the Immigration and Licensing Acts, were being administered against Indians in a harsh and unsympathetic manner. That was one of the subjects specially referred to in a letter from Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated 12th August, 1913, and published in Blue Book C. D. 7111, page 26, in which he formally notifies the Government that the Indian Community purpose again to have recourse to passive resistance, and in which he states that the struggle will be continued so long as, amongst other things, "a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to therein."

The same subject is referred to in other communications that took place between the Indian leaders and the Government, and in his letter of the 21st January, 1914, in which Mr. Gandhi intimates to the

Minister his intention not to take part in the proceedings before the Commission, he sums up the points on which relief is sought, as follows:—

- (1) The Orange Free State question.
- (2) The Cape Colony question.
- (3) The Marriage question.
- (4) Repeal of the £3 tax.
- (5) An assurance that existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

In view of these circumstances, we came to the conclusion that we were justified in extending the scope of our Enquiry so as to include an investigation into the subject of the administration of the Immigration and Licensing Laws.

We feel bound, however, in view of the terms of reference to limit our investigation to the five subjects specified above, and to eliminate from our enquiry such questions as the following, which we were invited by various witnesses to consider:

- (a) That the Transvaal Laws prohibiting Asiatics from becoming the owners of fixed property and from acquiring rights under the Gold Law should be repealed;
- (b) That it should be illegal for the Government to insert in grants and leases of land in townships in the Transvaal a clause prohibiting the transfer or sub-letting of the land to Asiatics;
- (c) Such general questions as the alleged want of proper educational facilities for the children of Asiatics; their inability to carry firearms, to ride in trains in the Transvaal, etc.

None of these matters in our opinion had any effect in bringing about the strike and most of them could only be dealt with by legislation and not by administrative action, so that we do not consider that they fall within the scope of our enquiry.

That being so, we now proceed to discuss the five subjects set forth by Mr. Gandhi in his final letter of the 21st January, 1914.

The Orange Free State Question

This has already been referred to, and, in view of the assurances given by the Minister on the subject it is somewhat difficult to understand why it has been resuscitated. The only point that can be made regarding it is, that inasmuch as under Section 7 of the Act of 1913 educated Indians entering the Free State become subject to Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book, which amongst other things requires that a declaration shall be made before a Resident Magistrate, and inasmuch as it has been agreed by the Minister that no such declaration shall in future be required, it might be advisable to amend Section 7 of the Act so as to make this perfectly clear.

The Cape Entry Question

It is clear that, if the provisional settlement of 1911 did in fact safeguard the existing rights of Indians, then in strict law there has been a breach of that agreement. Unfortunately the terms of this settlement are not set forth specifically in any formal document, but are to be gathered from two letters which passed between the Private Secretary to the Minister and Mr. Gandhi on the 28rd April, 1911.

It has been pointed out that in the letter of the Private Secretary of the 22nd April, there was no direct assurance that existing rights would be maintained, but there is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi and the Indian Community generally understood that this was one of the terms of the settlement. This appears from many letters subsequently written by Mr. Gandhi to the Minister and specially from certain correspondence which took place between them in January and February, 1912, and subsequently in July and August, 1913. For example, in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 24th August, 1913, he states specifically that "the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of the British Indians." Statements to the same effect are made in other letters, and never on any occasion was this claim repudiated by the Minister. In fact, a perusal of the correspondence leaves the impression that this was common cause between the parties, and was never the subject of controversy.

Then, if that be so, it follows that by restricting the entry of Indians born in South Africa into the Cape Colony to those who can satisfy the educational requirements of Act 30, of 1906, there has been a departure from the provisional settlement of 1911. At the same time it is clear from Mr. Gandhi's own letters to the Minister that there is very little substance in this alleged grievance.

Looking at the whole subject from a practical point of view, we have come to the conclusion that no good purpose could be gained by recommending that this shadowy grievance should be remedied by amending the Act of 1912, so as to restore the right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape without undergoing the educational test therein provided.

Before leaving the subject we might refer to a point to which our attention was directed by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Section 4, (2) (a) of the Act of 1913, which deals with the educational requirements of the

Cape and Natal Provinces, makes provision for those who were, at the commencement of the Act, lawfully entitled to reside in any Province. It was pointed out that the right conferred by that section would not strictly avail any person who became lawfully entitled to reside in any Province after the Act came into force, as for example, a child born after the commencement of the Act of Indians domiciled in South Africa.

It is indeed difficult to see what good purpose is served by the inclusion in the Section of the words "at the commencement of the Act," and they might very well be deleted.

Administration of Existing Laws

We have now reached the fifth and last of the alleged grievances which have been formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the 21st January, 1911, in which he requires "an assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights." The representations which have been made to us on this subject deal mainly with the Immigration and Licensing Acts, and, as already stated, we propose to confine ourselves to those subjects.

The Immigration Act

The complaints against the administrative methods of the Immigration Department were fairly numerous, chiefly in the Cape Colony. In respect of some of them we were not satisfied that they have been established and we do not propose to make any reference to such. There are others, however, in regard to which we are of opinion that grievances do exist and we propose to deal with these as shortly as possible.

The Licensing Act

Representations were made to the Commission regarding the administration of the Acts with reference to the grant of licenses to carry on trade or business in the Cape Colony and in Natal.

We do not, however, see our way to making any recommendations on this subject which are likely to be of any use.

No evidence was laid before us as to the administration of the licensing laws in other towns of the Cape Colony or in the country districts, and we have, therefore, no observations to make on that subject.

As regards Natal, the system is somewhat different from that which obtains in the Cape Colony.

The evidence before us is to the effect that the Act is not so strictly administered against Indians in the Natal boroughs as it is in Cape Town, but that it is becoming more and more difficult for Indians to obtain new licenses except in those quarters of the towns which are inhabited almost exclusively by them, and which may be regarded as Asiatic reserves. In some other parts of the towns it is almost impossible now for Indians to obtain new licenses.

As regards the rest of Natal outside of the boroughs and townships, there is one licensing officer, who is a Government official, and from whose decision an appeal lies to the licensing board. His policy towards Indians is far more liberal than that of the licensing officers in the boroughs. In fact, he informs us that he makes no distinctions between Europeans and Indians.

A fact of some interest which was elicited from this witness is that, where applications for new licenses are made by Indians, more than 50 per cent. of the objections come from other Indians.

We had no complaint regarding the grant of new licenses from this licensing officer, the complaints being directed entirely against the administration of the Act in the boroughs and townships. We do not see our way, however, to make any recommendations on this subject. Nothing can be done which would be of any effect except by legislation, and, for the reasons already given when dealing with the grant of licenses in Cape Town, we are unable to suggest any amendment of the laws.

We have now dealt with all the grievances formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the Interior, but before closing, we think that it is desirable to summarise the various recommendations that appear in different parts of the report.

Some of these recommendations will require legislation to give effect to them whilst others can be sufficiently dealt with by administrative action.

They are as follows:—

(1) Section 5 (g) of the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 should be amended so as to bring the law into conformity with the practice of the Immigration Department, which is: "To admit one wife and minor children by her of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province, or who may in the future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad so long as she is his only wife in South Africa."

(2) Instructions should be given to the Immigration Officer to open registers in each Province for the registration by Indians of, say, three or more years' residence in South Africa, who have at present or have had in the past, more than one wife living with them in South Africa, of the names of such wives, who are to be free to travel to and from India with the minor children so long as the husband continues to reside in this country.

(3) There should be legislation on the lines of Act 16 of 1860 of the Cape Colony making provision for the appointment of marriage officers from among the Indian priests of different denominations for the purpose of solemnising marriages in accordance with the respective religions of the parties.

(4) There should be legislation for the validation by registration of existing *de facto* monogamous marriages, by which are understood the marriage of one man with one woman, under a system which recognises the right of the husband to marry one or more other wives.

(5) Section 6 of Act 17 of 1895 of Natal which requires certain Indians to take out year by year a pass or license to remain in the Colony and which provides for the payment of £8 a year for such license should be repealed.

(6) Conditions under which identification certificates under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 are issued should be amended so as to provide that such certificates shall remain in force for a period of three years instead of one year.

(7) An Interpreter should be attached to the office of the Immigration Department in Capetown who should be a whole-time officer.

(8) Application forms for permits, certificates, etc., from the Immigration Department should be filled in by the clerk in the office upon information supplied to him by the applicant, if the latter so desires.

(9) The practice at present existing in the Capetown office of this Department of taking in certain cases prints of all the fingers of both hands, instead of the thumbs only, should be discontinued.

(10) The Resident Magistrate of a district in which there is no immigration officer should have authority to issue temporary permits to Indians residing in his district who desire to travel from the Province in which they are living to another Province of the Union.

(11) The present fee of £1 for an identification certificate or temporary permit should be materially reduced and no charge should be made for any extension.

(12) The present practice of the immigration officer of one Province of communicating by telegraph with the immigration officer of another Province when an application is made by an Indian for a permit to travel from one Province to the other should be discontinued.

(13) Domicile certificates which have been issued to Indians in Natal by the immigration officer of that Province, and which bear the thumb impression of the holder of the permit, should be recognised as conclusive evidence of the right of the holder to enter the Union as soon as his identity has been established.

(14) An arrangement should, if possible, be made with the Government of India for the holding of official inquiries by the magistrate or other Government official in the case of women and children proceeding from India to join their husbands and fathers in South Africa. If, on inquiry, the official is satisfied that the woman and children are the wife and children of the man in South Africa whom they claim as husband or father, a certificate should be given by him to that effect, and such certificate should be treated by the immigration officer as conclusive evidence of the facts stated in it.

Florence Nightingale on India.

In 1874 Miss Nightingale completed the first proofs of a volume dealing with irrigation in India, to which she gave the title of *The Zemindar, the Sun, and the Watering Pot, as affecting life and death in India*, thereby affirming that salvation may be found for the ryot, provided he has a seasonable supply of the water needed to secure the benefits of an unfailing sun and a fertile soil. While pursuing her health crusade throughout the world, she had realised painfully the responsibility of England towards India, and she was stung with pity for the preventable disease and death which overtake the gentle and industrious Indian peasantry. The deaths were to be counted not by thousands, or tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, but by millions; and Miss Nightingale, from her wide experience of sanitary work, was convinced that the remedy was to be found in improving the economic condition of the masses, rather than in any temporary measures of relief. To her mind the logical sequence was clear: the mortality is caused by starvation and unhealthy surroundings; the want of food and the absence of sanitation are the result of the ryot's extreme poverty; in India the "treasure hid in a field" is the wealth that irrigation brings; and the effective means of relieving the ryot's extreme poverty is to be found in the right use of water, which is abundant in India, but needs suitable storage and distribution. Irrigation with drainage; canal and river navigation; and pure drinking water—these were her watchwords; the result for the people to be abundant crops, cheap transit for food, water power for industries, cleanliness, health, comfort, and happiness. Stimulated by such thoughts, Miss Nightingale, a past-master in statistics, studied the facts and the figures contained in Blue-books and official reports; she formed her conclusions in personal consultation with such honoured and experienced administrators as Lord

Lawrence, Sir George Campbell, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Arthur Cotton, Lord Napier, and Sir Richard Temple; and brought to her advocacy the acumen and boldness that distinguished all her practical activities.

Unfortunately, the "proofs" never received her final revision; and Sir Edward Cook, in his classic *Life of Florence Nightingale*, tells us that it was "a constant regret in her later years" that she had failed to carry out this work as she had planned it; "some of her friends—Sir Bartle Frere and Sir George Campbell and Sir Arthur Cotton—urged her to revise the book and publish it; and there are in existence a series of proofs in various stages, and belonging to various years, corrected by the three friends just mentioned and by many others. . . . Clearly the book, first written in 1874, required, in 1879, large revision, and she could not bring herself to do it. . . . but she never ceased to regret that she had not been able to leave in permanent literary form her views on the questions discussed in the book."

In her will, executed in 1896, she made special provision for the publication of "such part, if any", that her executors might think fit, of her writings regarding India, and Sir Edward Cook is of opinion that she meant principally this book written in 1874, and he considers that the materials thus collected might profitably be utilised to serve as Tracts for the Times. He further points out that some of the principal irrigation projects advocated by Miss Nightingale have, in subsequent years, been carried out with success; and that the area irrigated by productive canals has increased from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 million acres. Such being the incidents of the case, the question is, How, in accordance with the purpose of its author, can the book be now best utilised to further the cause of irrigation, in the interest of the Indian people?

The executors have been so good as to consult me regarding the course to be pursued, and having carefully studied the proofs, I feel that it would be a grievous pity if India were to lose the benefit of the gifted lady's research, and of the constraining influence which attaches to her name. It is true that some parts of the book deal with controversies practically obsolete, but the main plea for the ryot is as true and vital as ever; indeed, since Miss Nightingale wrote, the urgency seems not less but greater, for the ryot's power of resistance has been shaken by successive disasters, and the mortality in later years has been on a larger scale from both famine and pestilence. Further, as regards future guidance, it is no small matter that the conclusions recorded in this book received the *imprimatur* of Lord Lawrence and other chief administrators responsible for India during the most critical period of the century just closed. As regards the form in which the case may best be brought before the public, it appears that a beginning may be made by publishing a summary (such as the present contribution) in the form of a magazine article, and inviting those skilled in Indian irrigation work to be so good as to bring the facts up-to-date, explaining to a lay audience, in popular terms, what has been accomplished, and what still remains to be done. Of special importance will be the conclusions arrived at by the Irrigation Commission, appointed in 1901, under the presidency of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff.

Miss Nightingale was very anxious to awaken the British public to a sense of their responsibility on this question, which is a matter of life and death to 200 millions of our fellow subjects, and those who realise this responsibility will be encouraged by the narrative in Sir Edward Cook's most admirable memoir, which shows the extraordinary influence for good that may be exercised by one brave-hearted and single-minded lady, though under the disabilities of seclusion and ill-health.

In preparing this summary, it will be convenient to group the materials under a few headings: A. The beneficial uses of water in India, including (1) irrigation, (2) navigation, and (3) drainage; B. geographical features in the different Provinces, and local conditions; and C. finance. Ordinarily, the portions shown in this article, under inverted commas, are Miss Nightingale's own text, where other authorities are quoted, they are extracted from the proofs.

A. THE BENEFICIAL USES OF WATER IN INDIA.

Among the benefits comes, first and foremost, the great fact that the wise use of water in India will preserve the people alive. As Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said in his Financial Minute of 1874: "Works of irrigation afford, in the majority of cases, the only real security against scarcity and famine." Where there is no water the people perish. People in England do not even now sufficiently realise the horror of Indian famines, and their increasing severity. As Miss Nightingale says, writing in 1875: "We must not suppose that famines in India are decreasing in extent or severity under our rule. On the contrary. The present famine in Bengal appears to be of more awful length, breadth, height, and depth than any before known, except,

"perhaps, that of Bengal a century ago, 1769-70, when 'one-third of the population of Bengal is believed to have been swept away.' She notes the mortality, estimated at a million, in the Orissa famine of 1866; the Rajputana famine of 1868-69, when $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions perished; and the Bengal famine of 1874. But since then her forecast of increasing death and disaster has been sadly verified by the famine of 1878, which cost South India five millions of her population; by the famine of 1897, which was then pronounced the severest on record; and by that of 1900, declared by Lord Curzon to be 'greater in intensity than any previously recorded visitation.' According to Miss Nightingale, if the water supply in India is properly utilised, 'periodical famines ought to be made impossible.'"

(1) Irrigation.

In India there can be no cultivation without water; and the problem of the ryot's salvation depends on the certainty—or uncertainty—of the water supply. In 1875 about one-seventh part of the whole cultivated area of India was protected, and rendered secure, by means of artificial irrigation works, canals, "tanks" (reservoirs), and wells; the remaining six-sevenths, known as "dry crop" land, was dependent for its single annual crop on the natural rainfall, which is in the highest degree precarious, both as to amount and regularity. The great mass of the ryots are, therefore, in perpetual jeopardy; always on the brink of famine, being dependent on the character of each year's season; if the rainfall is either insufficient or unseasonable, the crop is burnt up, and the people, unless relieved at the expense of the State, must perish miserably. This unhappy condition of affairs is little understood in England; and, accordingly, Miss Nightingale emphasises the fatal consequences of the uncertain rainfall, giving the facts and figures regarding various provinces, to show how the harvest in dry crop areas depends not so much on the total rainfall as on the absolute regularity of the showers needed in tropical cultivation. "How" she asks, "compress into few words the explanation that some of the wettest regions in the world, which have a fall of 10 to 30 inches more rain in the year than England, which is a very wet climate, are some of the driest regions in the world? For half the year's supply of rain falls in such regions sometimes in twenty-four hours, separated by fourteen days. . . . We have in the Carnatic 40 inches of rain; but so distributed that it is one of the driest regions in the world. We have several falls of 5 inches in the night, sometimes of 12; 22 inches have been known to fall in two nights, with an interval of a fortnight, so that we have had more than half our year's supply in that time; or equal to a whole year's rain in Norfolk thus falling in two showers. But for tanks such a region could not be made to support man to any extent. . . . The critical period of the season is from the middle of September to the end of October. If the rains cease by the middle of September, the great food harvest of the Lower Provinces (Bengal) is withered and burnt up. . . . Colonel Rundall R. E. (Head of the Indian Irrigation Department), tells us that in Orissa the rainfall reaches 60 inches. In 1865—the year of the famine—nearly 60 inches were registered at Cuttack; but the rains ceased on September 14th; the crops consequently perished. . . . The object of irrigation is to rectify this unequal distribution of water, to arrest that which would otherwise run to waste, distribute it to the lands where it is required, and store up in tanks as much as may be needed for use during the dry season."

Always eager for statistics, Miss Nightingale obtained from Captain Baring (now Lord Cromer), who was then Private Secretary to the Viceroy, an elaborate table of figures, showing how, in the various districts of Bengal, the famine was caused by the irregularity, not the shortage, of the rainfall. This table "shows that returns which only give the total rainfall over a period embracing some months are deceptive, and that it is seasonableness of rainfall, and not mere quantity of rain, that is required. If we compare the rainfall up to the end of August, 1873, with that of 1872 (an ordinary year, in which there was no failure of crops), it will be seen that, generally speaking, rain fell in 1873, taking the year through, in sufficient quantities for a fruitful harvest; but if we examine each fortnight during the important six weeks from September 1st to October 15th, during which the rice is maturing, it will be apparent that the rainfall in 1873 was very short. For instance, in Dinagepore only 1.06 inch fell in the first fortnight of September in 1873, against 6.49 inches in the same period in 1872. In Rungpore the proportion was still more marked, being 0.80 against 8.19. In Durbunga it was 2.86 against 7.08. In Motihari (Champaran) it was 0.65 against 10.23." Figures, again, were supplied by Colonel Greenaway, showing the fatal waste of the rainfall for want of storage and distribution. "The quantity that runs to waste is something enormous. One foot of rainfall on a square mile gives 1,032,532 cubic yards, or 174,239,975 gallons, and the rainfall during a monsoon may be averaged at 30 inches at least. . . . When

"Guntoor lost 200,000 by famine, a river was flowing through it which never fails, and which, in a single day, carries to the sea 4,000 million cubic yards of water; and as 6,000 cubic yards will secure a crop of rice on an acre, water enough was running to waste in one day, in that one river, in that very district, to secure 700,000 acres of rice, the food of 2½ millions of people for a year."

Dwelling on these facts and figures, which proved the deadly peril of so many millions of the peasantry, no wonder that the writer of this book became urgent, and even fierce, in her appeal to the Government to stop this fatal waste, and bring back the water to the thirsty land. Not only safety but wealth is to be found in irrigation, which can transform an uncertain "dry crop" of millet, worth, perhaps, five rupees an acre, into a certain "wet crop" of sugar-cane, worth at least 200 rupees. Stored and distributed the water now running to waste would bring to the cultivator a due reward for his "enduring toil," to the Government an increasing revenue, and to the masses security from a lingering and painful death. The chapter on Irrigation in the book has as its opening motto: "The fate of India, in regard to food, is wholly in the hands of its rulers."

(2) NAVIGATION.

Even in the worst famines there has never been an insufficiency of food in India as a whole. Owing to the wide difference in the conditions of the various great provinces, dearth in one area is usually accompanied by rich harvests in another; so that next in importance to the production of abundant harvests, comes the need for cheap and easy transit, to convey the surplus food to the hungry mouths. Irrigation must, therefore, go hand-in-hand with navigable canals. On this question of economic distribution of food, Miss Nightingale proceeds again by the Socratic method, and asks: "Do not in a poor country bulky goods of a low value form the great mass of traffic? Is not water-carriage generally the cheapest, the working expenses being so exceedingly small? The cost of transit generally on canals is ½d. per ton per mile. If an irrigation canal, connected with a Bengal river, be made navigable, does it not become accessible to the whole of the water system, upwards of 3,300 miles already? That the Bengalee is not slow to take advantage of this opportunity may be illustrated by the fact that, before the Midnapore Canal had been opened six months, native boats were plying on it from such distant places as Benares, Dacca, and Patna. Is not the main feature of Bengal traffic that the boat-owners are petty merchants trading on their own account, thus diffusing a wider trade more quickly than where boatmen are carriers only? The moment an article is in demand, is not the whole river plant set in motion to convey it from where it is to be had to where it is wanted? Boats, too, can stop at the exact place where there is a demand for their article, and can serve as warehouses till their cargoes are discharged. Look at the amount of traffic on the Ganges, even by the side of the railway; 10,000 boats trading to one place, Khagaria, on the Gunduck. An eminent Indian officer told me that he had stood on the Ganges bank, and estimated that there were 10,000 tons of boats in sight within a few miles at one time, equal to fifty goods trains. Such is the wonderful Ganges trade. Transit by canal is cheaper even than by river: Current is a minimum; no storms; no insurance necessary; shorter distances; can be worked by night; smaller crews are requisite. Besides cheapness, canal-carriage has these advantages: any class of goods can go at its own speed in its own manner, without interference with any other class; stations, unlike those of railways, are any where on the journey; boat serves as a warehouse; lockage easily managed; no State rolling stock or establishment; all done by private capital and agency. Seeing the vital importance of intercommunication and that of keeping the cost of transit low it is economy to make all irrigation canals navigable. The additional expense for making irrigation canals navigable is from one-third of the whole cost with a steep fall, to one-tenth of the cost with a flat slope; or, from £3,200 per mile, as on the Midnapore Canal, to between £700 and £1,200 on the Punjab and North West Provinces Canals."

The competing means of communication are by railways and country carts. But carts are slow and expensive, and unmetalled roads are almost impassable in the rainy season: "Mr. T. Login shows us that where grain costs only one rupee a maund, the cost of this grain when transported 800 miles in India would be enhanced in price as follows: By ordinary canals 14 to 20 per cent.; by railway 59 per cent.; by carts on metalled roads 76½ per cent.; by carts on country roads 100 per cent." The advantages of a cheap mode of conveyance in an agricultural country, where the people are poor, can hardly be over-estimated. Speaking at Manchester, when Secretary of State for India, Lord Derby declared that "what was wanted in India was 'not costly (railway) lines for rapid travelling, laid down in a few parts, but a comparatively inexpensive, though slow means of communication extending over the whole face of the country." And, similarly, Sir Bartle Frere said: "Hitherto what has been thought of most has been how to get your goods first to market; now

"I believe, it is becoming more and more a question who shall get them cheapest, and no doubt cheapness is best attained by trusting to water."

(3) Drainage.

To make the system complete, irrigation and navigation must be accompanied by drainage. In the upper provinces want of drainage makes the land waterlogged and sterile; in the lower provinces it causes malarious fever of a virulent type. "For several years past a great extent of country round Calcutta has been 'desolated by fever of such a nature that numbers of villages have been almost emptied by it, tens of thousands having died of it. It seems to have been entirely owing to the want of drainage in the monsoon, and the want of good water to drink in the dry season. It is impossible to conceive the state of those villages in those dead alluvial plains—in the monsoon without a foot of dry ground, and surrounded by pools of water—and in the dry season not a drop of wholesome water to drink—nothing but the remains of these pools a few inches deep, in which filth has been accumulating for months. Compare this with the state of an irrigated tract completely pervaded by drainage channels to carry off the waters in the monsoon, and canals of running water, fresh from the river, flowing through every village."

B. GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES, AND C. FINANCE.

Having thus set forth the needs of India as regards irrigation, canal navigation, and drainage, Miss Nightingale, in her book, proceeds to deal with the engineering problem in the great geographical areas: the Punjab, with Sind—the land of the Indus, with its five tributaries fed from the Himalayan snows; the Upper Gangetic Valley, including the Jumna and Ganges canals; Bengal, and its vast system of river navigation; and Madras, with the Godavari, Kistna and Cauvery, rising in the Western Ghats, and watering the fertile deltas along the Eastern coast. As regards each of these areas she notes in detail the most immediate needs; the proposed expenditure, in a series of years, amounting to a total of £14,088,000. And as regards finance, she pleads strenuously for the claims of water, as against a lavish expenditure on railways, especially military railways: quoting the authority of the Duke of Argyll in 1873, who declared that "our first choice ought to fall upon irrigation rather than upon railways"; and referring to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, who said that the great Madras works had been "eminently successful, and abundantly remunerative in the highest sense both to the State and to the people."

CONCLUSION.

The early rulers of India recognised a binding responsibility in this matter. In the Mahabharata a sage asks Arjuna how many of the cultivators are provided with wells and water courses, and how many have to depend on the season's rain? In other words, had the King performed his religious duty, and made the people safe from famine, or had he not? The question asked by the holy man in ancient times must equally be asked—and answered—at the present day; for it is the religious duty of the British ruler to be a good shepherd of the flock, to feed the people in a green pasture, and lead them forth beside the waters of comfort.—(Sir) W. WEDDERBURN in the *Contemporary Review*.

The Genius of Henry James*.

WHILE one is under the spell of "Notes of a Son and a Brother" one is in no mood for blaming Mr. Hueffer's challenging announcement of his opinion that Mr. James "is the greatest of living writers and, in consequence, . . . the greatest of living men." Certainly, if one were invited to name the literary masterpiece of the twentieth century, one would do well to hesitate before passing further than Mr. James's autobiography. It is not merely that it gives us a unique analysis of everything that went to the making of a characteristic literary artist of our times. It does more than this. It introduces us to the most charming and wonderful family group a novelist ever found to his hand. There are few portraits in fiction to equal that of Henry James, senior, the Swedenborgian, "wise, gentle, polished," as Emerson described him, "with heroic manners and a serenity like the sun." And how the very air and spirit of the novelist's mother are suggested to us in those sentences describing how she used to listen to her husband as he read his "papers" to her! "I see our mother listen, at her work, to the full music of the 'papers.' She could do that by the mere force of her complete availability—could do it with a smoothness of surrender that was like an array of all the perceptions."

What, perhaps, will attract ten readers to "Notes of a Son and Brother" for every one who braced himself up to the psychological adventures of "A Small Boy and Others" is the fact that in the new book Mr. James is more plainly reminiscential—more tenderly eager to give us the large aspect of the urbane persons and days of his

"Notes of a Son and Brother." By Henry James. (Macmillan, 12s. net.)

"Henry James: A Critical Study." By Ford Madox Hueffer. (Secker, 7s. 6d. net.)

early, unworried world. He is still intent, to be sure, upon puzzling out the mystery of the making of a novelist, so that we find him pausing to tell how he never regretted having been put to learn—a thing he could not do—physics and algebra at school in Geneva, since he had a fatalistic philosophy “of which the general sense was that almost anything, however disagreeable, had been worthwhile; so unable was I to claim that it hadn't involved impressions.” Similarly, in his account of what the later school at Concord meant to him, he breaks off to explain:—

“I have to reckon, I here allow, with the trick of what I used irrepressibly to read into things in front of which I found myself, for gaping purposes, planted by some unquestioned outer force; it seemed so prescribed to me, so imposed on me, to read more, as through some over-felt claim for roundness of aspect and intensity of effect in presented matters, whatever they might be, than the conscience of the particular affair itself, was perhaps developed enough to ask of it.”

But those whom such sentences, significant though they are, will scare into thoughts of flight, will be called back and conciliated by the portrait of Emerson—an image hung in light—as an occasional visitor to the James' household in New York:—

“I visualise . . . the winter firelight of our back parlor at dusk and the great Emerson—I knew he was great, greater than any of our friends—sitting in it between my parents, before the lamps had been lighted, as a visitor consentingly housed only could have done and affecting me the more as an apparition sinuously and, I held elegantly slim, benevolently aquiline, and commanding a tone alien, beautifully alien, to any we heard round about, that he bent this benignity upon me by an invitation to draw nearer to him off the hearthrug, and know myself as never yet, as I was not, indeed, to know myself again for years, in touch with the wonder of Boston. The wonder of Boston was above all just then and there for me in the sweetness of the voice and the finish of the speech—this latter through an attenuated emphasis which, at the same time, made sounds more important, more interesting in themselves, than by any revelation yet vouchsafed us. Was not this my first glimmer of a sense that the human tone *could*, in that independent and original way, be interesting?”

It is always, of course, Emerson seen strangely in relation to Henry James. Just as M. Anatole France speaks of Homer *à propos* of himself, so Mr. James speaks of the great men he has seen *à propos* of himself. One is always conscious, not only of the great man himself, but of the “small, vague outsider” who is described for us on another page as being “not a little mildly—though, oh so mildly—morose or anxiously mute.” Mr. James was considerably older—he was “a young person of twenty-four”—when he was invited to go in, after a dinner given to Dickens, and be presented to the novelist. “I saw” he tells us, “the master—nothing could be more evident—in the light of an intense emotion, and I trembled, I remember, in every limb, while at the same time, by a blest fortune, emotion produced no luminous blur, but left him shining indeed, only shining with august particulars”. As for what Mr. James can make of the “august particulars” at this date, it is all in a single sentence:—

“The offered inscrutable mask was the great thing, the extremely handsome face, the face of symmetry, yet of formidable character, as I at once recognized, and which met my dumb homage with a straight inscrutability, a merciless military eye, I might have pronounced it an automatic hardness in fine, which at once indicated to me and in the most interesting way in the world, a kind of economy of apprehension.”

One of the most fascinating things about the present book, however, is not so much that it reminds us of Mr. James's genius as a portrait-painter as that it shows, by numerous quotations from letters, how essentially he is, in this respect, simply his father's son. Might not Mr. James himself have written a good many sentences in this humorous and understanding letter of his father's describing a dinner at which Hawthorne was present?

“Hawthorne isn't, to me, a prepossessing figure, nor, apparently at all an *enjoying* person in any way; he has all the while the look—or would have to the unknowing—of a rogue who suddenly finds himself in a company of detectives. But in spite of his rusticity I felt a sympathy for him fairly amounting to anguish, and couldn't take my eyes off him all dinner, nor my rapt attention, as that indecisive little Dr. Hedge found, I am afraid, to his cost, for I hardly heard a word of what he kept saying to me, and resented his maliciously putting his artificial person between me and the profitable object of study. (It isn't, however, that I now feel any ill-will to him—I could recommend anyone, but myself, to go and hear him preach. The thing was that Hawthorne seemed to me to possess human substance, and not to have dissipated it all away like that culturally debauched—, or even like good, inoffensive, comforting Longfellow.)”

After relating that “my region was a desert with H. for its only oasis,” the letter goes on:—

“It was so pathetic to see him—contented, sprawling, Concord owl that he was and always has been—brought blindfold in to that brilliant daylight and expected to wink and be lively, like some dapper Tommy Titmouse. I felt him bury his eyes in his plate and

eat with such voracity that no one should dare to speak to him. My heart broke for him as his attenuated left-hand neighbour kept putting forth his long antennae to stroke his face and try whether his eyes were open. It was heavenly to see him persist in ignoring the spectral smiles—in eating his dinner and doing nothing but that—and then go home to his Concord deer, to fall upon his knees and ask his Heavenly Father why it was that an owl couldn't remain an owl, and not be forced into the diversions of a canary. I have no doubt that all the tenderest angels saw to his case that night, and poured oil into his wounds more soothing than gentleman ever knew.”

Imagine what it must have been like to live in a house where the father could write like that, and the sons like William and Henry James, and where all the members of the family apparently lived with the same exquisite all-roundness and witty tolerance that marked everything they wrote! It was a family party of genius and geniality—the lofty geniality of the father, the bubbling geniality of William, and the passive geniality, if we may use the phrase, of Henry. It was a house where a fine spiritual atmosphere took the place of the usual didacticism, with the result, apparently, that gaps were left in the imaginative life of at least one of the children. Mr. James tells us how he “found the sphere of our more nobly supposititious habitation too imperceptibly peopled; whereas the religious life of every other family that could boast of any such (and what family didn't boast?) affected my fancy as with a social and material crowdedness.” It was a house where they neither kept the Sabbath nor, in a land of ministers, knew anything about ministers. Clergymen, says Mr. James, were “such creatures of pure hearsay that when late in my teens, and in particular after my twentieth year, I began to see them portrayed by George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, the effect was a disclosure of a new and romantic species.” On the other hand:—

“My father liked in our quite younger period to read us chapters from the New Testament and the Old, and I hope we liked to listen to them—though I recall their seeming dreary from their association with school practice but that was the sole approach to a challenge of our complete freedom of inward, not less than our natural ingenuity of outward experience.”

Humor, philosophy, tolerance, culture as a thing to be pursued like riches, stoicism without its severity, open-mindedness, even open-souledness, if we may use so barbarous a term—all these combined to make an atmosphere exactly such as was needed to produce a novelist who was going to be an inquirer, a student of tones and shades, an interpreter of reticences, rather than a propagandist humanitarian or a dealer in dramatic passions. Fortunately for us, he has shaken off more of his artistic reticence in “Notes of a Son and Brother” than in any of his previous books, and, though some of his sentences are stumbling-blocks to the eye and ear, it is on the whole considerably simpler in statement than “A Small Boy and Others.” It is a book of a warm, as well as of a subtle beauty, and is one of Mr. James's masterpieces in characterization.

Mr. Hueffer's book is not a book for those who require an introduction to Mr. James. It is neither comprehensive nor informing enough for that. For those who already know Mr. James's work, however, it will, in spite of many provoking irrelevances, be full of suggestive criticism. Mr. Hueffer does not criticize Mr. James's novels in detail. He simply converses about Mr. James generally and ramblingly. But the conversation is that of a man whose subject is a part of him, and not merely made up at the request of a publisher. In other words, it is personal criticism. One regrets that Mr. Hueffer has not taken the trouble to pursue his fancies to their charming end, or to give them any kind of logical arrangement. But, such as they are, they call for praise: they have the great merit of awakening new trains of thought.—*The Nation*.

The Last of the Pharaohs.

It would be impertinence in a mere tourist such as I have been for some pleasant weeks to say in public whether he thinks the Government of Egypt bad or good. But he may, perhaps, be permitted the more limited observation that the political genius of Britain has never invented or adopted anything quite so unlike itself. Here is a country with a popular, interesting, and very humane Englishman as its actual head, which possesses neither a Constitution, nor a true Code of Law, nor a real Parliament, nor a free press. Here, again, is a highly characteristic Eastern soil, which every day yields up some fresh token of its wonderful past, and yet lacks an Oriental Monarchy. Here is a British Governor without even a Council. Here is a sort of a Sultan with little power and with nominal responsibility. Here is a soldier with all power and no responsibility either to British or to Egyptian citizenship. Lord Kitchener's rule may be given many kinds of nick-name. Its Liberal critics style it government by Sergeant-Major. Its native friends think of its head, and are encouraged by him so to think of him, as a Grand Cadi under the Palm Tree. All the pomp of Egyptian rule centres round the Khedivial Palace. All its effective instruments flow to and from the Kasr-el-Doubara. The Khedive has probably shot his last bolt, for Lord Kitchener has crushed his appeal to the Sultan over

the reform which transferred the administration of the Wakfs, or ecclesiastical trusts, to Ministerial hands. It is unfortunate that an able, and in early life a promising, man should be so small a factor in the management of his country's affairs. But the fault does not wholly, or perhaps chiefly, lie with the British Agent. In an Eastern country, of all others, unity of control is essential. And unity at least there is. Lord Kitchener exercises it, in the main, by the method of "authoritative advice." He "advised" the Khedive to yield on the administration of the Wakfs, just as he "advises" an authority to hurry up with its road-making and its street improvement, and to cover its stinking "birket" out of sight. And the "authority" obeys.

Such a procedure has its constitutional inconveniences, and it is easy to divine the objections that mere Parliaments, Financial Advisers, to say nothing of minor vessels of wrath like Mudirs or Omdehs, might urge against it. But if you abolish native statesmanship, you must provide an effective substitute. Egyptian Nationalism is dead, and its ungoverned press has gone with it or survives merely in a bitter passing gibe in a Khedivial organ, or a growl in a native journal that no Egyptian now counts in the management of Egypt's business or the spending of Egypt's money. The Egyptian Parliamentary system, such as it was, is hardly re-born as yet. There remains—Lord Kitchener, as a kind of Dynasty by himself. His position is as real as it is indescribable. He is not the President of a Ministry, and his *entourage* is a staff of able young assistants, inspired by devotion to a great chief, but unconnected, save in one instance, with the nominal Executive. His bond in the country is all personal—it consists in his knowledge of Arabic, his simple, instinctive judgment, his accessibility, his long experience and genuine interest in the peasant-folk who are Egypt, his feeling for its history, even his collector's passion for its antiquities. The Englishman laughs at the zeal which would transplant the giant limbs of Rameses II from the sand and palm trees of old Memphis to the Station Square or the Ezbekiyeh Gardens at Cairo. But there is a flash of sympathy in such thinking and planning which Lord Cromer never could give out or evoke. Lord Kitchener's link with the life of Egypt is a human link, and nowhere does this vein of humanity find easier channels than in the much-governed, much-abused land of the Pharaohs.

For the one strength of the Kitchener régime is that it has a policy. Lord Cromer settled the finance of the country and relaxed the grasp of the bondholder and of all but one European Government. Kitchener's soldiering re-united it to the Soudan, and restored to it the control of the Nile, barring only the all-important Abyssinian source. Now Egyptian policy centres in the Nile. All Egypt talks of the Nile, as all England talks of the weather, for on the full flow and the fair distribution of Nile water depends the life of the tiny thread of green which cuts the interminable brown of her two vast flanking deserts. There the fellah and his woman ply their slave-like toil at the mill-wheel, and pursue their ant-like journeyings between the field and the mud-hut. More, much more, cultivable land—and especially more State land—is wanted, more crops, and more continuous tillage of them. To that end Kitchener has devoted his triple plan of draining the lakes of the Delta, storing the flood water in the years of low Nile (like the present), while letting it through in the flood times, and opening out a new area for cotton-growing in the wide fork of valley country between the Blue and the White Niles. Who can gainsay the wisdom of these ideas? Or of the incidental devices by which the fellah has been assured fair measures for his cotton crop, and swift, easy justice for his country quarrels? Lord Kitchener's peasant policy has now taken a wider scope, and its most sensational incident is the famous Law of the Five Feddans, the most hotly debated subject in Egyptian politics.

Briefly, this new Homestead Law secures the possessor of five or fewer feddans (acres) in the actual ownership of the soil. It enables the creditor to seize his crops, but treats as "insaisissable" his land, his hut, his farming implements, and the two beasts which turn the creaking water-wheel or plough the black soil. I doubt whether any force in Egyptian Nationalism, with its centre in Alexandria or Cairo, would have initiated such a policy, or has even much sympathy with it. Its critics, indeed, are many, and they are not all disinterested. Lord Kitchener's avowed object was to save the peasant from himself, to check his heedless resort to usury for social and ceremonial purposes, the commonest of which were the costly and prolonged wedding feasts. He thus hoped to smother the nests of local money-lenders, mostly Greek, who, for centuries have fastened on the fellahs and converted their nominal ownership into something akin to forced labour. "The law is good for the poor and bad for the rich," said a rather naive young Egyptian landowner, obviously an ardent Nationalist and Khedivist, who paid us a visit of ceremony in a desert camp. But that is not the only ground of objection. The Nationalist inquires why Egypt's land law should be revolutionized without Egypt's leave being so much as asked. The banking community are hostile on the ground that it defeats its author's purpose. The Bill, they say, will not strengthen the peasants' credit, but will destroy it. Who will lend on the mere security of the crops? Not the banks (including the Agricultural Banks), for their rules will not allow them. You

cannot cure the peasant of thriftlessness by a single ukase, and in this year of a low Nile he will want money for legitimate purposes—such as seed and labour. Where is he to get it from? Only the Greek with his 25 or 35 per cent. will look at him; the banks, who charge 8 per cent., are all scared away. If Lord Kitchener had been less impatient, more open to criticism and advice, he would have conceived his agricultural policy as a whole and given Egypt a system of co-operative credit before rudely tearing her farmers away from the habits of centuries. As it stands, the Bill merely puts the cart before the horse—even if it does not make the peasant's lot worse than it was before.

There is probably some substance in these complaints, as is evident from the Government's introduction of a Bill for establishing agricultural credit societies. But it is something in Egypt to go to the heart of a people's life, where so much, from Rameses the Great downwards, has ended in a kind of cruel and sordid nullity. One cannot but think that now the peasant has security, the banks will discover that his credit is good enough. Something of the British occupation will stand for ever—*aeque perennius*—if the fellah can be fixed to his holding half as firmly as the carved masonry of the great dam at Assuan clings to the bed of the Nile. But the root difficulty of this paternal government, this soldier-statesmanship, is not merely as to whether all its devices are well-considered—some of them must necessarily be ill-considered—but that it cannot last. All the institutions left by Lord Cromer were experimental, and his successor has not changed them. Will he remain for ever? None excel him in knowledge of the land he rules or in the power to serve it. But the pen which tells his praises in the Egyptian press usually proceeds to deplore his coming removal to India. If Lord Kitchener goes, the peculiar sources of his influence—*influence* over the Khedive, *influence* over the administration, *influence* over the native mind—go too. He is not a school of British statesmanship. He is a bluff soldier-man, with a genius to be himself and to lead others in the way of his will. His very bigness and burliness are a sort of talisman of power. What in our whole circle of public service is to replace this personality?

Even as things stand, change is inevitable, and is at the door. Lord Kitchener has found it necessary, like an earlier Cromwell, to summon something like a parliament and has discovered, within a short space, that the forces of Opposition—even of a reserved, moderate, and friendly Opposition—excel and outnumber those of the Government. And beyond all Kitchener's improvisations lies the problem of building up a harmonious and enduring structure. Sooner or later, Egypt must have a Constitution. Liberal England owes this debt to her, and paid it must be. Take the Capitulations. They are an insult to a country so peaceful, so secure from external and internal trouble, as Egypt now is. The Government is believed to favour their abolition, though a few months ago an editor was peremptorily told to let the question rest. But when it rises again, there rises with it the question of framing a Code which all the members of this many-coloured, many-languaged nation will be called on to obey. Has it even been considered? British India toiled long and brilliantly at the work of fashioning her present system of law. In Egypt, I was told that we had just lent the most suitable lawyer in the country for the work of Code-making in French Morocco. Yet abuses cry for remedy. Take the legislative functions exercised by the Judges of the Mixed Courts, who have recently drawn up a new Weights and Measures Act. A society with so many elements of civilization as Egypt ought long ago to have been lifted above and beyond the rule of a little Parliament of Judges, sitting to frame the laws they administer. Is Egypt not to be thought worthy to possess the common tools of civilized action, and a clever, adaptable race forbidden to touch them? Ibrahim had a Council; why not Kitchener? cry the malcontents.

It is not much to ask; especially when one knows that with the death of nationalism serious hostility to the British occupation died too. Some may want us to go; many more want us to begin to teach Egypt what to do if, perchance, we are not able to stay there for ever. This task we shall never take in hand if our sole care is for the efficiency of our own Civil Service, regardless of the capital fact that the abler and more devoted it is, the more it stands in the way of self-government. The "note" of much Egyptian criticism seemed to me singularly reticent and qualified, highly sensitive to the "shepherding" virtues of Lord Kitchener's rule. Yet there is discontent, which, lacking its natural vent, is now and then pitched in a sharp, even a malicious and violent key. Is that surprising? There are some things—such as the reform of El Azhar—which only a Mohamedan statesmanship can effect for Egypt. There are other things which we ought long ago to have done for her, if we ever mean to help her to govern herself. It is shameful that we do not give her a real University; and that we let the country limp along with a system which yields about fifty "literate" for every thousand of the population. But above all our duties is the duty of extending to all her people the shelter of a system of equal law, and encouraging them to work it. — H. W. M. in *The Nation*.

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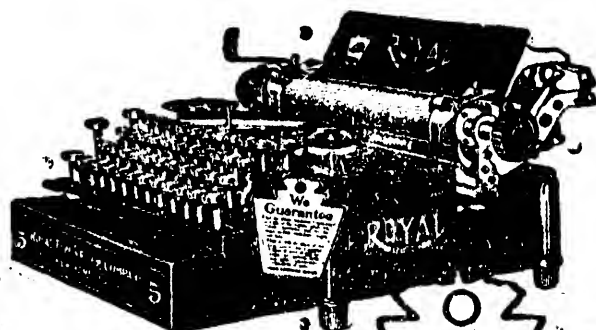
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Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

The New Delhi.

London, May 11.

In the House of Lords to-day Lord Curzon drew attention to the estimated expenditure on the new Delhi and moved for papers. He said that he welcomed the Viceroy's speech giving an estimate of £6,000,000 and pointed out that this was an increase of 50 per cent on the figures so confidently submitted two years ago. Even the six million estimate was only made possible by cutting out a number of items which were really part of the Government's policy.

Lord Curzon dealt in detail with incidental subsidiary expenses such as the cost of the transfer of the Government, the temporary Delhi Cantonment, railway re-construction, sanitation and the loss on the buildings unoccupied in Calcutta and Dacca. He now thought that his original statement that the total cost would be not less than twelve millions was an under-estimate. The Indian taxpayer would get off cheaply if the Government's policy cost him less than fifteen or sixteen millions. Lord Curzon paid a warm tribute to the Viceroy's courage and devotion to duty in connection with the attempt on his life, which the House applauded heartily. He asked whether the Viceroy was to visit Calcutta only occasionally and whether the salary of the Governor of Bengal would be increased, seeing that he now had to fulfil the duties of Lieutenant-Governor and also largely those of the Viceroy, a difficult and hampering task. If he was convinced that Delhi was the proper seat of Government and that the Government would be able to govern more

sympathetically and effectively from that city he would not grudge a rupee, but in his view they were creating an official capital on an arbitrary and artificial site. He quoted Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's view of the new Delhi as identical with his own.

He did not doubt that the general opinion in India was steadily hardening against this policy, while commercial India was seriously questioning the advisability of thus spending all these millions when so much was wanted for social and commercial progress. The provision of only £66,000 this year for railways was absolutely contemptible. The destiny of capitals depended on natural laws. An artificial capital might have mechanical existence but never real vitality unless it represented the need of the Government and the real interests of the people. If it did not, no expenditure could endow it with real substantiality. Nature in time would have her revenge and they would be forced to conclude that the revenues of the Indian taxpayers had been wasted. Lord Curzon spoke for an hour.

Lord Crewe announced that he declined to reargue the question as to whether the change of capital was wise. He protested against the inclusion in the cost of charges of many changes which would still have been necessary had the Government remained at Calcutta. Regarding the estimate of four millions he pointed out that the Indian Government had never stated what its estimate of expenditure really was. He agreed that the actual expenditure on the new Delhi should be made clear each year and he would consult with the Indian Government as to how this could be most clearly done.

It was impossible for any Viceroy to fix the term which he was bound to stay at Calcutta but it was quite clear that any Viceroy would desire to pay a visit to Calcutta for some period in the cold weather. Regarding the salary of the Governor of Bengal, Lord Crewe pointed out that his allowances were far larger than those of the Governor of Madras. Referring to Lord Curzon's assertion that residence in Delhi was only tolerable for five months in the year, Lord Crewe said that the intention was that the Indian Government should be in Delhi seven months but it was impossible to say if this could be carried out. The Viceroy, however, would spend a longer period every year in Delhi than recent Viceroys had spent in Calcutta.

There was, Lord Crewe continued, now very little criticism of the project in India either by officials or non-officials. He had no doubt that the Viceroy would not agree with Lord Curzon that departure from Calcutta meant departure from the main current of Indian life. Lord Crewe could only speak of Calcutta with the highest admiration and respect but to regard it as representing the main current of Indian life or as the natural capital of India, which was to be replaced by an artificial capital, was a view which he was altogether unable to share.

Referring to the alleged unsuitability of Delhi as a meeting place for the Legislative Council owing to the inability of members to attend there, of which Lord Curzon had given two instances, Lord Crewe said that if this was found to be a permanent result of the transfer to Delhi it would be necessary to consider the holding of special sessions for special business in other more commercial centres. No such proposition, however, had reached him officially. He hoped that the desired result could be achieved by the Commercial Department making progress to three or

four great commercial centres and the reascertaining what was required with a view to passing the necessary legislation when the Council met.

He was afraid that he had not succeeded in altering Lord Curzon's conviction, but he had not heard anything make to him regret his share in the change and he was certain that the Indian Government was equally content with the results so far as it was able to judge them at present. He hoped to lay papers which would throw more light on the subject.

Lord Curzon withdrew his motion, and in so doing stated that Lord Crewe had not convinced him any more than he had satisfied Lord Crewe.

Albania.

London, May, 7.

The Epirote Government has consented to suspend hostilities on the intervention of the International Commission, which will undertake to supervise and guarantee the continuance of concession by the Albanian Government.

London, May, 7.

Report from various sources confirm the news of crucifixions at Kodra. Nails were driven through chests, hands and feet of the victims. Children were found at Hormova, cruelly tortured. Many had had their fingers cut off. It is also asserted that many Albanians at Vrbecko and other places near Leskovitch have been massacred or burned in their houses by Epirotes.

South Africa.

Cape Town, May, 7.

It is understood that General Smuts has promised a deputation of Johannesburg Mussulmans that the Indian Grievances Commission's recommendations generally will be carried out. He also promised to do everything to settle the marriage question satisfactorily. He said that when the Immigration Act came before Parliament for revision Government did not intend to put any hardships in the way of Indians.

Cape Town, May, 12.

Replying to questions in the House of Assembly, General Smuts announced that he intended to introduce legislation on the Indian question this session.

Indian Finance and Currency Commission.

Lahore, May, 7.

The *C. M. Gazette* understands that the Secretary of State is about to address the Government of India on the subject of the Report of the Indian Finance and Currency Commission and pending the Report of this Commission no news on the matter is available. It would appear, however, from the appointment of Mr. William Robinson as Financial Assistant Secretary to the India Office that the Secretary of State has accepted the subsidiary recommendation of the Commission that the Finance Department should be strengthened by the appointment of a second Secretary to whom the work of a purely technical financial character should be allotted. It would appear that the fundamental recommendations of the Commission, including the reconstitution of the Finance Committee of the India Office are undergoing further consideration.

Turkey.

Constantinople, May, 7.

The Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate has introduced into the Senate a resolution permitting the President to increase the regular army above 1,000,000—the statutory limitation.

Eleven Kurds, including Sheikh Shehabeddin, have been hanged at Bitlis in connection with the recent revolt.

Indian Students.

London, May, 9.

A large meeting of Indian students was held at Caxton Hall yesterday and a Resolution was passed, expressing disapproval of the existence and the increasing activities of the Indian Students' Department as a reflection on their character and capacity and as injuries to their interests and demanding its immediate abolition. It was decided to draw up a printed statement of the students' grievances and to form a Standing Committee. Mr. J. M. Mehta, who presided, complained of the ineffectiveness of the efforts of the Department to overcome racial prejudices against the Indians at educational institutions and urged an absolute boycott of the Department and all the agencies concerned with it. As to the new Hospitality Committee they did not want patronage or hospitality while they were denied educational facilities. The department was a minor edition of the Immigration Department of South Africa and its existence implied inferiority of the section of the community it was looking after.

Turkish Mission to Livadia.

London, May, 12.

Particular importance is attached this year to the annual Turkish Mission to Livadia to convey the Sultan's greetings to

the Tsar. The Mission will also proceed to Bukharest. It is stated that the Porte is desirous of obtaining Romanian mediation on the question of Chios and Mitylene. The Mission, headed by the Minister Talaat Bey, was ceremoniously received by the Tsar yesterday evening. At a State banquet, the Tsar drank to the health of the Sultan and the prosperity of the Turkish Empire.

Persia.

London, May, 12.

At question time in the House of Commons, Mr. Pousonby asked whether Great Britain would ask Russia to withdraw her expeditionary force in North Persia in fulfilment of her pledges in order that the Shah might be enthroned as ruler of the country, the sovereignty and integrity of which were not seriously impaired. Mr. Asquith replied that Russia had given assurances regarding her troops, of which recent withdrawals from Tabriz and Kaxvin were practical illustrations. It could hardly be urged that all should be completely and suddenly withdrawn until it was evident that such a course would not be followed by outbreaks in the North, similar to those which had recently occurred in the South.

Ulster.

London, May, 12.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Asquith made a statement regarding the "Suggestion stage" of the Home Rule Bill. He emphasised that the speeches of the Opposition revealed a complete aversion to the principle of Home Rule. He made no complaint on that account. It was perfectly logical and consistent. He intimated that if a settlement by consent was to be reached the only proper course was to introduce an Amending Bill for which Government would make itself responsible. This and the Bill itself would become law together. He trusted that there would be a settlement. He would take the third reading before Whitsun.

Mr. Asquith continued that Government supported none of the amendments to the Disestablishment Bill; consequently there was no advantage in halting the "Suggestion stage." (Opposition uproar) The failure to have the "Suggestion stage" did not detract from the ultimate power of the House (Opposition dissent).

Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that such an encroachment on the liberties of the Opposition would lead in any other country to a violent outburst. The minority's only protection was a sense of fair play. He denounced the Parliament Act as wrecking representative government and did not share the Premier's hope that the Amending Bill would bring peace. It was six months since the first conversations and Government had simply drifted and was drifting still. The crux was between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond alone. The Nationalists would be overjoyed at the passing of the Bill, but the Ulsterites would feel that the position was becoming worse. It was impossible to exaggerate the danger ahead.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Redmond said that the course which Government was taking was the best if a settlement was to be reached; but he objected to the statement of Mr. Asquith that an Amending Bill would be introduced even if finally there was no hope of a peaceful settlement. The Amending Bill should only be introduced to carry out previous agreement; otherwise he would hold himself free to deal with the situation when it arose.

In the House of Commons an amendment refusing to pass a Resolution restricting time for the discussion of the remaining stages of the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills until Government had produced its suggestions for an amendment of these Bills in accordance with the Parliament Act, was rejected by 293 votes to 217.

London, May, 12.

The new phase of the Home Rule situation was opened up by a speech of Mr. Redmond in the House of Commons yesterday evening, disapproving the Amending Bill to the Home Rule Bill unless the previous agreement was secured and holding himself free to deal with the situation when it arose.

Conservative papers consider that Mr. Redmond's threat to government destroys the hope of the settlement. Liberals are of opinion that Government have made a strategic mistake by their declaration on the Amending Bill at the present juncture.

After Mr. Redmond's speech, Sir Edward Carson telegraphed to Belfast:—"Redouble your efforts."

London, May, 12.

Mr. Asquith accepted an Opposition amendment allowing a day for the discussion of the Financial Resolution of the Irish Bill on the ground that the Budget might be regarded as changing the position in this respect. The closure was then carried by 276 to 194.

London, May, 12.

A small steamer evaded destroyers on the north-east coast of Ulster and landed twenty machine-guns, which were conveyed inland in motor cars.

16th May.

Congress Deputation.

London, May 12.

The *Times* says that Lord Crewe yesterday informally received Sir William Wedderburn and Messrs. B. M. Sarnu, M. A. Jinnah, N. M. Sarmarth, Mazar-ul-Haque and S. Sinha, delegates from the Indian National Congress, with regard to Lord Crewe's proposals to amend the constitution of the Council of India.

The Aga Khan's Tour.

London, May 11.

The Aga Khan, who is on the continent, is starting in a few days for a prolonged tour of British and German East Africa, Madagascar and Australia.



Our London Letter.

London, April, 24.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The House of Commons has reassembled after the brief Easter recess, but so far there is no substantial evidence of any improvement in the prospects for peace in the Home Rule campaign. Party feeling naturally is running very high, particularly at question-time, but the speaker is always ready for any emergency and controls the excited legislators remarkably well. There is a long list of questions on the paper every afternoon bearing on the Ulster problem and the recent army crisis, but Mr. Asquith, who now answers for the War Office, has proved too strong for his hecklers. In his characteristic style, full of composure and dignity, he replies laconically and precisely and "honourable members opposite," who had hoped to expose some imaginary "plot" or to disclose some mysterious "scheme" on the part of the Government to "subdue" Ulster, eventually find, much to their disgust and disappointment, that the Prime Minister is after all a "hard nut to crack." The White Paper issued this week, containing further correspondence that had been exchanged between the G. O. C. in Ireland and the War Office as well as that passed between the Naval authorities and the Admiralty, has conclusively proved that the steps that had been taken in Ireland—steps that had not only been honestly misunderstood by the Senior Officers in the Curragh, but deliberately misrepresented to the country by the Opposition—were purely of a precautionary character, as had been repeatedly stated in Parliament by the Ministers. Sir Arthur Pigot himself bears ample testimony to this and the nation has at last been given a splendid opportunity for judging the honesty and the sincerity of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues. The country is now convinced—and those who have been impartially observing the course of recent events had been convinced from the very beginning of this wretched business—that all the Ministerial statements on the floor of the House as well as on the platform have been throughout absolutely consistent with the realities of the situation. The Prime Minister had from the very outset taken the House and the Country in his confidence and had in no mistakable language placed the entire case before them. The Unionist leaders, however, had declined or rather pretended to decline to believe in all such authoritative statements. Now at last one would expect them, if they have an atom of patriotism and sportsmanship still left in them, to accept their defeat and honourably face the situation, created entirely and solely by their own misdeeds.

Both the political parties are for the present very hopeful of coming to a peaceful solution of the Irish problem during the "suggestions" stage of the Home Rule Bill, and it is quite possible and indeed very probable that "conversations" will in the meantime be held between the responsible leaders on the two sides. We have, therefore, for the time being, to await further developments calmly and dispassionately.

DR. BAGEE SHAH.

Dr. Bagee Shah, the elder son of the late Aga Zainulabedin Shah of Bombay, has been appointed House Surgeon at the Miller Hospital. He has had his professional training at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, an institution of world-wide reputation and fame. During his stay in this country, Dr. Bagee Shah has closely identified himself with the Islamic Society and the London section of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology. It is true he has never taken any official part in the management of these institutions, but he has been acting, specially in the Islamic Society, as the "man behind the scenes" and has always placed his services, though informally and in a private capacity, at the disposal of the Society's officials and that too, it must be frankly admitted, ungrudgingly and disinterestedly. It is no doubt this type of men,

whose work and whose services in the sacred cause of Islam cannot but appeal to all those who have the true interests of our great faith at heart, that are to-day needed in the Moslem community. It is this class of private members, whose passion and zeal for earnest work could only be adequately estimated by those in intimate association with them, that really form the very backbone of the Islamic Society. They hate to shine in the limelight of publicity and despise the vanity of self-advertisement. Yet privately and quietly they are daily discharging those noble and sacred duties that have been so emphatically enjoined by the great Prophet upon all true Moslems. Dr. Bagee Shah is to be heartily congratulated on his recent appointment. The Islamic Society, with which he has been so intimately associated for several years, wishes him every success in his future professional career and hopes he will be able to serve the cause of Islam in future as faithfully and as honourably as he has done in the past.

COLONEL AZIZ ALI BEY.

The announcement that Col. Aziz Ali Bey has been pardoned by the Sultan will no doubt be received favourably throughout the Moslem world, particularly in Egypt. The *Times*, in a leading article, takes a modest pride in being chiefly instrumental in securing the Colonel's release. As a matter of fact, it is nothing of the kind. It is true a very widespread agitation had been cunningly started in this country against the trial and subsequent conviction of Col. Aziz Ali Bey, not really in the interest of justice and fair-play, as it has been pretended, but obviously with a view to strain the hitherto cordial relations that have happily existed between Constantinople and Cairo. We were repeatedly told that, considering the enormous Moslem interests of Great Britain, British prestige would necessitate the ultimate interference of England in this affair. It is indeed a paradox, and I am not going to discuss it again at length beyond just drawing the attention of your readers to the fact that British prestige, so we are given to understand, is said to suffer if a Moslem subject of the Caliph is going to be tried in accordance with the laws of the country. There was not even a shadow of doubt as to the efficiency and impartiality of the Court-martial which had been appointed to try the Egyptian Colonel. Aziz Ali Bey could get as much justice in Constantinople as any British subject can ever hope to get in a British Court. He was found guilty on some of the most serious charges that a military officer could ever be accused of. He was sentenced according to law and now has been finally pardoned by his Imperial Master. The incident, as far as Turkey and Egypt are concerned, is definitely closed and the matter is at an end.

The *Times* and some other organs of the British Press have attributed Aziz Ali Bey's arrest and trial to Enver Pasha's "jealousy." That accusation puts the whole case in a nutshell. The plain fact, however, is that those who are to-day accusing Enver Pasha of jealousy towards Aziz Ali Bey are themselves keenly jealous of the great Turkish hero. Enver Pasha is an old comrade-at-arms of the Egyptian Colonel and has indeed throughout the proceedings actually shown some partiality in Aziz Ali Bey's favour for the sake of "old friendship." We have fortunately the Colonel's own statement on record to that effect and that is sufficient to expose the falsity of the cruel insinuations that have been made against Enver Pasha in certain newspapers in England.

The *Daily Telegraph*, however, true to its traditional fairness to Turkey, is an honourable exception and its able correspondent at Constantinople attributes Aziz Ali Bey's pardon to the wisdom, sense of justice and statesmanship of the Cabinet and not in any way due to external influence, as has been suggested by its other less sincere contemporaries. The *Times* seems to be particularly astonished at the "extraordinary" fact that Aziz Ali Bey has received the Imperial pardon, after having been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and hastens to claim it as a victory gained through its own influence. A man actually found guilty and then pardoned! That, of course, would be nothing extraordinary, had it happened elsewhere. It is a matter of common practice elsewhere for prisoners to receive the Royal clemency, after they have been found guilty and sentenced in a court of law. But the moment a similar incident occurs in Turkey, these "good" and "honest" men immediately begin to suspect and doubt. They at once produce various kinds of fables to show that some "powerful factor" has been behind it all.

They may now similarly rejoice over Aziz Ali Bey's pardon and pose as his protectors, but those who are well-versed in modern Ottoman diplomacy know only too well how absurd and how utterly ridiculous such an attitude would be. The fact remains that Colonel Aziz Ali Bey has been finally pardoned and that the Imperial clemency has been exercised solely and entirely on the initiative of the Sultan's own advisers. British influence and British interference had never been, and indeed could never be, entertained in this purely domestic Turkish affair, and there the matter ends.

TETE À TETE



Of course, the man who called Englishmen *tartufes* (or is it *Tartuffes*?) was an unspeakably wicked person, and had he lived in these spacious days of Sections 124 A and 153 A, I.P.C. and the Press Act, our alert and wideawake Local Governments would have seen to it that the impudent wretch got transportation for life and had the Press which had the insolence to publish this wicked libel confiscated together with the security of ten thousand rupees. This for a preface. Now let us get to business. Is there a single Anglo-Indian newspaper that has not almost every day accused Indians of recklessness, and sometimes even maliciously, criticising a long-suffering Government and its officials? Have not charges of using unparliamentary strong language likely to bring Government into contempt been levelled against Indian "hot-heads"? From these expressions of horror one would imagine that the English were a race of men with angelic tempers, and even a slight rhetorical exaggeration in criticising their political opponents was as little known to this noble breed as falsehood or "the saying of that which was not" to that other noble breed of Houyhnhnms of Dean Swift's creation. Nevertheless, occasionally there floats over the Indian breeze the distant and dull rumour of the use of strong language and even fisticuffs in "the Mother of Parliaments" where top-hatted and frock-coated humanity assembles to teach political amenities to a world of sable hue. An Englishman has neither the excuse of natural temperament nor of climate to be a Hotspur, which the Indian has, but whenever a question on which opinion is really divided comes up for discussion in Parliament the spectacle of these cold-blooded gentlemen, living far beyond the heat-belt which gives to people living in it a perpetual inferiority, quarrelling with each other in a manner that would shame an Indian schoolboys' debating society. Who does not remember the hoarse eagle's cry (we shall not say the screech-owl's) of "Vide!" "Vide!" that was raised by the Hon. Member for that nursery of good manners, the University of Oxford, and echoed by the whole party of aristocrats, which made it impossible for the House of Commons to hear the Prime Minister? Who can forget the scene when the blue-bloods called the Liberals "rats" as they marched out of the House and were in return reminded of the fact that they prided themselves on being "the gentlemen of England"? If we do not mistake, some one threw a book at Mr. Winston Churchill on one of these occasions. During the recent Ulster debates linguistic temperature was fairly high and shouts of "It's a lie!", "It's a damned lie!" and accusations of this nature were fairly frequent. Mr. Austin Chamberlain openly characterised the resignation of Col. Seely and its non-acceptance by Mr. Asquith as "a put up job". This is what the English Opposition thought of the English Ministers. Unable to censure the Government in the Commons, the Tories wreaked their revenge in mail week on the Earl of Lincolnshire, President of the National Liberal Club, for the resolution which that Club passed last March on the Tory attempt to seduce the Army from its loyalty to the Sovereign, which we may venture to remind them is "the King in Parliament." Even Lord Middleton, whose controversy with Lord Curzon taught some important lessons in discipline to Indians, made his existence felt and characterised the noble but offending Earl as an aristocrat by nature and a Tribune by legislation. We wonder what he would say if, after the President of a Provincial Council had for the hundredth time assured the members of his sympathy with the ideals of the Progressives, some Indian member got up and called him a "Sundried bureaucrat" by nature and a "Labour Member" by calculation? Only last year the Hon. the Home Member had indignantly protested when the Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavaiah had accused him of political "sleight of hand" and performing "tricks," and was not satisfied till "tricks" was withdrawn, though "sleight of hand"

was permitted to pass. Who can imagine an Indian Council in which Mr. Gokhale would be found accusing the Viceroy of "put up jobs," or Mr. Bannerjee would be leading the chorus of "Vide!" "Vide!" when His Excellency had risen to make an official pronouncement? Let officialdom thank its stars that the pupil is not as apt as it could be.

We offer no apology for reproducing from the *New Witness*, the non-party organ of "Clean Government" the following description of the motives and character of each of the two great Political Parties in England according to the other, and that journal's description of the motives characteristic of both as discovered during the present Army Crisis in Ulster. Referring to "the minor history of the grotesque proceedings which led up to the Curragh incident," the *New Witness* says:—

"It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the working of the Party System than is conveyed in this disastrous and ludicrous story. In order to illustrate our meaning let us take first the Ministerial version of the affair. It runs more or less as follows:—

A number of ardent democrats, raised to power by the direct will and mandate of the populace, and having no thought in their minds save the rescue of the oppressed from all forms of tyranny, resolved to do justice to the people of Ireland. They find their good intentions frustrated by a treasonable conspiracy engineered by a very wicked man called Edward Carson. For a time their delicate humanity urges them to spare the wretched fellow and his unfortunate dupes. At last, however, the matter goes too far, and these men, as brave in battle as they are generous in victory, decide on resolute action. But the infamous Carson has meanwhile entered into an intrigue with a number of haughty aristocratic officers who, hating Liberty and Democracy, refuse to carry out the orders of the People. The Government therefore, appeals to the nation to save itself from military tyranny by rallying to the support of its chosen champions.

"That is one story. Now for the other.

A gang of low-born and low-minded ruffians having obtained power by appealing to gratify the passions of the multitude, wish to gratify the hate and envy felt by the horrible Papists of Ireland towards our nobler race. This they propose to do by handing over to the rack and the stake the loyal Protestant people of "Ulster." These brave fellows rightly resolve to resist and their martial valour instantly strikes terror into the hearts of the conspirators. They see that there is nothing for it but to massacre the whole population of "Ulster" forthwith. This they resolve to do, but their plans are thwarted by the noble British soldier, who declares that he will have no part in the work of blood. The Government retires baffled, and the nation is called upon to exorcise its abortive atrocities and to applaud the noble refusal of the Army to serve it.

"One sees at once how thrilling are both these narratives, how well they fit in with each other, how excellently both are adapted to electioneering purposes, and how absorbing must be the controversy as to which is the true version of the affair. In the excitement of such a controversy (? who) would not forget the paltry matter of having 4d. a week docked from his wages or being fleeced by Government contractors who have let Ministers into a good thing on the ground floor?

"And now, for a change, let us talk about the truth.

A small team of professional politicians, co-opted by other professional politicians and financed by very wealthy men who expect some return for their money, in receipt of large salaries out of the taxes and utterly indifferent to everything but the retention of those salaries, is in considerable distress. These gentlemen are in distress firstly, because they have been paid by the great employers to pass a law for the regimentation of their workpeople which has met with an unexpected measure of resistance, and, secondly, because some of them have been caught taking a secret commission from a Government Contractor and consequently lying about it. The other team of professional politicians, not yet in receipt of salaries, would doubtless like to have its turn at them, but it does not want to fight on either of these issues because in the first case it is paid by the same great employers who ordered the aforesaid unpopular bill from the other team and in the second case because it is known that when once public curiosity as to the proceeding begins it is impossible to say where it will end. Both teams have, therefore, a common interest in diverting public attention from these questions to some other topic. The obvious other topic is Ireland. The two veracious narratives set out above are therefore, devised and the necessary evidence manufactured to support them. In this they derive great assistance from a lawyer belonging to the "Opposition," who had done a good deal professionally to help the members of the "Ministerial" team out of their secret commission difficulty.

"That is the real story. Can either team fight an election on that? Certainly not. Then let it be suppressed."

We cannot say that we altogether agree with the *New Witness's* description of British politicians; but who can say that our contemporary has in the least exaggerated what one party is saying of the other? And yet we hear that an English tutor of an Indian College not ten thousand miles away from Delhi says he will not shake hands with a member of the Board of his employers because the latter has expressed strong disapproval of the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in relation to Turkey and other Moslem states and kingdoms, although the learned professor does not assert that the peccant journalist ever denied to these English Ministers and their more masterful colleague, Mr. Lloyd

George, the title of gentleman. In fact, he is prepared to swear before any number of Justices of the Peace that he does not believe the Lord Chief Justice of England and a former Under Secretary of State for India, or, for the matter of that, two former Under-Secretaries, to be low dishonest swindlers. It is quite possible that the peccant journalist is a Radical, and, like all who have undergone even for a year the sundrying process of the Indian sun, the learned Professor is by now a high-born, well-bred, pleasant-mannered Tory!

In a recent issue of *Punch* its well-known "Charivaria" columns contain the following:—"Oil has been discovered in Somaliland, and it is rumoured that the Government is at last about to realise that its obligations to our friends demand a forward move against the Mullah." We have been noting for sometime the tremendous decline in humour in our jovial contemporary, but that it should have come to this! Does *Punch* really hope to raise a laugh out of the merest commonplaces of the East? Try another, my friend!

We do not know what purpose is served by Reuter's cabling to India news of accidents involving injuries or loss of life. The latest is not a railway but a tramway collision on Blackfriars Bridge in which fourteen persons received severe injuries requiring attending to in a hospital, besides many others who received minor injuries. But even if such news must be imported into India, what about the export of similar news to England to establish the balance of trade in such news? If tram cars in the English metropolis deserve such publicity, what have the tram cars in our Indian Metropolis done to deserve such neglect? If we had had anything to do with the Delhi Tramways Company we would have knocked down Reuter's man here the first time we met him in a lonely lane, or, better still, we would have invited him to take a ride in one of the Company's tram cars at "owner's risk" rates.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has dismissed the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold against the judgment of Sir Charles Fox, Chief Judge of the Burmah Chief Court, who had sentenced Mr. Arnold to a year's simple imprisonment on the ground that he had libelled Mr. Andrew, the District Magistrate, over his action in the McCormick case. Our readers would no doubt still remember the case since we had drawn the attention of Government to Mr. Arnold's very serious allegations against Mr. Andrew, and had also published for some time the verbatim report of the proceedings in the Magistrate's Court in the libel case. Although in doing our duty the first consideration with us is not whether it is "safe" to do so, we may take it that even in India it is quite safe to approve of the views of an English Tory newspaper, and whether we would have otherwise hesitated to say the same thing or not, we can have no hesitation now in echoing the words of the *Spectator* that "Mr. Arnold is a man of conscience and courage, who believed he was standing up for the injured and the oppressed. Therefore, even if he blundered and even if he deserved punishment he also deserves our sympathy. The trade of a journalist would be a very ignoble one if it were not for the spirit which inspired Mr. Arnold." We may frankly state—and we have stated it repeatedly when journals like the *Times* have contravened against this view quite recently—that we dislike equally with the *Spectator* the notion of "re-trial by newspaper." But in order to appraise the value of the judgment delivered by Lord Shaw it is only right and just that we should have regard to the circumstances of the case and not content ourselves merely with the decision that their Lordships of the Privy Council "will humbly advise His Majesty that the Appeal be dismissed."

In fairness to Mr. Arnold we reproduce the letter of the junior counsel for him to the *Spectator* and part of the letter to the *Nation*. Mr. David Alec Wilson writing to the *Spectator* says:—"Your readers will see in Wednesday's *Times* the 'Privy Council judgment, which is what is called in the East the 'last guess' of English Courts of Justice, in the Arnold case. There is little in it so good as the true English declaration that 'no privilege or protection attaches to the public acts of a Judge which exempts him, in regard to them, from free and adverse comment'. Their Lordships may be assured that, for a century or longer, the

"judgement in this case will be subjected to free and adverse comment in Asia. But here I will only mention the logical blunder which vitiate its argument, and which it was my duty to rise and mention when it was delivered. Their Lordships say that 'all the libels, in so far as they were assertions of fact, were admitted to be false.' What I had to remind their Lordships of was that neither 'Sir Robert Finlay nor myself made any such admission, but only 'did not allege the truth.' This correction was accepted, and it makes 'printer's pie' of their argument. The reason why we relied on 'good faith' only, and did not undertake to allege the entire truth, was 'that the evidence to prove the truth of the libels was not on record. It had been excluded by Sir Charles Fox in the Lower Court, and 'he had declined to allow argument about it. Moreover, under the 'Indian Penal Code, 'good faith' was a sufficient defence." He supplements this information in a letter to the *Nation* in which he states:—"Mr. Arnold was not allowed to give evidence on his own behalf. He might answer questions put by the Court. If a man 'accused makes an additional statement in Burma, the law does not require it to be recorded, and it seldom is. Thus, in the Court 'of the magistrate, Mr. Cooke, who committed Mr. Arnold for trial, 'Mr. Arnold, in addition to answering questions, made a long statement, which duly appeared in the newspaper reports; but not a 'word of it was, or by law was required to be, recorded by Mr. Cooke, 'or considered by their Lordships." As regards the facts of the case itself, Mr. Arnold's conduct and the judgment and their effect in India, he writes to the *Spectator* as follows:—"The accepted facts, 'on which their Lordships concur with Sir Charles Fox, are that in '1911 Mr. McCormick, a rubber-plantation-starter in Mergui district, 'took to his house a little Mohamedan girl of about eleven, called 'Aina, and detained her till July. 'He admitted,' said Sir Charles 'Fox, 'he had examined the child . . . a thing no man with a 'proper sense of decency should have done. . . . His treatment 'of the mother herself when she went and asked for the child and 'of the relations . . . also was inexcusable.' The child's father 'sent for her in vain, and died without seeing her again. Mr. Buchanan, 'the Sub-divisional Magistrate, issued a warrant for abduction, and 'recorded an opinion that Mr. McCormick should be committed for 'trial for abduction and rape. Their Lordships express confidence 'in the good faith of Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Andrew, the District 'Magistrate, admitted being on friendly terms with Mr. McCormick, 'and refused to commit him for trial, giving as his finding that 'Mr. McCormick's motives had been 'pure and philanthropic.' 'Their Lordships say they do not agree with that opinion, and 'indeed, that is fortunate. It is an insult to common-sense and 'resented accordingly. An indignant European wrote to Mr. Arnold, 'an editor in Rangoon, and after long delay, and when he found 'no further inquiry could be obtained, Mr. Arnold denounced the 'conduct of Mr. Andrew as a 'mockery of British justice.' He used 'strong language which Sir Charles Fox's ruling as to evidence 'prevented his counsel justifying; and, indeed, it is a pity he went 'beyond the notorious facts not now disputed, for they are sufficiently 'scandalous. But even if he did wrong, which I cannot admit, 'his punishment has been out of all proportion to his offence. The 'parity of his motives has never been questioned. If his conduct 'be regarded fairly all round, he has rendered the greatest possible 'service to the Empire by showing to the Asiatics an English gentleman sacrificing himself and going to gaol in his zeal for justice to 'a little Mohamedan girl he had never seen. Asiatics can appreciate 'this even better than we. They believe in family life more than we 'do. The Mohamedans thereabouts in particular are zealous puritans, 'to whom European sexual laxity, such as they see it there, is an 'abomination. If this case does not drive them into sedition, it 'will be in spite of our Courts, and because the martyr for justice 'is an Englishman. What more than any other detail in this case 'has infuriated the Asiatics is Sir Charles Fox's statement that, 'by taking and keeping away a girl as Mr. McCormick did, a man 'commits no offence unless the woman from whose immediate custody 'he takes the child can be brought forward to say she did not give 'consent. This seems little less than, what the Judge certainly never 'intended, free licence to the most shameful traffic in children, a 'crying evil in Burma. If the Judge's law is right—and their 'Lordships do not repudiate it—then there must be legislation at 'once, or we shall lose the loyalty of every clean-minded Mohamedan 'and Burman in Asia. Already we have strained them very sore."

In the course of his letter to the *Nation* Mr. Wilson makes the following appeal to Government and to journalists, and we hope it will not go in vain. He writes: "Instead of holding a 'fresh enquiry, as they should have done, 'the local authorities wreaked their wrath 'on Mr. Arnold, at the public expense. All the money spent against 'him in the criminal proceedings just ended, and all the money being

"spent in the civil suit still pending, come out of the public purse. 'If only the executive authorities knew what the people are saying about them, they would know that the waste of money is a small part of the mischief they are doing; and it is all futile. They cannot paint mud.' I appeal to all the honest journalists and editors in the Empire to stand by Mr. Arnold, and demand that the civil case stop at once, and that a payment of costs in the criminal case be made to him. The punishment he has already suffered cannot be justified. If his fellow-journalists fail to help him, then they will deserve to be called—

"A servile race by folly cursed,

"Who truckle most when treated worst."

We offer our humble but emphatic support to this appeal, and we trust Government would not deny a brave and honest Englishman, whose Imperialism is a thing we can all understand and appreciate, such an act of grace.

LORD CURZON'S recurring assaults on New Delhi seem to have grown a regular item of his Lordship's parliamentary programme. No one, of course, would grudge him the luxury of these performances if they serve to keep his interest in Indian affairs alive. Ex-proconsuls of his super-sensitive temperament can hardly bear the agony of a least suggestion that they are beginning to be forgotten. It is only natural, therefore, that they should clutch at every opportunity to remind the world that they existed, that they knew a thing or two and that but for their presence things might be infinitely worse. Lord Curzon's periodical deliverances against New Delhi reveal the ex-viceroy in a strange and wonderful light. His excessive concern about the "cost" is supremely amusing. He believes it would run up to fifteen or sixteen millions sterling. He thinks it is utterly unjustifiable and the revenues of the Indian taxpayers would be wasted. It should do one's heart a world of good to hear from Lord Curzon a plea on behalf of the Indian taxpayer and his burdens. We may assure his lordship that he is in no danger of being forgotten in this country. India remembers him only too well and cannot for a long time forget that some of the acts and measures of his régime were not exactly conceived in sympathy with the interests of the Indian taxpayer. He held his Durbar at Delhi—perhaps the only place suitable then for that "ritual of the State"—and the pomp and circumstance, with which he surrounded himself, and the display of barbaric wealth and the cloth of gold did cost some little trifle to the Indian revenues. His twelve Labours of Hercules had to be paid for generously, and his "missions" were no beggarly enterprises doomed to starvation at their birth. His elaborately-planned excursion into Tibet and his somewhat inglorious promenade in the Persian Gulf had their bills. The wheels of the administration were ceaselessly oiled and new and costly wheels were created within wheels. The great ex-viceroy had a sneaking wish to play the Grand Mogul, and the traces of his extravagant freaks still testify to his aching desire to crystallise his "Imperial Idea" in some abiding symbol. The Victoria Memorial Hall has yet to be completed and may it grow to be a worthy monument of a great epoch! Lord Curzon did not grudge the cost when he set to conceive, like Titan, a memorial to be associated with his rule.

All these acts and measures cost the taxpayer to the tune of some millions sterling. This expenditure, we may be told, was justified in the interests of internal security and administrative efficiency. Exactly so. Cannot the change of capital to Delhi be justified precisely on this score?

LORD CURZON, however, thinks otherwise and condemns the transfer on higher grounds of policy. He does not think that the Government would be able to govern more sympathetically and effectively from Delhi. In his opinion, an official capital is being created on an artificial and arbitrary site, "which might have a mechanical existence but 'never real vitality unless it represented the needs of Government and 'the real interest of the people.' He did not doubt that "the 'general opinion in India was steadily hardening against this 'policy, while commercial India was seriously questioning the advisability of thus expending all these millions when so much was wanted 'for social and commercial progress.' For a sympathetic and effective government what is really wanted is not so much a particular locality as a particular type of rulers. We are familiar with the Calcutta argument about the Government of India thus shutting themselves away from the main currents of enlightened and progressive opinion. We would, however, like to know what this "enlightened and progressive opinion" in sober fact, amounts to. No one can seriously be asked to believe that the Government in its pre-Delhi days was an obedient instrument of the independent Bengali Press, or that it readily danced to the tunes of public demonstrations in the streets of Calcutta. The noise and tumult of the place might have occasionally got on its nerves and led it to convulsive action here and

there. Delhi is at a safe distance from partisan clamour and the Government can, if it so desires, ascertain the direction of Indian public opinion without the least difficulty from this central and detached position. What is really meant by the currents of "enlightened and progressive opinion" are the views and opinions of the European commercial interests in Calcutta. They have lost their close touch with the Government of India and are afraid lest they might lose their old influence over Government policy. They are powerful; some of the most resourceful Anglo-Indian papers in Calcutta are on their back; they have influential friends amongst the Conservative party in England; and the amount of noise and agitation they have been able to create in consequence is out of all proportion to their importance and deserts. Does the Government of India virtually exist that a few prosperous and fat business concerns in Calcutta may grow fatter and more prosperous? Is public money to be poured on construction of new railways and rolling-stock with the sole object that the Calcutta company-promotor and his shareholders may earn huge dividends? Has every policy and measure of Government, which is responsible for the progress and welfare of 810 millions of mere Indians, to submit itself to the *jattas* of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce? It is such ludicrous doctrines as these that Lord Curzon has been got to advocate in the House of Lords. The bathos of it all becomes all the more glaring when the orator is driven to reinforce his arguments by a solemn reference to the needs of education and sanitation and social progress in India. The *Statesman's* passion for the growth of primary education and sanitation in India is well-known. Its attitude towards Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill has not yet passed out of the memories of the people. Its treatment of all non-official demands in the Legislative Councils for larger allotments for sanitary reform has been violently sarcastic. And yet, when the tirade against New Delhi has to be penned, even the *Statesman* is forced to indite as follows:—"It 'would, we suspect, be highly instructive to the Secretary of State if 'he spent a leisure hour in calculating how many of the millions of 'children in India now doomed to be illiterate could have received 'a sound primary education if only twelve millions sterling were 'available for the purpose, how many waterless villages could be supplied 'with tanks for a like sum, or how many of the sick and ailing could 'have been provided with medical relief." This sudden access of enthusiasm for primary education, village tanks and medical relief in quarters where such absurd and impossible propositions could not be seriously entertained a short time ago, is little short of the miraculous. Lord Hardinge's desertion of Calcutta is having portentous effects. The heresies of yesterday are becoming the articles of a new and liberal creed to-day, and we wish he could devise more *coups* as sudden and startling as this one about the change of capital, if only to bring more heretics to the racks of the faithful and thus accelerate the pace of true "social progress" in India.

WORKS of varying degrees of merit on India and Egypt have grown to be a distinct feature of the publishing season in England. They furnish in a sense a measure of the interest that the British democracy has begun to take in Indian and Egyptian affairs. Most of these works are not of any abiding value. They are frankly partisan in their views, or record the fleeting impressions of cold-weather tourists who visit these countries to satisfy their craving for the novel and the picturesque. Works of real merit with deep insight and breadth of view are rare. Unless men with abundant imagination and sympathy apply themselves to the study of the Indian and Egyptian problems and state their conclusions with frankness and ability, the British democracy will have but an imperfect idea of its responsibilities towards the races that are under the British tutelage at the present time. The ephemeral mass of literature on the subjects only serves to increase its dislike for outlandish topics; and it is content to leave the conduct of affairs in these countries to the discretion and judgment of that infallible instrument of government, "the man on the spot." Mr. Sidney Low's new book, *Egypt in Transition*, which has just been published, appears to have been out of the common run. Mr. Low has made an extensive study of public affairs in England and abroad; he is a man of discernment and considerable literary skill. We have not yet seen the book, but according to the various press notices it is considered to be a work of exceptional merit and a valuable contribution to the study of Egyptian problems. Lord Cromer in his Introduction to the volume says that it is a lively and very trustworthy account of the present condition of affairs in the Valley of the Nile. Mr. Low deals with the development of the Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian rule and with the present condition of things in Egypt. His observations and conclusions in regard to the latter are stated to be somewhat as follows. He is proud of the work of his countrymen. Egypt is still burdened by old debts, and the removal of the fetters of the Capitulations, urgently needed as it is, seems as far off as ever. The people are much more advanced than in the Sudan. A Mohammedan race never likes to be governed by a

Christian Power. He speaks of Egyptian Nationalism without sympathy, he nevertheless accepts the programme of training Egypt for self-government; but he contends that it will take long time to carry out. He rejects the establishment of a Protectorate as "an act of bad faith and a gratuitous insult to our Mohamedan fellow-subjects throughout the Empire." He notes the immense material progress achieved by irrigation and the general financial prosperity. Female education is becoming popular. He speaks in high terms of Lord Kitchener, and of his two chief measures, the Five Feddan Law and the new Constitution. On the other hand, he is impressed with a remarkable increase of serious crime, a large part of which goes unpunished. He thinks that it is in some ways a rather thankless task that confronts England in Egypt. "We are not popular in Egypt. Feared we may be by some; respected by many others; but 'really liked by very few. It has been a difficult experiment, which 'seemed foredoomed to failure; it is creditable to many Englishmen 'and some Egyptians that it has been, on the whole, a success." Mr. Low's observations and conclusions are not very original, nor do some of them accord with more independent testimony. His aversion to Egyptian Nationalism reveals his angle of vision, which is almost identical with that of the Tory Imperialism. How far a writer, who is unable to appreciate the most hopeful sign of a country's vitality, can give us a true insight into its affairs we need not pause to judge. Lord Kitchener seems to have created a host of his admirers and Mr. Low burns incense at his feet after the prevailing fashion. But the "Constitution" that the modern "Pharaoh" has been pleased to confer on Egypt is, according to some independent English observers, not much better than a farce.

Reuter had informed us some days ago about the "discovery" of some remarkable documents containing variants on the text of the Koran which were to be published by the University Press of Cambridge. The entire Muslim World must be on the tiptoe of expectation and waiting with consuming anxiety for the great "discovery" to see the light of day. In the meantime they may console themselves with the following account published by the *Times* in its issue of the 25th April:—"In a few weeks the University Press of Cambridge will publish some remarkable documents belonging probably to the beginning of the 8th century, or to the end of the 7th, containing variants on the text of the Koran; they are contained in a palimpsest MS. purchased by Dr. Agnes Lewis in 1895, in which the upper or later writing consists of extracts from the early Christian Fathers. The handwriting of this book has been pronounced by the experts of the British Museum to belong to the end of the 9th century. The text of the *Proterangelium Jacobi* and the *Transitus Mariæ* in Syriac underlies the greater part of it. This was published by Mrs. Lewis in 1902, as No. XI. of the series entitled *Studia Sinaitica*. In her introduction she gave an account of five quires—i.e., 23 leaves, whose under-script is undoubtedly portions of the Koran, resembling the script of Plate LIX. in the Palæographical Society's Oriental Series. Mrs. Lewis thought that they were parts of two MSS., one of which she named Koran I.; the other, Koran II. She contented herself with copying four lines from every page, the top and the bottom ones, and two in the middle, which were generally free of the upper writing. She thought, not unnaturally, that as it is said, 'there are no variants in the Koran'; and as the remaining 17 or 18 lines on each page were only appearing dimly through the closely-written Arabic of the Christian script above them, she judged that nothing she could gain from them would repay her for the strain on her eyes while deciphering so difficult a text. So the MS. lay in the owner's library, until last November Dr. Alphonse Mingana, for 13 years Professor of Semitic Languages in the Syro-Chaldean Seminary at Mosul, began to read No. XI. *Studia Sinaitica*. He saw at a glance from the number of *sic*s which adorn the margin of the Quranic pages that the undeciphered lines might be well worthy of his attention. The *sic*s referred, with one exception, merely to the archaic spelling of single words: but Dr. Mingana's laborious decipherment of the text has had surprising results. He has established beyond doubt that these leaves are from three sources or more: some of them written before the Mahomet's amanensis, Zaid Ibn Thabit, compiled the *textus Receptus* of the Koran, after the Prophet's death (A. D. 632), and before the Caliph Othman ordered the destruction of all earlier copies or fragments of the sacred book of Islam (A. D. 652). The 35 pages which Dr. Mingana has deciphered show at least the omission of four interpolations, most of them being decided improvements on Zaid's text. For instance, Sura 17 begins "When we knelt" (not "When we blessed") "round the Harâm." A hope has been raised that we may yet see a lamentable gap filled up in the history of one of the world's most famous books; and that the beginning of a kind of criticism has been made which will bring us nearer to the real thoughts of the great Arabian Prophet."

The Comrade.

The Privy Council and Indian Criminal Appeals.

LUCKILY or unluckily not all of us are lawyers, and to many in India it will come with a shock of surprise that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a Court of Criminal Appeal for India. And so long as there is no separation of the Judiciary and the Executive, so long as the Judges of the Chief Courts are appointed by the Executive, so long as all High Courts except one are under the Local Governments and so long as even that one exception, the High Court of Calcutta, is under the Home Department of the Government of India, the re-affirmation of Lord Shaw in the Arnold Case judgment, that the Privy Council is not a court to which those dissatisfied with the judgments of Indian courts in criminal cases can appeal, would cause no end of apprehensions.

Lord Shaw quotes the words of Lord Kingsdown in the case of *The Falkland Islands Company v. The Queen* (1 Moore N. S. 312) that: "It may be assumed that the Queen has authority by virtue of Her Prerogative to review the decisions of all colonial courts, whether the proceedings be of a civil or criminal character, unless Her Majesty has parted with such authority. But the inconvenience of entertaining such appeals in cases of a strictly criminal nature is so great, the obstruction which it would offer to the administration of justice in the colonies is so obvious, that it is very rarely that applications to this Board similar to the present have been attended with success."

Again, after citing the words of Lord Watson in *re Dillet* (12 A. C. 459) to which the counsel for the appellant had referred, his Lordship said: "If they are to be interpreted in the sense that wherever there has been a misdirection in any criminal case, leaving it uncertain whether that misdirection did or did not affect the jury's mind, then in such cases a miscarriage of justice could be affirmed or assumed, then the result would be to convert the Judicial Committee into a Court of Criminal Review for the Indian and Colonial Empire. Their Lordships are clearly of opinion that no such proposition is sound. This Committee is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. It may in general be stated that its practice is to the following effect: 'It is not guided by its own doubts of the appellant's innocence or suspicion of his guilt. It will not interfere with the course of criminal law unless there has been such an interference with the elementary rights of an accused as has placed him outside the pale of regular law, or, within that pale, there has been a violation of the natural principles of justice so demonstratively manifest as to convince their Lordships first, that the result arrived at was opposite to the result which their Lordships would themselves have reached, and secondly, that the same opposite result would have been reached by the local tribunal also if the alleged defect or misdirection had been avoided.'"

Referring to another case, *Lanier v. The King* (L. R. 1914 A. C. 221), Lord Shaw goes on to say: "It was pointed out that the interference was not on any matter of form, but because of matters lying at the very foundation of justice (the Judge had been a Judge in his own cause), justice had 'gravely and injuriously miscarried' *Lanier stands as a fair type of almost the only case in which the Board would advise the interposition of His Majesty the King with the course of criminal justice in the colonies or dependencies. That extreme case is this, that it must be established demonstratively that justice itself in its very foundations has been subverted, and that it is therefore a matter of general imperial concern that by way of an appeal to the King it be then restored to its rightful position in that part of the Empire.*"

We have very carefully read these passages of Lord Shaw's judgment over and over again, and compared them with the passage from Lord Kingsdown's judgment cited by his Lordship, and we humbly submit that his Lordship has distinctly narrowed down the grounds on which alone he would accept a criminal appeal from the colonies and the dependencies. Compare again the words of Lord Shaw with those of Lord Watson in *re Dillet*. Lord Watson observed that "the rule has been repeatedly laid down and has been invariably followed that Her Majesty will not review or interfere with the course of criminal proceedings unless it is shown that by a disregard of the forms of legal process or by some violation of the principles of natural justice or otherwise substantial and grave injustice has been done." Do these words convey the same meaning as Lord Shaw's interpretation of them? Before interfering His Lordship would almost invariably require the trying Judge to act as shamelessly as the Judge did in *Lanier's* case when "he . . . was a

"member of the family council which instigated the proceedings and 'himself was a party to appointing two barristers to conduct the 'prosecution and arranged about their fee,' and, as the report states, 'the Council for the Crown very properly admitted that he could 'not contend that any jury upon the evidence submitted would have 'convicted the appellant of crime.' If Lanier's, then, is 'a fair 'type of almost the only case' in which the Privy Council would interfere, we must clearly understand that for almost all those who honestly and with good reason believe that injustice has been done to them the highest Court of Appeal, even in a case in which the Local Government is directly concerned as a party, would in several Provinces be a Court of which the Judges are appointed by the same Local Government.

But we submit that in the "extreme case" when "*Justice is 'in its very foundations has been subverted,' and 'it is there- 'fore a matter of general Imperial concern that . . . it be 'then restored to its rightful position in that part of the Empire'*", surely it is the duty of His Majesty's servants to draw His Majesty's attention to such a grave situation *suo motu* instead of waiting for the appeal of one of His Majesty's subjects who may be too poor or too much afraid to present it. Criminal justice is in its origin nothing but private revenge; but in all civilized states it has now become necessary for the vindication of the might and dignity of the State itself. This the basis of the distinction between cognisable and non-cognisable, compoundable and non-compoundable cases. If the Police can take cognisance of certain cases without a complaint from the party aggrieved, and the Magistrate and Judge can proceed to deal with the accused in spite of his having been forgiven by the aggrieved party, so that the dignity and puissance of the State be vindicated, is it right to wait for a criminal appeal from a person unjustly accused and unjustly punished in India by a Judge "who had been a Judge in his own cause" before justice, itself subverted in its very foundations, could be restored by His Majesty to its rightful position in that part of the Empire, or, in the words of Lord Morley in "their Lordships' only Empire?" We trust the matter will not be left here, but will be taken up by the political bodies of India and by all those who are interested in the maintenance of justice which is the bedrock of the British Empire in this country.

Taking the very extreme case mentioned by Lord Shaw in his judgment, let us examine whether there may not arise circumstances in India very analogous to the case of the judge being a judge in his own cause. "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is no doubt a counsel of perfection; but the altruism on which it is based is universally accepted as an ideal. Such altruism is more difficult or less according as the love of one's neighbour coincides or conflicts with the love of oneself. For instance, if our neighbour also claims some land that we claim as ours, it is not easy to accept our neighbour's claim as just on the ground that we should love him as we love ourselves. On the other hand, if a third person also claims some land which our neighbour claims as his, and we fear that this third person may subsequently also lay claim to some land that we regard as ours, then the counsel of perfection comes well within the pale of "practical politics", and we can easily love our neighbour as ourselves. To come to closer grips with reality. Is it or is it not a fact that there is a strong *esprit de corps* among Anglo-Indians which generally gives them a strong bias in favour of Anglo-Indians? In spite of the Hon. Sir Harry Stephen's opinion, Sir John Rees apparently believes that Bengalee juries have such a rooted racial prejudice that they are "unwilling to convict Bengalis of so called political crimes," and we do not see why a Bengalee may not say the same thing of Anglo-Indians in cases in which the parties are Indian and Anglo-Indian. We know that many members of the Indian Civil Service accuse Sir Henry Cotton of being a renegade simply because he honestly criticises some of the inevitable failings of the Service. In the Cawnpore Mosque case, to many Anglo-Indians and Indian Civilian the case of Messrs. Tyler and Sim was their own case. In this very case, already "An Official" has become indignant at the sympathy of the *Spectator* for Mr. Arnold though it is qualified by the assertion that Mr. Arnold has got what he deserved. He writes to that journal:—"What Mr. Arnold did was to accuse a public official of disgraceful 'conduct without sufficient reason to believe that the accusation 'was true and with some reason to believe that the accusation was 'false. All the Courts have held that the refusal of that public 'official to take the line which Mr. Arnold advocated was justified. 'In these circumstances I regret to observe your opinion that 'Mr. Arnold strove to follow a high standard of journalistic conduct. 'In my opinion, that high standard should include due care and 'attention before publicity is given to scandalous accusations. No 'amount of alleged sympathy with the oppressed can excuse the 'reckless use of the power of publicity. And in the estimation of 'motives, the desire to make a sensation and to gain impor-

"tance cannot be overlooked." We ourselves experienced that the publication of the proceedings of Mr. Arnold's case by the *Comrade* was distasteful to many Anglo-Indians who plainly showed it in their conduct in a way injurious to us. We are, therefore, right in saying that circumstances may, occasionally arise in which judges and juries may become prejudiced against a man like Mr. Arnold who shows that he has both conscience and courage.

In such cases would it be altogether wrong to suspect that a judge was the judge in his own cause? Technically, he would not be a "member of the family council which instigated the "proceedings," and the action of Government itself would save him from being "a party to appointing two barristers to conduct "the prosecution and arrange about their fee." We do not suggest in the least that Sir Charles Fox was actuated by such motives. But if he had been, would there have been anything so obviously on the surface as in Lanier's case which could have induced Lord Shaw to restore justice, itself subverted in its very foundations, to its rightful position in Burma? We wish we were satisfied that their Lordships of the Privy Council understand any more than other Englishmen who swear by "the man on the spot" the actual state of affairs in this part of the British Empire. There is, no doubt, an eminent Indian who sits on the Bench of the Judicial Committee; but we cannot say what share he has in influencing the judgment of his colleagues. We do not refer here to a particular case, but to the general conditions governing the administration of justice in criminal cases in India, and we feel that if their Lordships of the Privy Council knew them as well as we do, they would certainly feel inclined to modify even the words of Lord Kingsdown in the case of *The Falkland Islands Company v. The Queen*, let alone the modification of their own more rigid views. Far from offering any "obstruction" to the administration of justice in India, it is "obvious" that the frequent interference of His Majesty in cases like the one under review would facilitate the administration of real justice. As for the "inconvenience," surely the appellant has to bear far more of it than the Privy Council and the Crown, even if convenience and inconvenience can be regarded as words which are in their proper place in matters of such grave moment.

Young India.

III

THE Indian college, whether controlled by the State, or by a public or a denominational body, is the hard, material setting in which the thought-struggles of Young India reach a crisis and in many cases end in catastrophe. The Young Indian, who has passed out of the college can never forget the intoxication of the moment when he first entered the Mecca of his intellectual hope. It marks the consummation of a desire that had been the tumult of his blood ever since he came under the spell of the "B. A." of his town or neighbourhood and was lost in rapt admiration of his immaculate views and ways. His parents show some hesitation at first and naturally count the cost and risks of the "adventure", but he overrides all considerations by his persistence, and gains his way in the end. He packs his things and, armed with his matriculation certificate and other "chits" about his character and school conduct, appears one fine morning within the precincts of the college. If he is a Hindu the range of his choice of a college is wide, and he generally abides by the advice of his parents or his friends. If he is a Mussalman, his gaze is usually fixed at Aligarh. In any case he goes to the college of his choice with feelings akin to one's entering a sacred shrine. For the first week or two the youthful pilgrim is the victim of a huge bewilderment, and he takes in his impressions with a series of gasps. His mental picture of the place was a dignified abode of grave, sedate young-men filled with patriotic sentiment and spending their lives in ceaseless rounds of lectures on communal topics, on religious and social reform. What he actually sees are scattered little groups in the rooms and verandahs of the college hostels, engaged in indolent gossip, which is punctuated at intervals by hissing sounds of mockery or peals of irreverent laughter. His animal spirits may be roused by the hearty bounts of hilarity characteristic of youth, but his earlier picture is shattered for ever. From the first moment of his arrival he feels ignored—nobody seems to care a scrap for that portentous event. Things go on shamelessly as before, as if nothing had happened so epoch-making as his coming to the college. He feels an alien and out of tune. However, he soon gets over this feeling—generally within a fortnight—as he begins to pick up the various threads of the inner relations of things around him and learn the freemasonry of the undergraduate talk, allusion and gesture. He even speedily lives down the smart of anger and insult that goes to his heart when the merciless college wits poke fun at his dress and appearance and hit off his angularities by some

flaming phrase on a scandalous nick-name, which sticks to him for the rest of his life and which renders his days empty of sunshine and his nights sleepless and hideous for weeks. Before he is formally admitted to the college he sees the Principal—generally a European gentleman of brief and snappish discourse and scrupulously correct and reserved in manner. The interview does not usually last beyond a couple of minutes, but it leaves a lasting impression on the youth's mind.

When the "fresher" is thoroughly acclimatised with his surroundings—the process does not usually take more than a couple of months—his intellectual and moral sensibilities come under vital stimuli through a multitude of new suggestions. They drink in the elixir of their life at every pore. Fresh waves of thought and feeling flood his consciousness in his new atmosphere; and in the classroom, the library, the debating-hall, the play-ground, the dining-hall and in the free, daily intercourse with his fellows he sees glimpses of a sunnier and more gracious spirit than the spirit of the public school, which seems to pervade the life around him and reflect its radiance on all human things. A feeling of real intellectual freedom is born within him, and he casts off, with a sense of mutinous joy, the numerous invisible chains that had held his spirit in thrall. This intellectual self-confidence would be perilously near anarchy but for the inexorable limits imposed by the psychology and previous training of the youth. It could be the real creative force in the development of his personality, but it is very short-lived—it usually dies, after a year or two of intermittent energy, for sheer want of nourishment.

In the whole problem of Indian education no question can be of graver import than a careful and searching study of the causes that usually undermine the intellectual self-confidence of Indian youths before they reach the end of their college career. That such a catastrophe actually happens in the majority of cases there can be no manner of doubt. What this catastrophe means in essence we will try to make clear presently; but before passing on to its discussion we wish to draw to it the utmost attention of every intelligent student of the Indian educational environment. Young India is the product of Western education. It is no doubt full of hope. To all outward seeming it does not lack energy or the vigour of conviction. It seems to be confident of India's future and trying to gather up its forces for pushing on full steam ahead. But is its heart really stout with the courage that never quails? Is it not torn with doubts? Is not its faith as yet a mere expression of the instinct of self-preservation? Is it absolutely sure of its path and its goal? Frankly, Young India is not only half-hearted and nervous with strange fears, but its faith has not also struck roots into the soil and its ideals have not yet emerged from the cloudland. It yearns for faith, certitude, conviction, for some sure and straight path. It is crying for direction and not for the moon. But its yearning is not passionate enough, its cries do not ring with the confidence and courage of the fanatic. There is some sense of inadequacy, some element of inertia, sticking to the mind and character of Young India. It has not passed out of the college without losing an irretrievable something of its spirit and feeling.

Before trying to measure this loss it is of infinite importance to see how the loss occurs. As we have seen, the fresh undergraduate, soon after he finds himself at peace with his new surroundings, feels an illimitable freedom of mind. The old restraints of habit, of convention, of innumerable prohibitions imposed by tradition, authority and usage, gradually fall off as the heady ideas of the West begin to career through his mind in full blast. The vast English literature with its remarkable range, beauty and power, the romance of history and of modern science, the thrill and fascination of the world politics, the scope of modern effort and achievement in art, invention, industry and commerce, the modern thought and modern philosophy, the dreams of the elect of humanity, the griefs and doubts of its afflicted sons, the wonder, the beauty, the joy of things that have nourished the spirit of man through the ages and keep it in full trim of battle under the stress of modern conditions—all these burst upon his vision through the dense opacity of the college atmosphere and he scales dizzy heights of feeling and thought. Every undergraduate goes through this exhilarating experience to a more or less degree. Temperaments and intellectual sensibilities, of course, differ, and there are undergraduates whose period of romance is brief and whose inner flame is soon extinguished by the first blast of cold wind that blows from the conditions and circumstances of their actual lives.

The undergraduate displays, naturally, a variety of type. There is, for instance, the undergraduate whose mind never flowers, so to speak; whose aspiration withers away early in the bud. Little, calculating "wisdom" of the worldling, learnt in a hard, matter-of-fact family environment, or derived from a superficially clever and shrewd companionship, chokes his founts of lofty desire and bounds him up within a tough, material crust for life. He values nothing but the "degree" of B. A., and he knows its price. After a dull, dreary toil he is at last

punished by his success at the University examination and quietly passes off into the ranks of those who earn honest livelihoods in Government service or some other hard-worked, frugally-run establishment.

There is the undergraduate, easy-going fancy free, with a fastidious sense for appearances, to whom one serious thought about life and its problems is a perfect boredom. He makes the "smart set" and sometimes degenerates into a fop. He is usually active in his habits and makes the life hum in the college. The ceremonial and showy aspects of college life owe much to his energy and devotion. He is keen, intelligent, with untapped reserves of character within him, but some defect of early training combined with a lively temperament has switched his mind off to seeking social distinction and scenic effects. His quest is for the plums of life, for light and juicy things, for easy, personal conquests, and he goes to England as soon as he can to turn his intellectual acquisitions into current coin by taking on the veneer and polish of the West. When he comes back he generally settles down to unlearn much that he had fondly acquired before, and becomes a useful solvent in social life. There is, again, the undergraduate endowed with great mental stamina and strength of purpose, whose power of application and industry is remarkable. The fates, however, have played him a cruel trick by robbing him of the saving grace of imagination. His college attendance is regular, he is never known to have broken any rule of discipline, he is the pet of his professors, the envy of his less industrious classmates, the butt-end of the wits and idle gossips of the college. The text-book is his treasure, his love, his all. He wins distinction in house and University examinations and goes out into the world as a "brilliant" passman, encumbered with a load of certificates and other vehicles of encomia and good will from his teachers. He gains a "respectable" post in the service of Government and thrives and prospers as far as his worldly desires go. He usually forms the respectable, regular-tax-paying class that is the repository of all social conventions, the vindication of the State and the chief concern of the Legislature.

But the type with which we are concerned is the idealist, the child of imagination and of faith, whose mind roves with eager wonder over vast, unexplored realms of mystery and whose heart is free from petty personal cares and little prosaic selfishnesses—free to grieve for impersonal wrong, to love right and justice and to devote itself to the worship of the true and the beautiful. The sense of freedom that comes to the fresh undergraduate, as a divine breath from heaven, lasts according to the strength of his personality. It is at once a wonderful stimulus and a test of character and mind. The college is a microcosm, however imperfect, of the Indian world with its cross-currents of diverse thoughts, ideas, social purposes, its hopes of rekindled faith, its grave doubts and unsettling problems. The youth's mind feels the first flush of dawn as the spell of its earlier environment dissolves under the wholesome pressure of the college atmosphere. Thought becomes easy, ideas flit in hosts across his brain and feeling grows natural as appetite. When he was at school his sense of communal patriotism had come to birth. In the college he discovers the whole cosmos and claims it as his bride. The process of discovery is swift—the mind rushes with lightning speed through the ascending stages till it comes to dwell in the glory of its recovered heaven. The communal feeling becomes for a while the bedrock of his cosmopolitan emotion. His first discovery is, of course, the boundless world of books. He gets brief, hurried glimpses from them of what has been thought and done and suffered since the birth of creation. He discovers humanity, its essential unity and brotherhood, its sorrows and joys and triumphs. He is held in thrall by the vision of mankind marching with laborious and weary steps through the centuries, still marching on, in spite of its heavy load of sorrows, the sufferings that it has undergone, the unmerited and dull misery of persecuted generations in various climes and at various epochs, the selfishness, cruelty and murderous greed of individuals, the mute distress of unnamed millions who perished unaccountably on the way and whose silence is heard only of God. He feels this with a sinking of his heart, and yet he recovers instantly his joy and confidence through the spectacle of the race manfully battling with fate and circumstance, its hope never flagging and its energies being always refreshed by its inner faith, by the courage and devotion of its martyrs, by the angelic purity of its saints, by the fiery optimism of its prophets who have never failed it in its darkest hour, rekindled its enthusiasm and urged it on to its life-long quest. He probes the eternal riddle, and even without getting a complete and definite answer, he feels sure that the universe is a place worth living in and life is not all a mistake. His sense of justice becomes preternaturally alive, his vision of truth grows brighter. He surveys the modern world and is impatient of the dull, lethargic fellows who can still allow wrong and suffering to exist in the life of mankind. The

character of the past ages was immeasurably worse, because they knew so little. Should, however, the modern age, that knows so much and is endowed with such powers and resources as were never dreamt of by the earlier generations, let the old absurdities and obstructions go on? It is monstrous for him to have to think that statesmen and men of power should have neither faith nor ability needed to recast the life of the world in the light of modern thought. Their petty rivalries and quarrels, their insane waste of great personal gifts in violent struggles over trivial matters, their vile schemes and plots to check-mate and thwart their rivals, their levity and cynicism and their indifference to the essential needs of humanity, scandalise him and outrage his sense of the fitness of things. He is puzzled by the strange inconsistencies of the modern civilization, by the sterility of effort and the boldness and fertility of social thought and speculation, by the colossal issues involved in the problems of life and the paucity measure of practical energy devoted to their solution. Surely, the amelioration of the lot of man ought to be the highest ambition of the big men in power. It seems to him so easy and simple. Why do they not attempt it? He is sure he could do it if he had the necessary opportunity and power. He would at any rate try to do his part of the work nearer home. India needs a reconstructed society. He has a clear vision of what it should be. There shall be no rivalries of creed and sect, no caste privileges, no cruelties and injustices upheld by custom. The rank growth of weeds in the social and religious systems shall be swept into the dustbin. Every individual shall have an opportunity to live a clean and beautiful life. His own life and its settings would be a model of perfection. And he then thinks of the sort of wife he should have—a sweet, lovable companion fully responsive to the inner music of his soul. He must really work with vigour for the emancipation of Indian woman. He thinks of education and follows with consuming earnestness the fitful progress of the organised educational and social movements of his community. The old communal wiseacres seem to him to be palsied creatures fumbling nonsense in a jejune spirit. He would put more heart and vigour into the undertaking when the time comes.

But before these glorious fancies have time to settle into a clear purpose and practical lines of conduct, the heavenly vision begins to grow dim, until it finally disappears leaving not a rack behind. Youthful dreams feed the springs of purpose and the roots of character only when they have some relevance, however remote, to outward circumstance. The conditions of actual social life in India are in a hopeless muddle. The dreams of the undergraduate are in fact no more than the phantasies of a pure, abstract aesthete or intellectual anarchist. They run in a detached orbit of subjective emotional experience and fade into oblivion at the first touch of the spirit of reality. The process of disillusionment begins in the classroom. The text-book starves the undergraduate mind. The food he hungers for it does not give. The root-evil is that the type of college education is not based on the national needs of India, or on her race consciousness and experience. Then, the teacher, who has more of the politician in him than of the preceptor of youth, completes the disillusionment by his treatment, example—by his harsh, unsympathetic ways, his irksome impositions, his ceaseless attempts at systematic suppression of the boy's personality. The intellectual self-confidence of the undergraduate is ruined before he passes his B. A. This is the handiwork of the expert educationist who is chosen instrument of a blind and blundering system. The graduate takes his degree and descends from empyrean heights—where he was permitted by fates to play as a god for a dreamwhile—to the ordinary world of men—at best as a Deputy Collector or a Vakil of the High Court.



Verse.

A Vision.

From out the golden dawn of vanished years
She gilds into my dreams, a form divine
Of light and love, to soothe the thoughts that pine
For what has been, to stem the tide of tears
That inward flows upon the heart and sears
Its inmost core Her countenance benign,
Where chastened Pity's softest graces shine,
Reflects the hallowed light of other spheres.
Then to my yearning soul, with care outworn,
Come, like a strain on aerial wings upborne,
This message from her soul—"Bid sorrow cease:
Love dies not; 'tis the immortal life above;
And chastened souls, that win eternal peace
Through earthly suffering, know that Heaven is Love!"

NIZAMAT JANG

Ghasita: a Budmash.

I.—The Escape from Jail.

I have little sympathy with the European who indulges in ceaseless diatribes on the subject of the Indian climate. He avails himself somewhat too freely, methinks, of the recognised right of his nation to grumble, though as his service grows to an end the same individual will wax wroth concerning the fogs and too sudden changes of his native land and admit that life in the East is by no means the worst form of human existence.

Those fortunate individuals who can afford to go to Cashmere, or a hill station, from the middle of March till the middle of October, and spend the remaining portion of the year at some station situated in the Punjab or the United Provinces, enjoy the rare felicity of living in an unsurpassable climate throughout the twelve months. Even the luckless person, whom a small salary and a large family compel to reside on the plains during the hot weather need not—if ordinary precautions are observed—have his health seriously affected. There is, however, one month in the year when life down below becomes particularly trying: when most of us crawl about under "that inverted Bowl we call the Sky" feeling wretchedly limp and too deficient in energy to enter with any real zest on either work or play. I allude to September on the plains, and at that period the following story opens. A "break" in the rains had occurred, one of those lamentable lacunae of nature which are common enough in the majority of Monsoons, when the firmament assumed a deep blue colour, as crude as it is cruel, differing widely from the bright clear skies of winter and spring, and more depressing, on the whole, than the dull heavy dust-laden clouds that cover the heavens for the fortnight immediately preceding the advent of the rains. If the stifling heat and general mugginess of atmosphere were a severe trial to the official and non-official communities living at Agra, the same conditions were still more sadly resented by compulsory inmates of the Central Jail in that Station. The gang of prisoners, each man with close convict crop, a wooden label descriptive of his sentence and what section of the Penal Code he had broken hanging round his neck as a sort of infernal chaplet of (un) holy beads, clad in a long loose garment of hideous grayish hue, and working under the supervision of warders, moved as lazily as they dared from one end of the ward enclosure to another, performing their allotted tasks in a rather perfunctory fashion. The annual carnival of white and colour washing—called "Repairs"—was in full swing and free labourers were aided by their captive brethren in cleaning up the walls and buildings of the Jail, so that Inspecting Officers on their winter tours might not have cause to find fault or be ashamed of the spick-and-span appearance of the Government building under their charge. Personally I do not believe the majority of Indian prisoners find much of a deterrent nature in the existing state of Jail management. The lower classes do not incur obloquy from having "done time", while in days of scarcity and famine, the temptation to secure regular and wholesome food, have your bodily health carefully attended to, be able perhaps to earn a certain sum from your toil at the loom or other branch of prison industry in return for a fair day's work, must often lead a man to commit comparatively menial breaches of the law in order to share the advantages of a sojourn in the house of the father-in-law, as an Indian Jail is wittily nicknamed by the mass of the population.

In one of the several gangs thus employed, a man might have been noticed who evidently had no taste for confinement within four walls and whose sullen aspect marked him for a character of more dangerous criminal type than most of his companions. His short but sturdy frame, the low forehead, the coarse features, among which a nose of undue width attracted attention, and the sunken eyes, resembling those of a beast of prey without the startling brilliancy of the latter optics, combined to distinguish Ghasita from the rest of his gang. Suddenly the sight of a ladder, left resting against the outer wall of the Jail by some careless workman, prior to his retirement for a couple of hours to eat the midday meal and smoke the *hugga* forbidden within Jail precincts, created a change in the savage apathy reigning on the countenance of my hero—for such must Ghasita, as chief actor in the events to be narrated, claim to be considered, albeit there was a brutal, rather than a heroidal, strain in his composition—and he forthwith proceeded to study the situation in much the same way as a General Commanding examines the strategical points of a battle-field and determines on the best sort of tactics to employ.

The warders knew that the dinner hour was close at hand and were thinking of that repast and temporary cessation from their duties with natural interest such matters invite. Armed only with short batons, they would not be able to render grave resistance to a desperate man, making a rush for liberty, and the rarity of attempted escapes from Jail would make them slow to grasp

an unexpected departure from the ordinary routine of prison discipline. With few exceptions—Ghasita being one of these latter—the Indian *qaidi* is too great a fatalist to seek in flight his freedom from the sentence awarded him by a court. He calmly accepts the inevitable, and, if a professional criminal, finds opportunities during enforced absence from his calling as a burglar, dacoit, or common thief, to pick up useful "tips" from fellow convicts and leisure for concocting "felonious little plans" to be put in practice as soon as he emerges from Jail and is at liberty to resume his former mode of livelihood.

In the eyes of Ghasita the forgotten ladder seemed a direct boon from Providence and one he would be a fool not to take advantage of. The drop on the far side of the wall might be a trifle risky, yet he was accustomed to jump from high roofs in his burglarious expeditions. The thing was worth trying, and for such attempt the man was ready as soon as the time arrived. The last notes of the big prison gong summoning the convicts to their respective barracks, where dinners were about to be served out, had scarcely died away when each warder proceeded to marshal his little troop of black sheep, and hold a roll-call ere marching them out of the large enclosure where they had been at work. This was a suitable chance for Ghasita, and he managed to loiter behind his comrades, pretending to have hurt his foot by treading on some sharp substance, so had halted to remove it before coming forward with the other members of his gang. The warder did not notice anything strange in this delay, so he commenced shouting out the men's names in monotonous tone, receiving the usual *hazir* from the convicts in reply. A shout from one of the regular Jail Guard—men armed with smooth-bore muskets and on a quite distinct footing from the ordinary warders, who are selected from the better behaved prisoners, which frequently means those who have had previous convictions, consequently "know the ropes" of prison life and are able to make themselves generally useful to a *Darogah* and his subordinates—created a stir among both the prisoners and warders, which rose to wild excitement when Ghasita was seen scaling the wall with wonderful rapidity and almost at the top rung of the convenient ladder. The Guard in question hesitated to shoot as he would have been perfectly justified to do by his orders—till just too late, the charge of buckshot rattling against the wall when the fugitive had surmounted the coping and dropt down on the other side. Of course a scene of hubbub and confusion ensued. The *Darogah*—a stout personage, whose girth of waist testified to the excellent emoluments connected with the post he held, waddled out of the office in the main gateway; the armed Guard fell in and stood awaiting instructions, the warders hastened to place their charges under lock and key in the long barracks inhabited by prisoners and the gangs commented on the (to them), extraordinary audacity of Ghasita in thus taking French leave of Jail without first having obtained the permission of the *Sikar*. Meanwhile that worthy was running for all he was worth down the road that passes the lofty tower of the Roman Catholic cathedral at Agra, with the hope of discovering a safe hiding place from the pursuit that was bound to come after him. Paradoxical as it may appear to a European unacquainted with India, the fact of his escape being effected at midday was greatly in favour of the convict. Unless compelled by business of an urgent nature, none of the citizens were stirring abroad between the hours of noon and 5 p. m., so intense was the stifling heat, so total the absence of the slightest breeze.

Shop-keepers had ceased to expect customers and had taken refuge in the "honey-heavy dew of slumber"; reclining on the small wooden platforms which stood a foot or two above the level of the street and served as common vantage ground for purchaser and seller to engage in the art of bargaining. Passing a stall where an array of round caps—of the kind affected by young men studying for an Entrance Examination—caught the eye of Ghasita, who adroitly substituted his headgear of the standard pattern in use in Jails for a smarter article of head dress and had already managed to untie the string whereby the wooden label had been suspended from his thick neck. He looked eagerly round for some convenient place to hide himself in till evening came and the inevitable pursuit would have been abandoned for the present. Turning sharply to the right, he skirted the large compound of the Agra College and venturing to enter the grounds—where not even a *muli* was to be seen at work—he spied an outhouse that might serve his purpose. Going into the shed, he found one corner of it occupied by a stack of old beams, probably removed as unsound when the annual repairs were in progress, and behind these *bullis* he devised a fairly comfortable retreat, unlikely to be examined by the Police, who, moreover, would hardly suspect him of seeking so apparently open a spot for concealment, the shed not boasting of a door and being well in view from the highroad and College buildings. Ghasita evinced considerable sagacity in his choice, for twenty minutes later he had the satisfaction of watching a mixed party of Jail Warders and Constables from the Police Station of Hariparbat hurrying along the road and questioning the very few

persons they met as to whether the latter had seen anything of the runaway convict. Their quest proved a fruitless one, for the owners of shops and stalls had—as I remarked above—abandoned business for repose, and were in too much drowsy a state to worry themselves about escaping Jail-birds.

The vendors of native sweets—usually on the look-out to get the pice in exchange for their sugary wares—dozed placidly in the scanty shade afforded by the awning of a booth, their weighing scales deposited at their feet, and themselves quite indifferent to the swarms of yellow, tapery wasps and fierce hornets with brown bodies relieved by an orange band, that hovered over the pile of *jallebis*, *batashas*, and the thick slabs of *peta*: a toothsome delicacy for which Agra is famous. Ghasita, therefore, lay *perdu* in perfect safety till nearly sunset, when he hoped to make his way to the adjoining mohulla of Lohamandi, where some relatives of his resided and where he could get a new outfit in lieu of the prison dress he had on. It will be necessary to make a short digression here, before continuing the story of Ghasita, in order to give our readers a fuller insight into the personality and past career of that most unprepossessing personage. He was *Kachi* and belonged to one of several families of that caste who lived in the Lohamandi bazar and earned money by growing and selling the common kinds of vegetables to soldiers in the neighbouring Cantonment, and people in the Civil Lines and the city. When a young man of twenty, or thereabouts, he had been annoyed by a British soldier who resented being charged more than the fair price for some onions of inferior quality and who accordingly had driven Ghasita from the barrack-room with a hearty cuff and shower of military abuse. Tommy Atkins attached no importance to the episode, so was taken unawares an evening or two after this event when he found an Indian rushing at him with a sharp knife in hand, which weapon he plunged into the side of the soldier. The crime was committed in the Sudder bazar—where most of the British rank-and-file did their shopping, so the arrest of Ghasita was quickly accomplished, and before a month elapsed he found himself in Jail for seven years: a sentence that obliged his journeying to the Andamans to serve the greater portion of his term of confinement there. Released on the expiration of the period mentioned, and not having won any remission by good behaviour while in prison, Ghasita first tried Calcutta as a good field for his talents in the housebreaking line and "conveyed"—"a fie for the phrase"—a fair amount of property from its rightful owners to the dirty lodgings he occupied in a Calcutta slum. The proceeds of his crimes were speedily dissipated, for Ghasita felt that his stay in the Andamans required to be compensated for by a round of pleasure, and spent his rupees in the pursuit of wine and women almost as rapidly as he made them. Unluckily he became a subject of strong suspicion to the Bengali policemen and was "wanted" in a notorious case of robbery with violence. His record was hunted up and inquiries made from Agra as to the antecedents and general character of our friend; unpleasant curiosity on the part of the authorities that showed him it was time to quit the City of Palaces for a season and seek new worlds to conquer by the aid of his trusty "jemmy" and resolute daring. Accordingly he took a ticket for his native home and shook off the dust of Howrah as he entered that terminus of the E. I. Railway. Not being what is termed a "family man"—his wife dead some years ago and no children to share his ill-gotten gains or worry him by questions regarding his mode of life,—Ghasita lost no time in getting in touch with the local bad characters of Agra; a criminal community whose numbers they make up for their want of social status. He chose the Rikabgunge mohulla in preference to Lohamandi where his caste-fellows chiefly resided, and this course endangered his liberty from surveillance, since one of the Constables belonging to the Municipal Police had sufficient length of service to retain lively memories of Ghasita, the *Kachi* who had severely wounded a soldier and been sent to jail for that offence. This fact, coupled to the knowledge of his being a close associate of habitual thieves, receivers of stolen property, and other bad characters, led to proceedings being started against Ghasita under the provisions of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code and—to shorten the tale—he was duly arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. Nobody came forward to stand surety for his good behaviour, for the most careless student of human nature would have shrunk from reliance on any hopes of amendment from so desperate and hardened a ruffian as the man who stood in the dock, scowling with impartial hatred at the Magistrate, the Police and, especially, at the Constable whose reminiscences had formed a strong point in the prosecution. He allowed his rage to overcome his prudence where that person was concerned, for—on the order for his committal to the Central Jail being read out by the Court—he fiercely shouted out his avowed intention of having his revenge directly he was a free man again. Such threats are usually treated as a mere piece of idle bravado, a sort of sign that the utterer of them dies "game," but coming from Ghasita they ought to have been paid serious attention to, as the sequel will serve to show.

The sound of the Azan, wafted by the gentle evening breeze from the lofty minarets of the Jama Masjid just opposite to the red sandstone fortress built by the mighty Akbar, awakened him from an uneasy slumber he had fallen into, and he impatiently waited till it was sufficiently dark to permit of his proceeding on his way without grave risk of attracting notice by the manner in which he was dressed. The street lamps in those days—perchance at the present time—did not do much more than cast a feeble light on the surrounding gloom, and the majority of people were too busied in their own affairs to notice the actions or appearance of a stranger. The hum of reviving traffic and mercantile activity rose from the thronged bazaars of the city with increasing volume, and Ghasita experienced no difficulty in making his way unobserved to Lohamandi and the cluster of humble huts inhabited by the little colony of *Kachis*. His advent, when he stood from outer darkness to where several members of the caste were seated in a circle, discussing the prospects of trade and smoking by turns—the fragrant *huqqa* passed from man to man as the conversation progressed—caused as much consternation as it did agreeable surprise. Ghasita affected to ignore. He briefly related his escape from the Central Jail and made known his wants in the shape of garments and a "square meal." A general desire to get rid of their visitor as soon as possible led to both requests being complied with. The prison garb was carefully hidden away, to be burnt later on in the night, and replaced by a soiled *kurti* and a *dhoti* that had evidently seen better days and which had not been acquainted with soap and water for a lengthy period. None of the party seemed interested in the returned prodigal, except a girl of about sixteen years of age, called Nasibun, in whose eyes the escaped convict figured as an oppressed hero of romance. His scaling the prison walls seemed to her a feat worthy of Hanuman, the Monkey God who assisted mighty Rama when Lanka was attacked and stormed. His looks were certainly not calculated to inspire tender passions in the female breast, still one must not forget the case of Othello and Desdemona, and the exploits of Ghasita—told while greedily devouring the *chupatties* and vegetable curry set before him—exercised as potent a spell over the mind of Nasibun as did the tale of

"Moving accidents by flood and field;"

"Of being taken by the insolent foe,"

"And sold to slavery;"

influence the daughter of the Venetian Senator in favour of the Moorish warrior. Ghasita was bound for the cantonment railway station,—when he intended to travel to Saiyan, a place about 17 miles from Agra, and from which he could make his way into the hilly tract of country between the Native States of Dholpur, Bhartpore, and British territory. He had learned from talks with dacoits in Jail that the region in question was a capital hiding place from the officers of justice; without any fixed population save in tiny hamlets, situated in recesses of the hills and mainly inhabited by "broken men;" outlaws from British law or sought for by the State authorities. Before leaving he perceived with grim satisfaction the manner in which Nasibun regarded him and his past doings and mentally resolved to make use of the girl as a spy or carrier of information should occasion for employing her in such capacity ever arise. It was close on midnight before the convict left his anxious hosts and stole away to the railway, where he caught his train and before another day dawned was several miles on his road to the hills of the robbers.

A. N. G.



Indians in South Africa.

The Commission's Report.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION.

THIS is the most difficult of all the questions into which we have to enquire and it raises several separate and distinct points.

(a) The first is as to the right of entry into the Union, of the wife and minor children of an Indian resident in South Africa. Section 5 (g) of the Immigration Regulation Act, 1913, excepts from the definition of prohibited immigrant "any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer, or in the case of appeal to the satisfaction of the Board, to be the wife or the child under the age of 16 years, of any person exempted by paragraph (f) of the section (that is to say any person with certain exceptions, domiciled in any Province) including the wife or child of a lawful or monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union." Judging from the debates in Parliament on the Bill and the evidence before us, the intention of this clause appears to have been to admit freely into the Union the wife and the children by her of any domiciled Indian, if she were in fact his only wife, even though she had been married to him according to the rites of a religion which recognises polygamy. Natal Courts held, however, in the case of a woman named Kulsan Bibi, that under the words "lawful and monogamous marriage"

are included only such marriage as are recognised as valid in South Africa as well as in England, that is to say "the voluntary union of one man with one woman, to the exclusion, while it lasts, of all others," and that consequently the marriage of a man with one woman under a system which recognises the right of the husband to marry another woman, was in law not monogamous but polygamous.

Seeing that the Act of 1913 is a general Act and does not deal with Asiatics *en nomine* it is impossible to question that decision. Unfortunately the effect of it clearly is to defeat the apparent intention of the legislature, and to stigmatise as a prohibited immigrant the only wife of a domiciled Indian if she were married to him according to the rites of a religion which recognised polygamy.

There is abundant evidence, however, to show that it has never been the intention of the Government in the administration of the Act to place upon the words of Section 5 (g) their strict legal meaning. Accordingly when Mr. Gandhi, in his letter to the Minister of the 2nd July, 1913, required from him an assurance that "the present practice of admitting one wife of the Indian immigrant, so long as she is the only one in South Africa, irrespective of the number of the wives that he might have in India, should be continued," that assurance was readily given.

In the letter of the Secretary of Interior to Mr. Gandhi, dated 19th August, 1913, he says "the present practice of admitting one wife of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province, or who may in future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets which recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad, will be continued so long as she is his only wife in South Africa."

In the case of Kulsan Bibi, already referred to, the reason why her entry into Natal was prohibited, was, according to the evidence of the immigration officer, because her reputed husband already had a wife living with him in Natal. There was therefore no departure in that case from the recognised practice of the Department, with regard to which no complaint had been made to us. Inasmuch, however, as the practice is contrary to the express provisions of the Act, which recognises the right of entry of only the wife of a lawful and monogamous marriage, and as no other women, therefore, could legally claim the right, it is desirable in our opinion that the section of the Act in question should be amended so as to bring the law into conformity with the practice.

(b) The next point raised by Mr. Gandhi in his correspondence with the Minister on this subject was with regard to the right of entry into the Union of the plural wives of Indian resident in South Africa.

It is not altogether clear what is the exact extent of the claim made by him on this point. In his letter to the Minister, dated 24th August, 1913, he says, "All I contend is that in continuation of the practice hitherto followed, existing plural wives of domiciled residents should be allowed to enter. And this was the assurance given in the letter quoted by me in my correspondence with you."

The letter referred to by him is one of the 10th July, 1913, written by the Chief Immigration Officer in reply to one received by him from Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, drawing attention to a recent judgment of the Transvaal Provincial Division, and enquiring "whether it will affect the practice hitherto followed of allowing more than one wife of Mohammedan residents of the Province to enter it." "By the judgment referred to it was laid down that under the Transvaal law only one wife of an Asiatic was entitled to enter that Province. The reply of the Chief Immigration Officer is as follows:

"With regard to your letter of the 5th instant I am instructed to inform you that the ruling of the learned Judge in the case of Adam Ismail *versus* the Registrar of Asiatics regarding the immigration of the wives of Indians has been noted, and to state that if any case involving hardship is brought to the notice of the Hon. the Minister it will receive consideration." This letter is decidedly non-committal, and certainly does not bear the construction placed upon it by Mr. Gandhi in his letter of the 24th August already quoted. It is unfortunate that he did not himself appear before the Commission to explain exactly what it is that he desires in this connection. From Sir Benjamin Robertson and others, however, we gathered that the general principle as recognised in the practice of the Immigration Department of "admitting one wife of an Indian immigrant so long as she is the only wife in South Africa, irrespective of the number of wives that he may have in India" is generally accepted by the Indian community, but that it was desired that an exception should be made in favour of a limited number of men of long residence in South Africa, who have now or have had more than one wife living with them in this country, so that these wives should be allowed to go backwards and forwards to India without question. Sir Benjamin Robertson stated that he understood that there were only from 40 to 50 of such persons in Natal, that a list of them could be made, and that it would be regarded as a graceful

concession if this privilege could be extended to them. Mr. Dick, the Chief Immigration Officer in Natal, was examined on the subject. He informed us that up to with in the last seven to ten years the practice in Natal had been to admit more than one wife of a husband resident in that Province, but that of late the right of entry had been restricted to only one wife. Where more than one wife had been admitted by the Department, the right of such wives to go backwards and forwards to India was also recognised. He thought that there might be in Natal from 50 to 100 old residents to whom this privilege had been accorded, and if it was to be continued he thought that a register should be made of them, that a period of 12 months should be given them within which to register their names and those of their wives, and that the right should be limited to those so registered and to their minor children. The period of twelve months was suggested, inasmuch as that is the time for which an identification certificate which is given to Indians visiting their native land remains in force. Consequently there would be sufficient time for any of such persons who might be absent from the country when the register was opened, to make application for registration after their return to South Africa.

The evidence goes to show that a similar state of affairs exists in the Cape Colony and Transvaal, though we have no accurate information as to the number of the persons concerned in these Provinces.

The concession asked for in respect of the limited number of Indians resident in South Africa is a comparatively small one, and should in our opinion be granted. With regard to plural wives who are at present lawfully living with their husbands in any of the Provinces, their case will seem to be met by Section 25 (2) of the Act, and we understand from Mr. Cousius, the Chief Immigration Officer of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, that there would be no objection to granting them identification certificates if they desired to go to India for a visit with the intention of returning to this country. The only point that could arise as to them would be with reference to the period of their absence, inasmuch as identification certificates lapse after the period of one year. If, however, the recommendation which is hereafter made that the period should be extended to three years is adopted, no difficulty need be anticipated regarding them. It may very well be, however, that there are women who have been in South Africa with their husbands, but who are at present in India, and in their case we are of opinion that they with their minor children, should be allowed to join their husbands again at any time that may please them. It is chiefly with view to these that we recommend that instructions should be issued to the Immigration Department to open registers in the various Provinces as suggested by the Chief Immigration Officer of Natal.

(c) The third point that arises in connection with the marriage question has reference to the celebration in South Africa of marriages between Indian men and women in conformity with the rites of their respective religions. In his letter to the Minister of the 2nd July, 1913, Mr. Gandhi writes: "As to the marriage question, in view of the Searle judgment, it is absolutely necessary to legalise Indian marriages celebrated or to be celebrated within the Union. This can be done by amending the marriage laws of the different Provinces authorising the Government to appoint marriage officers for different denominations, whose certificates as to the celebration of marriage according to the rites of the respective religions of the parties would be recognised as proper proof of marriage."

It is necessary to point out here that as regards Mohammedans provision has been made in the Cape Colony by Act 16 of 1860, and in Natal by Act 19 of 1891, for the appointment by the Governor of marriage officers for the purpose of solemnising the marriage of persons professing the Jewish faith and of persons professing the Mohammedan faith. We are informed, however, that, though both in the Cape and in Natal, after the passing of the Acts, Mohammedan priests were appointed as marriage officers, the Mohammedans have not availed themselves of the privilege to any great extent, and that for years past no appointment of marriage officers has been made. The difficulty, according to the evidence before us, is that their religion recognises the right of a man to marry as many as four wives, and they consider that they should be false to their faith if they renounced that right. A marriage contracted in South Africa before a marriage officer would necessarily be monogamous and not polygamous, and they prefer not to enter into such unions, but to accept the position that in law their marriages are not valid rather than renounce the doctrines of their religion. This is the attitude which has always been taken up by the Malays in the Cape Colony, and, as far as we know, there has been no agitation on their part for an amendment of the law so as to recognise polygamous marriages as valid.

Whether the Indians who profess religions other than the Mohammedans hold the same views on this subject seems doubtful. A witness named Aiyar, who is the editor of the Indian newspaper called the *African Chronicle*, and who gave evidence before us, stated that the Indians would be quite willing to contract marriages before a priest who had been appointed a marriage officer, with full knowledge of the fact that by so doing they were entering into a monogamous and not a polygamous marriage. Whether the witness speaks with authority and represents the views of the Indians generally, we unfortunately had no opportunity of ascertaining, as the Indian community in general, other than the Mohammedan section of it, persistently ignored the Commission. From the fact, however, that Mr. Gandhi, in the letter already quoted, made a request for the appointment of marriage officers for the different denominations, we gather that he is of the same opinion as Aiyar for he must have realized that a marriage celebrated before a marriage officer would necessarily be in accordance with the laws of South Africa, or, in other words, would be monogamous. And that this was his view at the time when this letter was written is further indicated by the following passage in it: "With reference to the marriage amendment in the new Act, I understand that only monogamous marriages will be registered, and I appreciate that nothing more can be done in law at present, but an assurance is necessary to the effect that the present practice of admitting one wife of an Indian immigrant, so long as she is the only wife in South Africa, irrespective the number of wives he may have in India, will be continued." In that passage he apparently accepts the position that only monogamous marriages can be recognised in law as valid. Whether Mr. Gandhi is still of this opinion was have had no opportunity of ascertaining from himself.

As regards the indentured Indians, however, we do not anticipate that any difficulty will arise. They apparently are quite content to contract monogamous marriages. By the Indian Immigration Act 25 of 1891 of Natal, it is provided by Section 66 "that no polygamous marriages which may hereafter be contracted by Indian immigrants in this Colony shall be considered valid as far as this Colony is concerned, and that no polygamous marriage shall be registered by the Protector of Indian immigrants or by any Magistrate."

Provision is then made in Section 70 for the marriage of all Indian Immigrants, except those professing the Christian religion, before a Magistrate or before the Protector of Indian Immigrants. Such marriages are registered by these officer, and are necessarily monogamous.

According to the evidence of the Protector of Immigrants the indentured Indians have no scruples against contracting such unions. During last year, he informed us, that 1,075 marriages were solemnised before himself and different Magistrates in Natal. Many of these persons are first married according to the rites of their own religion, and subsequently go through the ceremony of marriage before the Protector or a Magistrate. In respect of these Indians, therefore, there appears to be no necessity for making further provision.

When, therefore, Mr. Gandhi applied for the appointment of marriage officers amongst Indian priests, he probably had in mind Indians other than indentured labourers, who might have scruples about contracting marriages before any such official. We are informed that amongst their priests in Natal and other Provinces there are educated men of good character, by whom marriage registers could be kept. If that be so we see no reason why the request for the appointment of marriage officers from amongst their number should not be granted. The Minister, indeed, in his reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter, entirely approved of the principles. In the letter of the Secretary of the Interior of the 19th August, 1913, he writes: "Fourthly, General Enmuts is prepared, when some suitable occasion presents itself for dealing with the consolidation of the Union, to make provision for the appointment of special marriage officers, for denominations other than Mohammedans, upon its being shown that there is a demand by the members of such denominations for such appointment, and that there are suitable persons in the different communities on whom the appointment could be conferred." We would recommend that the necessary legislation on the lines of the Cape Act 16 of 1860 should be passed as early as possible, so that those who are desirous of availing themselves of the privilege of contracting a valid marriage before their own priests, whether such persons be many or few, should have the opportunity of doing so without further delay.

(d) And that brings us to the fourth and last point which is raised on this question, and which presents greater difficulties than any of the preceding.

The point is not brought out very clearly by Mr. Gandhi in his letters, but it has been elucidated by the evidence given before us, especially by that of Sir Benjamin Robertson. It has been held in more than one case in the South African Courts, and

notably in what is spoken of throughout the evidence as the Searle judgment, that where a man had married only one wife under a system which recognises polygamy, such a marriage is in law a polygamous and not a monogamous marriage. The result is that, as polygamous marriages are not recognised by our law, the wife in such a case has no legal status as a married woman, and the children are illegitimate. It appears from the evidence that the Searle judgment, which was delivered in 1910, caused intense feeling in India as casting a slur upon Indian women. That judgment, however, merely laid down the law in accordance with previous decisions of the Courts, both in England and in South Africa.

In the Cape Colony it was decided, so long ago as 1860, in the case of Broun and Fritz Broun's executors, that children born of a marriage celebrated according to Mohammedan rites in the Colony, were illegitimate, as no valid marriage had been contracted. It was in consequence of that decision that Act 16 of 1860 of the Cape of Good Hope was passed authorising the Governor to appoint marriage officers for the purpose of celebrating the marriages of persons professing the Mohammedan faith, but, as already explained, the Malays in the Cape Province have failed to take advantage of the provisions of that Act, preferring to accept the legal position that their marriages are invalid than to renounce the right which is recognised by their religion, of marrying more than one wife.

It is almost unnecessary to point out that on this subject our law is identical with that of England, and that the status in that country of a woman married under a system which recognises polygamy is no better than it is in South Africa. So far as we know, however, there has been no demand for a change in the laws of England with the view of validating such marriages. The probable explanation is that there is no large Indian population settled there, so that the question is not brought home to them as regards that country. But, however that may be, we are bound to consider the subject on its merits, without regard to the position in other parts of the world.

Now the suggestion, as we understand it, is that some provision should be made by legislation for legalising what are called *de facto* monogamous marriages, that is to say, the marriage of one man with one woman under a system which recognises the right of the husband to take one or more other wives. Such marriages are the rule amongst Indians of all denominations. It is the rare exception for an Indian to have more than one wife. It is more often amongst the Mohammedans that that number is exceeded, but even with them it is a matter of only occasional occurrence. And in all cases where in fact a man is married to only one woman we can see no objection to legislation validating such marriages from the date when they were contracted, on certain conditions.

The first condition is that such marriages should be registered before a marriage officer, whether he be a priest or a Resident Magistrate or an official specially appointed for that purpose. It is important in our opinion that a complete register of all marriages should be kept and that Indians both men and women, who have been married according to the rites of their respective religions and who desire to avail themselves of the proposed law to validate such marriages should be required to appear before a marriage officer and apply for registration. It is not suggested that they should go through any ceremony but merely that they should satisfy the officer that their marriage is a *de facto* monogamous one, and should supply him with particulars of their names and ages as well as of the time and place of their respective marriages.

It is unfortunate that in India there is no system of registration of marriages, otherwise all that would have been necessary would have been to produce to the officer a copy of the register. As that, however, is impossible the necessary information for filling in the register must be obtained from the persons applying for registration. When the particulars have been entered in the register and when it has been signed by the officer the marriage should be taken to have been validated from the date when it was contracted. Provision should also be made for the filling of a duplicate original register in the office of the Minister of the Interior as is required in respect of all marriages celebrated in South Africa.

It has been suggested that a law should be passed simply validating all *de facto* monogamous marriages and not insisting upon registration. The objections to that course are obvious. In the first place registration of marriages is important from the point of view that it provides a simple means of proof of the fact that a marriage has been solemnised. In the absence of registration the only way in which a marriage can be established, when that fact is in issue, is the evidence of witnesses who were present at the ceremony or who can prove it in some other way. Serious difficulties might often arise in such cases, particularly if the marriage had been contracted many years ago, or if one of the parties chose to deny the fact.

In the second place it may very well be that there are many Asiatics who have no desire that their marriages should be validated

except on their own terms and their wishes should be respected. All persons therefore, should be entitled to elect whether they should come under the provisions of the proposed law or not, and an application for registration would be conclusive evidence of such election.

The second condition which in our opinion is essential to the validation of such marriages is that they should by registration become monogamous in law as well as in fact. All the legal consequences therefore which flow from marriage under our common law, should follow upon such registration, except in so far as it may be deemed necessary to make special provision by legislation. One result would be that thereafter the husband could not enter into any relations with another woman which would be recognised by law.

If, however, he desired to go through a form of marriage with another woman before a priest, who is not a marriage officer, according to the forms of his religion, we see no reason why such a proceeding should be prohibited by law. It clearly would not amount to bigamy, inasmuch as a marriage solemnised before such a person would not be valid by our law, and consequently the legal requisites which are necessary to constitute the crime of bigamy would be wanting. Inasmuch, therefore, as such marriages would not transgress the provisions of the criminal law, there is no necessity for interfering with those who desire to contract them. But it must at the same time be clearly understood that the relation so created is an irregular one, which is not recognised by law, which would not confer any rights upon the woman and her offspring, and of which the first wife, if she is so disposed could take advantage.

Nor do we recommend that any legislation should be passed to recognise and legitimise such an intercourse. To do so would be to ignore the principles underlying monogamous marriages and partially to recognise polygamy. In our opinion, however, there can be no convenient half-way house between monogamy and polygamy. If the latter is to be recognised at all in respect of Asiatics, we must be prepared to go the whole length and accept it to its utmost extent. We are not prepared, however, to recommend that legislation should be passed to legitimise polygamy. That would be so serious a departure from our principles and law that we do not think that it would be endorsed by public opinion. The position is that the Asiatics have of their own accord migrated to a country where monogamy is the rule, but nevertheless they have never been restricted in the exercise of their religious rights. The Malays have accepted the situation for many years past and there has been no demand on their part for a change in the law. In truth the agitation on this subject has arisen rather in India than in South Africa. It has already been pointed out that the indentured Indians have in practice accepted the principle of monogamy, and have no scruples about contracting such marriages. Moreover, Mr. Gandhi himself in the letter already quoted above, says that he understands that only monogamous marriages will be recognised, and that he appreciates that nothing else can be done in law at present; while in another letter of the 22nd September, 1913, he says "With regard to polygamy, I have not asked for legal recognition." The demand indeed for recognition of polygamy comes only from the Mohammedan section of the Indian community. That claim is distinctly formulated in the evidence given before us by the three delegates of the Natal Indian Congress. When asked the question whether they claimed that polygamous marriages should be recognised, the answer was:—"That is the only thing we could ask." They also stated that they would object to registration of a *de facto* monogamous marriage if the husband was thereby to be limited to one wife, as by so doing he would be false to his religion.

They also object for the same reason to becoming subject to our laws with regard to divorce. According to the doctrines of their religion, there is no necessity to apply to a Court of Justice for the dissolution of a marriage. In fact, as regards divorce the husband is the judge in his own cause. If he is satisfied in his own mind that his wife is misconducting herself, he is entitled, after warning her three times, at an interval of a month taking place between each warning, to go to the priest and write out before two witnesses what is called a "Divorce Paper" setting forth his reasons for divorcing his wife.

He then utters a special word signifying "I leave her alone," and thereupon the marriage is dissolved. The paper is handed to the wife as evidence, to enable her to contract another marriage. The priest himself, it will be noted, makes no investigation into the charge, and all that is necessary is that the husband himself should be satisfied of his wife's misconduct. On the other hand the wife has no similar right to divorce her husband. All she can do is to lay a complaint before the priest who enquires into the matter and, if satisfied that the charge is true, he summons the husband before him, and if he persists in his misconduct, the priest can bring pressure upon him, to divorce his wife.

This is the effect of the evidence given before us on this subject, and this is the law which we are asked to recognise. It needs only to be stated, however, to realise how open to abuse it is, and how impossible it would be for us to accede to the request of the Mohammedans that we should recommend legislation, recognising and legalising the Mohammedan law of marriage and divorce.

It is possible, however, that, if they clearly understand that there will be no prohibition against their going through the form of marriage with one or more women after their first marriage has been registered, and that by so doing they would not be incurring any penalties, they would be prepared to accept the suggestion already made as a solution of this question. What they apparently object to is the renunciation of the rights, which they enjoy under their religion, of marrying more than one wife. Such a registration as we have suggested, however, would not require any renunciation of their rights, nor would they be debarred by law from marrying other women in accordance with the rites of their own religion, though these women could not be recognised as having any legal status as married women.

The solution which we have suggested is approved of by Sir Benjamin Robertson in his evidence. Moreover, there is precedent for it in the Natal laws with regard to the indentured Indian immigrants.

By the Consolidation Act 25 of 1891, section 68, provision is made for the registration by the Protector of Immigrants of persons who are described as married in the Immigration Lists, and such registration has the effect of validating the marriage. There is a distinct prohibition, however, in section 66 against the registration of any polygamous marriage, though by an earlier Act, 12 of 1872, provision was made for the registration of such marriages, and section 68 provides for the validation of those which had been registered at the time of the passing of the Act of 1891. A later Act of 1907 departs from the principle laid down in section 66, "That no polygamous marriage shall be registered by the Protector of Indian Immigrants or by any Magistrate," for by section 6 it is enacted that "The provisions of section 68 of the Indian Immigration Law 1891 shall, as regards Indian immigrants arriving in the country after the commencement of this Act, apply to all marriages shown in the certified copies of their marriage certificates notwithstanding that any such marriage may be a polygamous marriage." And in section 7 provision is made for the registration of polygamous marriages of Indian immigrants who had arrived in the Colony prior to the commencement of the Act. The section then sets forth, "That the registration of a marriage under this section shall have the same validity and effect as the registration of marriages under the 68th section of the said Law 1891." In this Act, therefore, it will be seen that there is a distinct recognition of polygamy in the case of a limited number of indentured Indian immigrants, but as immigration from India has now been stopped this Act is no longer of any effect. The principle embodied in it, however, is one of which we do not approve, and we do not feel justified in recommending that it should in any way be extended.

There is another precedent in South Africa for the validation by registration of marriages which were invalid by law in the regulations for the Native Territories made in 1879 under the provisions of the Transkeian Annexation Act of 1877, which regulations have the force of law in those territories. Regulation 31 provides that "Any marriage celebrated according to ordinary Kaffir or Fingo forms, provided that it is registered within three months from the date of such marriage in a book to be kept for that purpose by the Resident Magistrate of the district, shall be taken to be in all respects as valid and binding.....as a marriage contract under the marriage laws of the Cape Colony."

The recommendation which we have made on this subject, therefore, is one which not only commends itself to our sense of what is right and proper in the circumstances, but it is also supported by precedent, and we feel justified, therefore, in submitting it for favourable consideration.

Short Studies.

Studies of Extravagance.*

The Writer.

EVERY morning when he awoke his first thought was: How am I? For it was extremely important that he should be well, seeing that when he was not well he could neither produce what he knew he ought, nor contemplate that lack of production with equanimity. Having discovered that he did not ache anywhere, he would say to his wife: "Are you all right?" and, while she was answering, he would think: "Yes—if I make that last chapter pass subjectively through his personality, then I had better—" and so on. Not having heard whether his wife were all right he would get out of bed, and do that which he called "abdominal cult," for it was necessary that he should digest his food and preserve his figure, and while he was doing it he would partly think: "I am doing this well," and partly he would think: "That fellow in 'The Parnassus' is quite wrong—he simply doesn't see—" And pausing for a moment with nothing on, and his toes level with the top of a chest

of drawers, he would say to his wife: "What I think about that Parnassus fellow is that he doesn't grasp the fact that my books—" And he would not fail to hear her answer warmly: "Of course he doesn't; he's a perfect idiot." He would then shave. This was his most creative moment, and he would soon cut himself and utter a little groan, for it would be needful now to find his special cotton wool and stop the bleeding, which was a paltry business, and not favorable to the flight of genius. And if his wife, taking advantage of the incident, said something which she had long been waiting to say, he would answer, wondering a little what it was she had said, and thinking: "There it is, I get no time for steady thought."

Having finished shaving he would bathe, and a philosophical conclusion would almost invariably come to him just before he doused himself with cold—so that he would pause, and call out through the door: "You know, I think the Supreme Principle—" And while his wife was answering, he would resume the drowning of her words, having fortunately remembered just in time that his circulation would suffer if he did not douse himself with cold while he was still warm. He would dry himself dreamily developing that theory of the Universe, and imparting it to his wife in sentences that seldom had an end, so that it was not necessary for her to answer them. While dressing he would stray a little, thinking: "Why can't I concentrate myself on my work; it's awful!" And if he had by any chance a button off, he would present himself rather unwillingly, feeling that it was a waste of his time. Watching her frown from sheer self-effacement over her button sewing, he would think: "She is wonderful! How can she put up with doing things for me all day long?" And he would fidget a little, feeling in his bones that the postman had already come.

He went down always thinking: "Oh! hang it; this infernal post taking up all my time!" And as he neared the breakfast room, he would quicken his pace; seeing a large pile of letters on the table, he would say, automatically, "Curse!" and his eyes would brighten. If—as seldom happened—there were not a green-colored wrapper enclosing mentions of him in the press, he would murmur: "Thank God!" and his face would fall.

It was his custom to eat feverishly, walking a good deal, and reading about himself, and when his wife tried to bring him to a sense of his disorder, he would tighten his lips without a word, and think: "I have a good deal of self-control."

He seldom commenced work before eleven, for though he always intended to, he found it practically impossible not to dictate to his wife things about himself, such as how he could not lecture here; or where he had been born; or how much he would take for this; and why he would not consider that; together with those letters which began:—

"My dear—,

"Thanks tremendously for your letter about my book, and its valuable criticism. Of course, I think you are quite wrong. . . . You don't seem to have grasped. . . . In fact, I don't think you ever quite do me justice.

"Yours affectionately,

"—"

When his wife had copied those that might be valuable after he was dead, he would stamp the envelopes, and exclaiming, "Nearly eleven—my God!" would go somewhere where they think.

It was during those hours when he sat in a certain chair with a pen in his hand that he was able to rest from thought about himself; save, indeed, in those moments, not too frequent, when he could not help reflecting: "That's a fine page—I have seldom written anything better;" or in those moments, too frequent when he sighed deeply, and thought: "I am not the man I was." About half-past one he would get up with the pages in his hand, and, seeking out his wife, would give them to her to read, remarking: "Here's the wretched stuff—no good at all;" and taking a position where he thought she could not see him, would do such things as did prevent his knowing what effect the pages made on her. If the effect was good he would often feel how wonderful she was; if it was not good he had at once a chilly sensation in the pit of his stomach, and ate very little lunch.

When in the afternoons he took his walks abroad he passed great quantities of things and people without noticing, because, he was thinking deeply on such questions as whether he were more of an observer, or more of an imaginative artist; whether he were properly appreciated in Germany; and particularly whether one were not in danger of thinking too much about oneself. But every now and then he would stop, and say to himself: "I really must see more of life, I really must take in more feel;" and he would passionately fix his eyes on a cloud, or a flower, or a man walking, and there would instantly come into his mind the thought: "I have written twenty books—ten more will make thirty—that cloud is grey;" or: "That fellow X—is jealous of me! This flower is blue;" or: "This man is walking very—very—. D—n 'The Morning Muff,' it always runs me down!" And he would

*No individual has posed for any of these caricatures.

have a sort of sore, beaten feeling, knowing that he had not observed those things as accurately as he would have wished to.

During these excursions, too, he would often reflect impersonally upon matters of the day, large questions of Art, Public Policy, and Human Soul; and would almost instantly find that he had always thought this or that; and at once see the necessity for putting his conclusion forward in his book or in the press phrasing it, of course, in a way that no one else could; and there would start up before him little bits of newspaper with these words on them: "No one, perhaps, save Mr.—, could have so ably set forth the case for Baluchistan." Or, "In the 'Daily Miracle, there is a noble letter from that eminent writer, Mr.—, pleading against the hyperspiritualism of our age."

Very often he would say to himself, as he walked with eyes fixed on things that he did not see: "This existence is not healthy. I really must get away and take a complete holiday, and not think at all about my work, I am getting too self-centred," and he would go home and say to his wife: "Let's go to Sicily, or Spain, or somewhere. Let's get away from all this, and just live," And when she answered, "How jolly" he would repeat, a little absently, "How jolly!" considering what would be the best arrangement for forwarding his letters. And if, as sometimes happened, they did go, he would spend almost a whole morning, living, and thinking how jolly it was to be away from everything; but towards the afternoon he would feel a sensation, as though he were a sofa that had been sat on too much, a sort of subsidence very deep within him. This would be followed in the evening by a disinclination to live; and that feeling would grow until on the third day he received his letters together with a green-colored wrapper enclosing some mentions of himself, and he would say: "Those fellows—no getting away from them!" and feel irresistibly impelled to sit down. Having done so he would take up his pen, not writing anything, indeed—because of the determination to, "live," as yet not quite extinct—but comparatively easy in his mind. On the following day he would say to his wife: "I believe I can work here." And she would answer, smiling, "That splendid"; and he would think, "She's wonderful!" and begin to write.

On other occasions, while walking the streets or about the countryside, he would suddenly be appalled at his own ignorance, and would say to himself; "I know simply nothing—I must read." And going home he would dictate to his wife the names of a number of books to be procured from library. When they arrived he would look at them a little gravely and think: "By Jove! Have I got to read those?" and the same evening he would take one up. He would not, however, get beyond the fourth page, if it were a novel, before he would say: "Muck! He can't write!" and would feel absolutely stimulated to take up his own pen and write something that was worth reading. Sometimes, on the other hand, he would put the novel down after the third page, exclaiming: "By Jove! He can write!" And there would rise within him such a sense of dejection at his own inferiority, that he would feel simply compelled to try and see whether he really was inferior.

But if the book were not a novel he sometimes finished the first chapter before one of two feelings came over him; either, that what he had just read was what he had himself long thought—that, of course, would be when the book was a good one; or that what he had just read was not true, or at all events debatable. In each of these events he found it impossible to go on reading, but would remark to his wife: "This fellow says what I've always said"; or: "This fellow says so and so, now I say——" and he would argue the matter with her, taking both sides of the question, as to save her all unnecessary speech.

There were times when he felt that he absolutely must hear music, and he would enter the concert hall with his wife in the pleasant certainty that he was going to lose himself. Towards the middle of the second number, especially if it happened to be music that he liked, he would begin to nod; and presently, on waking up, would get a feeling that he really was an artist. From that moment on he was conscious of certain noises being made somewhere in his neighbourhood causing a titillation of his nerves, favorable to deep and earnest thoughts about his work. On going out his wife would ask him: "Wasn't the Mozart lovely?" or, "How did you like the Strauss?" and he would answer: "Rather!" wondering a little which was which; or he would look at her out of the corner of his eye, and glance secretly at the programme to see whether he had really heard them.

He was extremely averse to being interviewed, or photographed, and all that sort of publicity, and only made exceptions in most cases, because his wife would say to him: "Oh! I think you ought," or because he could not bear to refuse anybody anything; together, perhaps, with a sort of latent dislike of waste, deep down in his soul. When he saw the results he never failed to ejaculate: "Never again! No, really—never again! The whole thing is wrong and stupid!" And he would order a few copies.

For he dreaded nothing so much as [the thought that he might become an egoist, and knowing the dangers of his profession, fought continually against it. Often he would complain to his wife: "I don't think of you enough." And she would smile, and say: "Don't you?" And he would feel better, having confessed his soul. Sometimes for an hour at a time he would make really heroic efforts not to answer her without having first grasped what she had said; and to check a tendency, that he sometimes feared was growing on him, to say "What?" whether he had heard or no. In truth, he was not (as he often said) constitutionally given to small talk, Conversation that did not promise a chance of dialectic victory was hardly to his liking; so that he felt bound in sincerity to eschew it, which sometimes caused him to sit silent for "quite a while," as the Americans have phrased it. But once committed to an argument he found it difficult to leave off, having a natural, if somewhat sacred, belief in his own convictions.

His attitude to his creations was, perhaps, peculiar. He either did not mention them, or touched on them, if absolutely obliged, with a light and somewhat disparaging tongue; this did not, indeed, come from any real distrust of them, but rather from a superstitious feeling that one must not tempt Providence in the solemn things of life. If other people touched on them in the same way he had, not unnaturally, a feeling of real pain, such as comes to a man when he sees an instance of cruelty or injustice. And though something always told him that it was neither wise nor dignified to notice outrages of this order, he would mutter to his wife: "Well, I suppose it is true—I can't write"; feeling, perhaps, that—if he could not with decency notice such injuries, she might. And, indeed, she did, using warmer words than even he felt justified, which was soothing.

After tea, it was his habit to sit down a second time, pen in hand; not infrequently he would spend those hours divided between the feeling that it was his duty to write something, and the feeling that it was his duty not to write anything if he had nothing to say; and he generally wrote a good deal; for deep down he was convinced that if he did not write he would gradually fade away till there would be nothing left for him to read and think about, and though he was often tempted to believe and even to tell his wife that fame was an unworthy thing, he always deferred that pleasure, afraid, perhaps, of too much happiness.

In regard to the society of his fellows he liked almost anybody, though a little impatient with those, especially authors, who took themselves too seriously; and there were just one or two that he really could not stand, they were so obviously full of jealousy, a passion of which he was naturally intolerant, and had, of course, no need to indulge in. And he would speak of them with extreme dryness—nothing more, disdaining to disparage. It was, perhaps, weakness in him that he found it difficult to accept adverse criticism as anything but an expression of that same yellow sickness; and yet there were moments when no words would adequately convey his low opinion of his own powers. At such times he would seek out his wife and confide to her his conviction that he was a poor thing, no good at all, without a thought in his head; and while she was replying: "Rubbish! You know there's nobody to hold a candle to you," or words to that effect, he would look at her tragically, and murmur: "Ah! you're prejudiced!" Only at such supreme moments of dejection, indeed, did he feel it a pity that he had married her, seeing how much more convincing her words would have been, if he had not.

He never read the papers till the evening, partly because he had not time, and partly because he so seldom found anything in them. This was not remarkable, for turned there leaves quickly, pausing, indeed, naturally, if there were any mention of his name; and if his wife asked him whether he had read this or that, he would answer, "No," surprised at the funny things that seemed to interest her.

Before going up to bed, he would sit and smoke. And sometimes fancies would come to him, and sometimes none. Once in a way he would look up at the stars, and think: "What a worm I am: This wonderful Infinity! I must get more of it—more of it into my work; more of the feeling that the whole is marvellous and great, and man a little clutch of breath and dust, an atom, a straw, a nothing!"

And a sort of exaltation would seize on him, so that he knew that if only he did get that into his work, as he wished to, as he felt at that moment that he could, he would be the greatest writer the world had ever seen, the greatest man, almost greater than he wished to be, almost too great to be mentioned in the press, greater than Infinity itself—for would he not be Infinity's creator? And suddenly he would check himself with the thought: "I must be careful—I must be careful. If I let my brain go at this time of night, I shan't write a decent word to-morrow!"

And he would drink some milk and go to bed.

—JOHN GALEWORTHY
in *The Nation*.

Byron in Rome.

The half-identification of the house—66, Piazza di Spagna—where Byron lodged in Rome during April, 1817, for barely three weeks recalls us to that unfading compelling personality. There he finished "Manfred" and dashed off those wonderful stanzas of "Childe Harold." This was the sole visit that he paid to the capital of the Caesars, and it was after it, at the Venetian carnival of the ensuing year, that he was to send Murray that thrilling and Roman sentence, "I will work the mine of my youth to the last veins of the ore, and then—Good night. I have lived and am content." A few years longer he lived, never content—ever the mad bull in the Dresden china shop of society; finally a hero intercepted by a fever—and a hero for the future of a nation that mainly appealed to him through their past. He deemed himself a fallen spirit. A spirit he certainly was, and the strange light (or lightning) of him still shoots and flashes.

What did he see in Rome? Very few letters survive, and an important one from his sister is missing. "Childe Harold" communicates his inmost thoughts, but from passera-by he concealed the depths. Rather with infinite curiosity and *insouciance* he surveyed the modern things in their majestic setting, and he surveyed them with ironic mirth as well as with his ironic melancholy. The British tourists who made him one of their gazing-stocks were his abomination. But he loved all queeresses, even the queeresses of coiffure.

I perceive [he tells Murray] you are publishing a *Life* of Raffael d'Urbino. It may perhaps interest you to hear that a set of German artists here allow their hair to grow and trim it into *his* fashion, thereby drinking the cummin of the disciples of the old philosopher [Latro the rhetorician, who recommended it for a "studious complexion"]. If they would cut their hair, convert it into brushes, and part like him, it would be more "German" to the matter,—"I'll tell you a story. The other day a man here—an English—mistaking the statues of Charlemagne and Constantine, which are *Equestrian*, for those of Peter and Paul, asked another which was Paul of these same horsemen?—to which the reply was, I thought, Sir, that "St. Paul had never got on horseback since his accident!" I'll tell you another; Henry Fox, writing to someone from Naples the other day, after an illness, adds—"and I am so changed that my *oldest creditors* would hardly know me."

These stories of their kind would be difficult to better; the last is worthy of Sheridan.

After "Childe Harold" perhaps the next except may fall somewhat flat. Byron, unlike Goethe, indulged in no Roman erotics, and he had left a lady-love behind him. But his realization of a "sixth sense" is extremely interesting.

I am delighted with Rome—as I would be with a bandbox, that is, it is a fine thing to see, finer than Greece. . . . As a whole, ancient and modern, it beats Greece, Constantinople, everything—at least that I have ever seen. But I can't describe, because my first impressions are always strong and confused, and my Memory selects and reduces them to order, like distance in the landscape and blends them better, although they may be less distinct. There can't be a sense or two more than we have, as mortals . . . for where there is much to be grasped we are always at a loss, and yet feel that we ought to have a higher and more extended comprehension.

And, again, in another letter: "Of Rome I say nothing; it is quite indescribable, and the Guide-book is as good as any other." Did Murray take the hint, has Baedeker taken it? At any rate, Childe Harold has become a *cicerone*. He met Lord Lansdowne, he had met the Jerseys and Lady Jersey (Disraeli's "Zonobia") was one of the very few who had been kind to him at the last. He rode most of the day—a picturesque figure. Always he rode, at Constantinople, on the Lido facing Venice; it is the exercise of poets. He called Rome the "elder sister" of Byzantium—the elder "and the finer." The "top of the Alban Mount" he pronounced superb. As for the Vatican, only one statue figures in his letters—that of the Appollo Belvidere. And why? Because it reminded him of a lady to whom once he had nearly proposed. Lady Adelaide Forbes—"I think I never saw such a likeness." So was it ever with Byron, all was living to him. That is why his appeal is European more than English-European, and beyond. His last words on Rome are a commentary. "I have seen the Pope alive and a Cardinal dead—both whom looked very well indeed."

If the numbering be unchanged, this lodging in the Piazza di Spagna is the house, and if so, it has a strange fitness, for it fronts the rooms where Keats died—where the "fiery particle" flickered and was quenched. And it points to whence by night

The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are.

Rome has indeed changed since then, yet is she not still unchangeable. Let us hear Byron once more. He is on the palantive:—
Cypress and ivy; weed and wallflower grown
Matted and massed together, hillocks heaped

On what were chambers, arch crushe'd, column strown
In fragments, choked up vaults, and frescos steep'd
In subterranean damp, where the owl peep'd,
Deeming it midnight:—Temples, baths, or halls?
Pronounce who can; for all that Learning reap'd
From her research hath been, that these are walls—
Behold the Imperial Mount! 'tis thus the mighty falls.
And soon follows that magnificent passage beginning
Admire—exult—despise—laugh, weep—for here
There is much matter for all feeling.

—a passage that has in it the ruins of the world and the cenotaph of the centuries—lines that ring, as if, so to say, they were a Napoleon in rhyme. That is the real Byron, the Byron in Rome. Lady Adelaide Forbes and the Appollo Belvidere retreat. The "edict of earth's rulers" resounds and the man who Byronized others, the centrally self-centred, appeals to "The Niobe of nations" and sobs forth,

Oh Rome, my country! city of the soul,
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee.

—The Times.



Does Conquest Pay?

An old world chronicle would have had some words of resigned and puzzled fatalism at the end of the chapter in which it recorded the sequel of the Russo-Japanese War. By the mysterious workings of an inscrutable Providence, the power which won in that terrific conflict is to-day humbled, distracted, and nearly bankrupt; the power which lowered its proud flag and admitted defeat, seems, from a distant view, more prosperous than before, less deeply riven by the cleavage of revolution, and better able to arm and to consolidate its military forces. Nor, with all our modern grasping at scientific sociology, is it easy for the contemporary chronicler to avoid imitating the medieval monk. A touch of piety would make the confession that we do not understand what is happening, so much more graceful and reposeful. The really odd fact about the contrast between Russia and Japan, is that we do not clearly see where, in fundamentals, their situation differs. Both peoples are, by European standards, dimly poor. In Japan, income-tax is paid on incomes over £30, and it is only a small minority of families which pays. In Russia the average yearly income is said to be only between £5 and £6 per head of the population. Famine is now raging in the poorer Northern districts of Japan, but it is chronic in some parts of Russia, and the fact that harvests have latterly been abundant does not mean that the peasantry is really on the road to prosperity. In both Empires the burden of taxation is crushing, and in both it is the supposed necessity for great armaments which explains them. In neither is representative government a reality, and though Japan probably has the advantage here, both are swayed by a sacrosanct autocracy, and both are driven to repress the modern phase of revolt by the persecution of a struggling Socialist movement. Each attempts to foster the transition from an agricultural to an industrial form of civilization by high protection, and in each the new factories show a ruthless exploitation of the wage-earners which could not be paralleled in Western Europe. Over the finances of them both, cool critics shake their heads, and predict the inevitable catastrophe. Corruption in the public services is a plague in both.

But where so much is the same, everything none the less is different. Russia can afford to startle Germany by re-arming her artillery, building Dreadnoughts and strategic railways, and now, for climax, by a proposal to increase her "peace" army by 400,000 men. Japan is shaken by a popular revolt against reckless expenditure complicated by shameless corruption, and a Ministry, dominated by the Satsuma clan, which lives by controlling the fleet, must acquiesce in a reduction of its naval estimates by the relatively vast figure of £7,900,000. Defeat has brought a seeming prosperity; conquest has led to ruin, and this paradoxical result has come about where both Powers followed a similar policy in not very dissimilar conditions. It is a pretty puzzle for social science.

To the modern school of pacifists one-half of this pair of facts will not seem surprising. We have before us a collection of Mr. Norman Angell's essays and addresses ("The Foundations of International Policy," Heinemann), which restates his familiar position, not perhaps with all the freshness and force of his earlier writing, but with unshaken conviction and the same formidable combination of logic with faith. Is there here, in the plight of Japan, a striking confirmation of his central doctrine that conquest does not pay, and that the accumulation of force is not so much a crime as an irrelevance in modern States? Here, indeed, it would seem that conquest, so far from enriching the victorious nation, has actually impoverished it, so that it finds itself unable to maintain the forces which its rulers think necessary to secure its acquisitions. The main conclusion is evidently sound in this instance when the facts are broadly viewed, but we doubt whether this particular illustration goes far on a close view to prove the detailed thesis. Mr. Angell's argument is addressed to peoples of a more advanced civilization than either Russia or Japan. It is true to say of us, or of the Germans, that if we were to embark on a European war, though we annexed territory, we should not acquire land. Neither

the fields nor the factories of the conquered territory would change hands. A profitable conquest on Norman lines is to-day for us impossible. Our ruling class does not think of land as the typical form of wealth. But that is hardly true as yet of Russia and Japan, which are still partially in an agrarian phase of development. When they expand, they do take land. Even in Northern Persia, which has not yet been annexed, thousands of Russian settlers have followed the army of occupation, and have acquired Persian lands at a nominal price. In Korea the Japanese certainly began to carry out a scheme of military colonization at the expense of the Korean farmers, which called forth indignant protests from some English observers on the spot. How far it has gone we do not know. In the Balkans there has been an ominous movement of great masses of the population. Albanians have fled before the Serbs, Bulgarians have quitted Greek territory, some Greeks have fled from the new Bulgaria, and Turks have everywhere abandoned farms and villages. It will be found when the process is complete and a balance struck, that the victorious races have added to their landed wealth, and a Balkan Domesday Book will record that the fortunes of countless Serbian and Greek families have been advanced by conquest. Force at this level of civilization is rather a brutality than an irrelevance. The Norman epoch is not yet quite ended. Even in the British Empire there are Matabele and Zulus and Massai who have seen something of it.

On the higher level of civilization with which Mr. Norman Angell chiefly deals, the order of facts which his thesis fails to cover is subtler and more elusive. We have no difficulty in accepting his main premises. A modern people does not "own" its colonies and dependencies, and therefore cannot as a nation be enriched by conquest. The spoils of Empire do not go to the masses at home, who are unaffected by the process of expansion, save in so far as they bear the burden of taxation and see the resources of social reform squandered upon armaments. The Norman of to-day is not a military adventurer, but the financier and the investor who is concerned in the various dependencies, protectorates, and spheres of influence or penetration which a modern Empire attaches to itself. The export of capital has come to be, from the standpoint of the moneyed class, immensely more important as a direct source of profit and income than the export of goods. Trade does not follow the flag, but the flow of capital on the whole does so. It is a quasi-political process, and it long ago harnessed diplomacy to itself. Nations are not in business as a joint-stock concern, as Mr. Angell puts it; but that is a misleading assumption, unless we recognize also that capitalists do act in national groups abroad, and do receive from diplomacy, not merely protection, but active support in their schemes of expansion. The cruder cases, where this pressure leads to a territorial change, are, of course, easily recognized. Everyone knows that the real motive of the Franco-German struggle over Morocco was the rivalry of French and German capitalists to exploit its virgin mines and to supply it with public works. We all take it as a matter of course that railway building in India or irrigation works in Egypt should be in the hands of British contractors. What is not so readily grasped by the General public is that in countries like Turkey and China the competition among financiers for concessions invariably involves their governments. Everyone knows that the Bagdad Railway, financed and controlled by private German citizens, is a semi-official enterprise. But rather less directly, rather less overtly British diplomacy stands behind British railway ventures in China. The fact is avowed where we claim a sphere of monopoly, and one gathers from a telegram a few weeks ago in the *Times* that our pretension to a "place in the sun" in the Yangtze Valley is about to be enforced against rival Powers. The diplomacy which stands behind the exporter of capital is far from relying exclusively on its conversational charm. The shadow of a British ambassador, when he visits the Porte or the Tsung-li-Yamen, is apt to shape itself into the semblance of a Dradnought. Armaments stand behind this competition for economic opportunity, and play their part alike in over-awing dying empires and in impressing rival competitors. The struggle for a balance of power has its motive and its impetus largely in this singular modern relationship between the State and finances.

It is the omission of this puzzling and repugnant set of facts which explains a certain want of co-ordination between Mr. Angell's thesis and our modern problem of armaments. Force is not yet an irrelevance, though the ends which it serves are not European ends, or even national ends. Nations struggle no longer over their hearths and homes, their national liberties and their national faiths. They can be induced to struggle for the right to dig iron ore in the Alps and to dump it in the form of steel rails at Bagdad. Pacifists are sometimes apt to assume that the armament firms alone have an interest in armaments, and that all the rest of the world is their dupe. It is rather the whole world of finance, restlessly seeking outlets in regions which have yet absorbed but little capital, which has this interest. Its power depends in every modern State on the failure of democracy to organize its control over diplomacy. The direct

attack on armaments is probably destined to be thwarted until this pervasive and subtle influence has been studied and undermined.—*The Nation*.



The Balance of the Balkans.

The various States in the Balkan Peninsula have now adjusted their respective frontiers, and, after a suitable period of introspective examination, have made reports as to their size and population. The most recently published official figures give the following results:—

	Square Kms.	Inhabitants.
ALBANIA	32,000	...
BULGARIA—		
Old territory	96,345	...
Territory lost	7,525	...
Territory gained	26,257	...
Present area	112,077	...
GREECE—		
Old territory	64,657	...
New territory	56,611	...
Present area	121,268	...
MONTENEGRO—		
Old territory	9,080	...
New territory	5,876	...
Present area	14,956	...
ROUMANIA—		
Old territory	131,353	...
New territory	7,525	...
Present territory	138,878	...
TURKEY IN EUROPE—		
Former area according to Treaty of London.	9,168	...
Territory regained by Treaty of Constantinople	16,201	...
Present area	25,369	...
SERBIA—		
Old territory	48,303	...
New territory	39,047	...
Present area	87,350	...

The arable area in the acquisitions of the various States is said to be as follows:—

	Acres.
Bulgaria	...
Greece	...
Montenegro	...
Roumania	...
Servia	...
Turkey	...

Thus the total arable area of Bulgaria at present, including her acquisition of territory, is actually less than it was before the wars by some 760,000 acres!

These figures of population may tend to fluctuate—apart from the normal increase to be expected from the surplus of births over deaths—on account of emigration. There is a certain flow of Bulgars out of Servian and Hellenic Macedonia into Old Bulgaria and the Provinces of the Littoral. Moslems are leaving Macedonia for Asia Minor, as many as 8,000 having passed through Salonika in one week, and Greeks are moving from Ottoman Thrace into Old and New Greece. Albanians and some Bulgars are passing out of New Servia into Albania. Epirotes are leaving Albania in order to move into New Greece. A certain number of Salonika Jews have left for South America, and others are likely to follow. The Balkan races are in process of sorting themselves, and within a few years the astonishing ethnological and ecclesiastical diversities of Macedonia will have been very largely obliterated in favour of the nationality, and its State Church under the political denomination of which any given area may find itself.

Bulgaria's share of the cost of the Balkan Wars has been reckoned up by Professor Tsankoff, of the University of Sofia. The heavy bill which she will have to foot is analysed as follows:—The credits voted amounted to £12,400,000. The requisitions are estimated at £6,000,000. The deficit in the revenue due to the hostilities was £2,000,000. On munitions and transport service £6,000,000 has been, or will have to be, expended. Strategic railways and other miscellaneous items account for £7,200,000. For the pensions promised to soldiers incapacitated by their wounds a capital sum of £16,000,000 will be required. That makes a grand total of close upon £50,000,000; while the value of the territory which Bulgaria had to cede to Roumania is estimated by M. Tsankoff at another £60,000,000. The number of lives lost was somewhere between 55,000 and 58,000—between 6 and 7 per cent. of the adult male population of the country.

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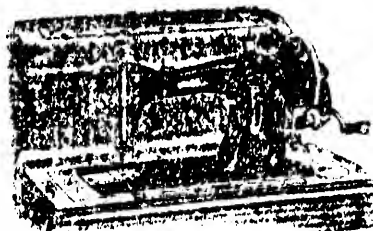
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EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.**NOTICE.**

The Public are informed that the East Indian Railway City Booking Office at Delhi Sadr has been removed from the East side of the Kutub Road to House No. 2781 situated on the West side of the Kutub Road.

CALCUTTA : }
7th May 1914. }

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—Morris.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

One thousand Nationalist Volunteers were drilled last night at Carrick-on-Shannon. Two hundred of them carried rifles. The Police were not present. It is stated that large quantities of rifles and ammunition for the Nationalists have been landed on the west coast of Ireland.

The Limerick County Council have unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the Nationalist Volunteer movement. Speaking in support of the motion, Mr. Landon M. P. said that when Home Rule was on the Statute book, two hundred thousand Volunteers would parade in Dublin in order to prevent the withdrawal of a measure which had been dearly won.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, speaking at an anti-Home Rule demonstration at Tnaubridge Wells yesterday, warmly denounced the "crooked work" of the Cabinet which, he said, had corruptly bought the Nationalist vote. The price thereof was Home Rule which broke the faith of generations and sold a province of Britain to its enemies. The British electors had been muzzled, but the Army to its eternal glory had saved the Empire.

Speaking in Queen's Hall, Sir Edward Carson declared that so far as he knew no offer or counter-offer of any kind regarding

Ulster and Home Rule had been made except a hypocritical sham of offer made in the House of Commons.

Speaking at Ipswich, Mr. Marston said that Government had been advised that it would be impossible to obtain a conviction of Sir Edward Carson as his offence was a hypothetical one.

Mr. Herbert Holman, insurance broker, the prospective Liberal candidate for Mid-Devon in a speech at Abbotswickwell disclosed the fact that the Government had seized two ships concerned in the Ulster gun-running. The charterer of one, said the speaker, was an Earl who would probably have to pay value to the owner.

The Nationalists claim to have discovered a great Unionist plan to bring Londonderry and other districts under Ulster's Provisional Government in the immediate future. Consequently the Nationalist Volunteers have offered to assist the police and military in resisting such an attempt and have asked Nationalist Members of the House of Commons to assist Mr. Asquith that thousands of drilled Volunteers will assist the forces of the Crown.

Turkey.

The Turkish Parliament has re-assembled after twenty-one months' recess.

In a speech opening Parliament the Sultan referred to the mortification caused throughout the country at the military disasters of the war the responsibility for which a high military tribunal would determine.

He regretted the Powers' decision to transfer to Greece the islands so necessary to the development of Anatolia and pointed to the continuance of the Government's efforts to obtain recognition of his sovereignty over the islands. The Sultan urged upon the country the necessity of making good the losses of the military resulting from the war and of creating a strong navy. He appealed to the spirit of self-sacrifice of the nation and emphasised the necessity of drafting a budget having that end in view.

Hakil Bey has been elected President of the Chamber. In a speech he enjoined the Deputies not to forget that they had brothers to save and territories to retrieve beyond their frontiers.

South African Indians.

The All India Moslem League has made representations at the Foreign and Colonial Offices that the recommendations of the South African Commission regarding the recognition of marriages if carried out would seriously encroach the rights of Mussalmans and be a disastrous interference with the laws relating to their religion guaranteed by the proclamation of 1858. The Union Government, says the League, whilst entitled to declare monogamy the prevailing rule in South Africa, has no right to declare that the issue of a valid marriage in India confers no rights in and

be excluded from entering the country of the father's domicile. It suggests that the recommendations shall be carefully examined by competent Indian lawyers so that no unnecessary hardship shall result from their practical application.

The Oriental Languages School.

London, May 17.

The Oriental Studies Committee, of the India Office, the London Chamber of Commerce and Sir Montagu Turner's Committee have issued a joint appeal on behalf of the Oriental Languages School, pointing out that in addition to the grants of £4,000 and £1,250 per annum, promised by Government and the India Office respectively, and £2,000 per annum expected from the London County Council a further sum of at least £6,700 a year is required. They ask for an endowment fund of not less than £100,000. The Committee mention that plans for buildings have been approved and that contracts will be settled directly the building strike, which to-day was entering on its seventeenth week, has been settled.

Albania.

London, May 16.

The Albanian Premier, M. Turkhan, is visiting Rome and is being received with great honour. He starts to-day for Vienna to confer with Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for foreign affairs regarding the difficulties of the new State.

London, May 18.

The Albanian Government has made extensive concessions to the Epirotes regarding the formation of their own gendarmerie, language, education and the appointment of Christian governors with locally elected administrative council—all under the guarantees of the Powers.

London, May 19.

Grave complications have arisen in Durazzo. Some two thousand Mussalmans and insurgent peasants have reached Sika near Durazzo to demand exemption from military service and use of Albanian tongue in schools. They accuse Essad Pasha of breaking his promises. Meanwhile an Italian squadron has arrived hastily at Durazzo. Essad Pasha and his wife have been arrested, it is not certain by whom, and taken aboard Austrian warship. Marquis Di San Giuliano, Italian Foreign Minister, is preparing to proceed to Durazzo. The whole situation for the moment is most obscure.

Buda Pest, May 19.

Count Berchtold to-day informed the delegations that during the last few days the antagonism between the followers of Essad Pasha and his opponents had become more acute and had led to the formation of bands around Durazzo and the consequent anxiety their. Commanders of Austrian and Italian guardships there had agreed to land seamen for the protection of the Princely Court. Essad Pasha was now on board an Austrian guardship.

Vienna, May 20.

Prior to the capture of Essad Pasha the Dutch gendarmes bombarded his house. The "Neue Freie Presse" states that at the request of the Prince, Austro-Hungarian and Italian warships landed detachments which attacked Essad Pasha's house with machine guns. Essad Pasha asked for safe conduct on board the Italian ship, but this was refused.

Rome, May 20.

Signor Giolitti, ex-Premier, has left here for Durazzo.

The situation in Albania is clearing somewhat. The Prince suspecting that Essad Pasha who was largely increasing his body-guard and following generally, was playing a double game sent gendarmes under officers with quickfiring to arrest him.

Essad Pasha was eventually handed over to the Austrian and Italian naval commanders who meanwhile, at the instance of the Prince, landed a considerable force which is now guarding the palace. Essad Pasha is supposed to have encouraged the march of armed peasants upon Durazzo, but this is not certain.

The Albanian Cabinet has resigned.

Essad Pasha has been transferred to the Italian steamer and deported to Italy. He has promised not to return to Albania without the Prince's permission.

Replying to a question in the delegation Count Berchtold recounted the recent incidents at Durazzo. He added that so far he was unable to judge of their significance, but such incidents were to be expected in a newly organised Balkan State and there was no reason to draw far-reaching and unfavourable conclusions from the events in Durazzo.



Our London Letter.

London, May 1.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The political situation, if anything, has undergone a change for the better during the last few days. In fact the improvement became

very marked on Wednesday during the concluding stage of the House of Commons debate on the Unionists, "censure" motion. The tone of the speeches of Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Bonar Law was surprisingly conciliatory. Mr. Balfour contributed a new and valuable definition of Ulster—"the North-East Counties of Ireland;" Mr. Bonar Law offered to "stand aside" if there were a renewal of conversations—it sounded like abdication—and Sir Edward Carson expressed "hope and prayer" that a Parliament for the rest of Ireland would be "such success that it would be to the interests of Ulster to come in under it."

Mr. Asquith having castigated his critics on the personal issue involved, expressed sympathy with the spirit of Sir Edward Carson's speech, and declared that the door would be kept open till the last moment for a settlement by consent.

The "censure" motion was defeated by a majority of 80. The general impression in political circles, as a result of Wednesday's developments, is that there will be a prompt renewal of "conversations." In such a case, it is understood that Mr. Redmond will take part in them.

As to the position of the Cabinet towards peace, the statements made in the *Daily News* that Mr. Churchill's suggestion was thrown out on his own responsibility, and that the Government's original offer to Ulster still stood, have now been borne out by the Prime Minister's pronouncements. More was read into Mr. Churchill's words, not only by his political opponents, but by a good many of the Government's supporters, and especially the Irish Nationalists, than the words strictly warranted. The Government, as the Prime Minister has repeated, have closed no door on peace.

Though sharp censure had marked both Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Asquith's speeches, yet everybody in the House, during the recent debate, felt that the most important part of what they said was the new "offer" which the First Lord made and upon which Mr. Asquith commented. Again, though the Opposition were pledged by their motion to demonstrate that the Government are guilty of plotting a massacre and attempting to conceal it by falsehood, nevertheless nobody, not even the speakers themselves, attached any importance to this self-imposed and vain task. Sir Edward Carson, who may be counted in this connection as the most important man on the Opposition side, ignored it completely; and, though Mr. Balfour and Mr. Bonar Law were more faithful, it was only to their comments upon Mr. Churchill's "offer" that anybody lent a listening ear.

It is a strange paradox that, when the conflict should be at its hottest and the words at their bitterest, both Front Benches should suddenly discover a change of temperature and a transformation and take to talking of peace. The plain man, who has no special information and is limited for the forming of a judgement to what is common property, must be content not to understand all the inwardness of this sudden change. He must be content with that and hope that this swift transition from conflict to conciliation, from threats of war to hopes of agreement, turns upon something solid. The phrase in Mr. Churchill's speech, which is the ostensible explanation of the movement towards optimism, is so vague that one may be pardoned the surprise that so much should have been read into it, and that it should have produced such considerable consequences. Mr. Churchill said that the political situation would be transformed if Sir Edward Carson would say:

"Give me the amendments to this Home Rule Bill which I ask to safeguard the dignity and the interests of Protestant Ulster, and I, in turn, will use all my influence and goodwill to make Ireland an integral unit in the federal system."

Read quite strictly this phrase contains no offer and no undertaking at all on the part of the Government. That, however, is not the interpretation which Sir Edward Carson and his friends, without any repudiation from the Government, put upon it.

Sir Edward Carson sees in it an offer to drop the time limit until Ulster decides of her own free will to enter as an integral part of Ireland under some future federal system of Government for the United Kingdom. Mr. Balfour's own comment is that nothing except the absolute and unconditional exclusion of Ulster will meet the case. Between the spirit of his presentation and the spirit of Sir Edward Carson's there is the difference between the spirit of one who denies Irish nationality and the spirit of one who feels himself an Irishman. That, as the official Liberal organ says, is important, but after all the important thing is: Do their practical suggestions really differ? Is there much difference between exclusion unconditionally and exclusion until (a) a Federal system is established, and (b) Ulster feels inclined to join the rest of Ireland as an integral unit in such a federal system? A federal system will come ultimately, but it has little pertinence to the present situation; and division which lasts for an indefinite term may very easily become permanent. If it be said, "but we should have Sir Edward Carson co-operating to bring about federalism, and to induce Ulster to join the rest of Ireland," the answer is obvious. If Sir Edward Carson were now, instead of widening and deepening the

[We regret that in our last week's London Letter the name of Dr. Baqer Shah was wrongly printed as Baqee Shah, for which we offer our apologies.]

differences between Ulster and the rest of Ireland, to apply the same zeal, devotion and energy to bringing the two together, there would be no need to wait for a problematical federation and to sever North from South in order ultimately to unite them. This present Home Rule Bill as it stands and here and now would do all that was needed. For these reasons it is wiser not to rush into an optimism which may prove quite futile and to welcome Mr. Asquith's closing words. In reply to a suggestion by Mr. Bonar Law of the renewal of "conversations," he insisted that it is no use trying to settle this question behind the backs of the people of Ulster and without the consent of the members for the rest of Ireland. There must be the assent and the honest assent of those who are mainly interested. These are wise words. Admittedly there is as yet no public opinion about federation, and by general consent Ulster is hardly less averse than the rest of Ireland to exclusion. The danger to which Ireland is exposed, as the *Daily News* truly says, is that, to get party leaders out of an embarrassing predicament, a "settlement" may be thrust upon Ireland, which the Irish do not want. Mr. Asquith's words are to be taken as a guarantee against that disaster.

GUN-RUNNING IN ULSTER.

The tone of Unionist comments on the latest Ulster episode—the smuggling of arms into Belfast—would be appropriate to some schoolboy exploit. It is wholly inappropriate to one of the gravest events since the beginning of the present Home Rule conflict. What happened in Belfast Lough during Friday night of last week cannot fail to make the Government reconsider the policy it has hitherto pursued towards the Ulster movement, and it is as well to indicate precisely why. It is not because, the *Daily News* seriously argues, so many thousand rifles and so many thousands of cartridges have been added to the armament of the Ulster Volunteers. So far as the Ulster Volunteers are a military problem, they were not serious before Friday week, and they are very little more serious to-day. It is the circumstances under which the rifles were smuggled which make the event so grave.

Putting together the official and the unofficial accounts, it is evident that in two or three parts of Ulster the Volunteers, apparently led by two members of Parliament, blocked the roads and forbade the use of them to the King's subjects engaged in lawful business; seized the telephones and the telegraphs, which are the King's property; occupied the railway station; assaulted and imprisoned the coastguards, who are the King's servants; and caused the death of one coastguard. We must wait for further details before we decide the exact degree of criminality involved in this last act, which, of course, can as little be removed from the jurisdiction of the courts as it can be blotted from the minds of men by the verdict of a jury composed of the friends of the criminals and pronounced with indecent haste.

For the present, however, it is enough to recall that when an officer died of heart disease while running away from riotous Denashawa peasants, it was thought just to hang four Egyptian villagers, in an exceptionally brutal manner, and that when at Manchester a policeman was accidentally killed during an attempted rescue of prisoners it was thought just to hang three Irish Fenians. When men engage in lawless conduct, from which there flow consequences, which are natural even though not desired, the law of this country holds those men responsible both for the conduct and the consequences.

It is not a jest to make military occupation of the King's cities. It is not a jest to seize the King's highways. It is not a jest to assault and imprison the King's servants. It is not a jest to cause the death of one of the King's servants under circumstances which may possibly amount to manslaughter or murder. These are positive crimes, the seriousness of which it would be as difficult to exaggerate as it would be foolish to disregard. The organisation of the Volunteer movement in Ulster from the beginning involved very grave criminal acts. But hitherto all these crimes had these characteristics—they have been technical offences preparatory to active rebellion, but they have not involved in themselves the annihilation of the King's authority, attack upon the King's property, interference with the King's servants, or the death of the King's servants. In the crimes committed last Friday night each and every one of these offences was included. They were no more technical breaches of law; they were rebellion with all the circumstances of rebellion, not excluding death.

There need be no surprise that Mr. Asquith was summoned back to town to consider these momentous happenings. For more than two years the Government has suffered the Ulster movement to continue without intervention, although it was manifestly and avowedly a conspiracy against the authority of Parliament and the Crown. That policy of tolerance has very naturally from time to time excited criticism from those who doubted its wisdom. But it could be persisted in by the Government so long as the plea could be urged that active rebellion was still a thing of the future, and there had been no definite attacks on property, life and authority. Now that plea falls to the ground. On Friday night for many

hours and over a large stretch of country a force of armed rebels swept away the authority of the Crown, terrorised the King's loyal subjects, seized the King's property, imprisoned the King's servants, and caused the death of one of the King's servants. Crimes such as these could be disregarded only at the price of surrendering all authority in Ulster, and admitting that there Parliament and the Crown are phantoms of which every lawless rogue may make mock. Of course, everybody recognises the insolent vanity, after such events, of the talk about a "plot" against the law-abiding men of Ulster, with which the Opposition have taken two days of Parliament's time. What every man who has any sense of the sanctity of law wants is an assurance that every person will be punished who took part in Friday's rebellion, and that the Government is determined to vindicate the authority of the Crown and of Parliament in Ulster as in the rest of the King's dominions.

Mr. Asquith announced last Monday in the House of Commons that the Government would deal without delay with "the grave and unprecedented outrage in Ulster." Subsequently he paid a visit to the King and returned to a prolonged meeting of the Cabinet, which had been summoned to deal with the situation. The nature of the measures to be taken can at present only be assumed, but it is certain that they will be commensurate with the seriousness of the occasion. The time has come in Mr. Churchill's phrase to put these grave matters to the proof. At all costs the authority of the law must be established, and it will be the duty of the Government to punish without delay those who have insulted the authority of the King, and to prosecute the ringleaders of the outrage, to send into Ulster such armed force as will be adequate to deal with the rebel movement, to seize all weapons and to forbid the armed drilling of those who are now openly at war with society. If the Government are wanting in courage now, then Government has ceased to exist, and the reign of anarchy is established. The right to arm against the State will not be limited to Ulster. It will be asserted by every body of men who think they have a grievance and who choose to repudiate the authority of Parliament by violent means. The issue at stake is nothing less than the existence of this country as a civilised society.

The events of last Friday have made it clear that the Government, if they were to blame at all last month, were to blame, not for excessive measures, but for insufficient measures of precaution. Had the naval arrangements which Mr. Churchill contemplated been carried out, there would have been no gun-running raid on Friday night. As for the attempt of the *Times* to represent that outrage as a sequel to the "plot," there is indisputable evidence to the contrary in the fact that the "Fanny" left Hamburg before the Curragh episode took place. It is clear that the attempt to spread sedition in the Army was going on concurrently with the scheme for supplying the rebels in Ulster with arms.

The whole scope of the conspiracy, in short, is now revealed and it is for the Government to deal with it with all the resources at their command. It is probable that Mr. Bonar Law still relies upon the Army proving disloyal. He will find himself mistaken; in any case the Government will not flinch from putting this to the proof. And if they have to deal with disloyalty in the Army as well as with treason in Parliament they will have abundant strength in the country for their need. Liberty is too old a growth in this land to be lightly uprooted, and the party that attempts to substitute the veto of the Army for the veto of the House of Lords is a party which is doomed for a generation. The Government have at no period had better reason to take a cheerful view of their position than they have to-day, or to regard the prospects of the Home Rule Bill with more confidence.

MR. CHURCHILL'S REFERENCE TO THE INDIAN ARMY.

Mr. Churchill has done well to draw attention to the extraordinary dictum that has been so emphatically laid down by Mr. Bonar Law as to when an officer or even a private soldier should or should not obey the orders of his superiors. The Unionist Leader has made it perfectly clear that he would leave the question entirely to the conscientious discretion of the Army, and that he for one would not blame them for refusing to obey orders, when that involves the shooting of their fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen even if the latter are prepared to go to the length of offering violent opposition to the administration of any particular measure, which has been sanctioned by the King and Parliament, and of breaking the peace of these realms. Supposing a situation may arise in India, which heaven forbid, that may necessitate the shooting of the Indian people or those who may have become revolutionary and dangerous to the stability of law and order, and the Indian officers or Indian soldiers for obvious conscientious reasons decline to obey the orders of their superiors to shoot their fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens, the results of such an episode would be disastrous for the maintenance of British rule in India, but, all the same, such officers would have the hearty support of Mr. Bonar Law, who might possibly, at the very moment of such a calamity happening in the Eastern Dependency of the Crown, be himself the Prime Minister of England! How could he then or anybody else differentiate between the situation

in Ulster and that in India, as far as military discipline is concerned, is beyond understanding. It is indeed a great pity that leading statesmen in this country, on both sides it must be frankly admitted, are occasionally overcome with such heated and bitter party feelings that they become liable to overlook the significant fact that the British Empire consists of other countries and dominions beyond the shores of the United Kingdom as well. But this particularly sorrowful exhibition of lack of statesmanship on the part of the Unionist Leader cannot but be specially distressing and painful to all those who, irrespective of party, have the true interests of the Empire at heart.

MR. SARFARAZ HUSAIN IN LONDON.

Mr. Sarfaraz Husain, who has come over to England to assist Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work in this country, was amongst the worshippers at last Friday's Namaz at Lindsay Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society. Some of your readers are no doubt aware that Mr. Sarfaraz Husain has already visited the Far East and the United States, entirely at his own personal expense, with the sole object of spreading Islam in those parts of the world. He has now come over to London to work "at the feet of my chief, Khwaja Kamaluddin"—as he put it himself—and his assistance will undoubtedly be of immense value to the Khwaja Sahib. The latter, in welcoming Mr. Sarfaraz Husain, briefly expressed his keen appreciation of and sincere admiration for Mr. Husain's true Moslem spirit and the devotion and energy with which he has been for the past several years advocating the sacred cause of Islam in foreign lands. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who is an old college-fellow of Mr. Husain in their Aligarh days, also cordially endorsed the sentiments that had been so eloquently expressed by Khwaja Kamaluddin towards that gentleman and wished him every success in his noble work in this country.

The fact that Mr. Sarfaraz Husain has personally declared at Lindsay Hall his intention of assisting and helping the Khwaja Sahib in his religious work in England is very significant and very strongly emphasises my remarks in your columns a few weeks ago that Khwaja Kamaluddin has been advocating the great cause of Islam in this country on absolutely non-sectarian lines. Those who have been merely accusing him of sectarian instincts are either perfectly ignorant of the position or else are doing so with ulterior motives. Nothing could be further from the truth, and Mr. Sarfaraz Husain's generous acknowledgment of the Khwaja Sahib's "chiefship" must for once and for all dispose of any doubts or fears in that direction. Khwaja Kamaluddin's work in England deserves the unanimous support of all true Moslems, irrespective of sect.

TEN YEARS OF THE ENTENTE CORDIALE.

The Press of this country has been lately full of the benefits that have been obtained by England and France as a direct result of the *Entente* between the two countries, the tenth anniversary of which has been just celebrated on both sides of the Channel with extraordinary enthusiasm. The King's recent State visit to Paris has been recognised in certain quarters as a fitting culmination of the decade of Anglo-French "understanding", which has just ended, and the brilliant success that has happily marked the royal sojourn in the French capital has obviously and naturally produced an excellent impression on His Majesty's loyal subjects in these islands. I am sure the Indian Moslem subjects of His Majesty are equally impressed with the successful issue of their sovereign's visit to France and share in common with their other fellow subjects no little satisfaction and delight at the growth and development of the *entente cordiale* with the great neighbouring Republic.

They cannot, however, be reasonably expected to read through the pages of the past ten years' Anglo-French history with anything like unmingled pleasure. They cannot, and will not lose sight of the fact that the *entente cordiale*, that came into existence between Great Britain and France ten years ago, was the evil precursor of the "grouping of the Powers" in Europe, which has been instrumental in shattering the independence and integrity of so many Moslem States in Asia, Europe and Africa. Egypt, Morocco, Persia, Tripoli and Turkey have each in turn suffered. In days gone by, Great Britain's "splendid isolation" was indeed a guarantee for the safety and well-being of smaller countries abroad. Disinterestedly and fearlessly, she could then champion the cause of the oppressed States. She was not in those days involved in any European agreements or "understandings," and could thus adopt independent action in the cause of humanity, nationality and freedom. Under those conditions, as is a matter of history, she could assert herself effectively. How different the position is to-day! Sir Edward Grey's association with the Foreign Office has produced nothing but annihilation and disaster for the Moslem States abroad, some of which had for years been bound by traditional ties of the closest friendship with this country. The abominable partition of Persia at the very birth of her freedom, the wicked expropriation of European Turkey, the outrageous and unprovoked raid on Tripoli and the conquest of Morocco can all be traced directly or indirectly to the *entente cordiale*. Great Britain, now intimately concerned in European politics, has been forced to sacrifice her former freedom of action. As a member of the Triple Entente, she is unable to move in any way without "sounding" and indeed

securing the consent of the other two Powers in the Entente Group. The Triple Entente policy as a whole is being shaped in relation to that of the Triple Alliance. In short, Great Britain is not to-day enjoying that unique position in the Concert of Europe which was her unquestionable right in the past. Moreover, even in the Group of Powers with which she is associated, she is in reality playing a secondary or even a tertiary part. We have seen how humiliating and degrading a part she has taken in the Persian question, in which the despotic Government of the Tsar has openly and deliberately ignored her and has throughout had it all its own way, without even a feeble protest from Whitehall, in spite of solemn pledges and sacred promises. The German invasion scare has practically reduced British foreign diplomacy to the state of impotency. The whole country is so deeply overcome with the fright of a German invasion that it is prepared to sacrifice all her best traditions, her past glory and good name in the interests of brutal Russia and mercenary France. The obvious result is that to-day Great Britain is not a partner in the Triple Entente, but is in reality a slave to the whims and fancies of her two "friends" in the Entente Group of Powers.

In consequence, Russia and France are eating Persia and Morocco respectively, as they feel convinced that their other colleague in the *Entente* would not dare to interfere with their ghastly plunders of these two ancient Moslem States, or that if she would in any way attempt to stop their ravages in those innocent and powerless countries, the mere threat of dissolution of the *Entente*, with the German bogey always staring her in the face, would be more than sufficient to silence her. The Triple Alliance is similarly convinced of the inability of Great Britain to interfere or even protest against any action it may feel disposed to take. The Italian raid on Tripoli could never have occurred without such conviction as to the unavoidable and necessary attitude of England. Bosnia and Herzegovina likewise could never have been lost to Turkey, had Austria not been fully alive to the helplessness of the British position. The Triple Alliance knows that no Great Power could to-day declare war on the Continent without causing a European War, which in itself is a sufficient restriction of, or, indeed, a formidable reason against any such procedure. The awful consequences of the grouping of Powers in Europe have thus proved most fatal and destructive to the several Moslem States, which unfortunately may happen to be situated near any great European Power.

The Anglo-French *entente cordiale*, as I have said before, is mainly responsible for the gradual and successive loss of so many Moslem countries and it will remain in Moslem history as a landmark, not of progress, prosperity or freedom, but of ruination, disaster and damnation.

THE CORONATION OF THE SHAH.

The Persia Committee met at the House of Commons yesterday under the chairmanship of Lord Lamington. It was unanimously resolved that the Government should be asked, in view of the approaching coronation of the Shah, to urge upon the Russian Government the withdrawal from Northern Persia of the Russian expeditionary force.

THE AUTOCRAT OF CHINA: ABOLITION OF CABINET AND SENATE.

According to the Peking correspondent of the *Times*, the Convention appointed to amend the provisional constitution has completed its task, and it is expected that the document will be promulgated shortly. Extensive powers are conferred on the President Yuan Shih-Kai, but that is hardly worth considering, since he has wielded dictatorial authority since the dissolution of Parliament. The amended constitution is of little importance, since it can be torn up or re-amended *ad infinitum* merely at the convenience of the Government. The essential feature of the political situation in China remains entirely unchanged—namely, that Yuan Shih-Kai is dictator.

The amendments, however, provide some formal changes not without interest. The Cabinet and Premier disappear and also, apparently, the Senate. Departmental Ministers hereafter will be responsible directly to the President, who will be served by a Secretary of State instead of by a Premier. An Advisory Council will be formed upon which the President will depend for sanction in dealing with Parliament. Some sort of an elective assembly is provided for, but as the constitution will be arranged by a body nominated by the Government its powers are not likely to be extensive nor would its character be seriously representative of the people. The Advisory Council will, of course, be nominated as also the Convention which will draw up the permanent constitution.

Whether Yuan Shih Kai is wise in practically excluding Young China from any voice in the affairs of State remains to be seen. The Constitution as amended bears not the slightest resemblance to the charter casually prepared at Nanking two years ago and will certainly embitter the feelings of the whole revolutionary party against the President and may before long lead to a further rebellion. Yuan Shih-Kai can justify his arbitrary assumption of power only by the successful use of that power in the future.

TETE À TETE



SOMETIME ago we published certain startling facts and figures about the decline in the circulation of the *Comrade* since we migrated to Delhi, and it induced some of our readers to work as canvassers

Our Supporters

for us in order to make up the number we had on our books when we left Calcutta and even go beyond it. The result is that in two months and a half nearly 200 fresh subscribers have been enlisted, and even comparing it with the conditions existing two years ago it is not quite unsatisfactory. But what will our supporters say to the fact that the *net* result of their efforts and ours is a decline of exactly 200? The *Comrade* is not now a newspaper that owes the enlistment of fresh subscribers to curiosity. It is not yet three and a half years old, but even its infancy has been more crowded with incidents than the youth and old age of many of its contemporaries, and it is safe to say that hardly one of the 200 fresh subscribers now enlisted has made its intimate acquaintance only after enlistment. Why then the paradox of the enlistment of fresh supporters combined with a withdrawal of support by twice as many as have enlisted? Well, we regret once more to have to deplore publicly the ethics of those who continue to receive the paper but ignore its claims for a modest subscription. They either like the paper or they don't. If they don't like it, a postcard, frankly telling us that they don't like it, would be a business-like arrangement, and with our recent experience even this would be a great relief to us. But if they do like the paper what excuse have they for being defaulters when the time comes to pay their quarterly or annual subscription? What comfort can the earnest efforts of our supporters bring to us when their biggest haul in a day is eight or ten new subscribers and the same day the names of some fifty defaulters have to be removed by us?

With the experience which we have related our readers can well imagine our feelings when we get a communication so flattering as this from a far-off but ardent supporter. He writes:—

Another Picture.

"Most of us find it pretty hard to get the *Comrade* once a week only and then to wait anxiously for full seven days for the next issue. You may have your own reasons for not making it a daily paper, but we see none, perhaps because everyone can't be expected to have the same patience and forbearance as Mr. Mohamed Ali has. As a compromise, I beg to suggest the following alternative courses, which I sincerely hope you will not have any objection to put before you readers, and inviting their opinions on the suggestion. If the majority is overwhelmingly on my side, perhaps you may also bend, though you have got an indomitable will of your own. The alternative courses are:—1. A daily 2-or 4-page supplement may be issued giving us the latest news, for which most of us, very reluctantly have to subscribe to other papers. 2. The *Comrade* may be made bi-weekly. (a) A Saturday Edition dealing mainly with Indian and other topics of Mohamedan interest. (b) A Wednesday Edition dealing solely with the affairs of other Mohamedan countries besides India. It is unnecessary for me to say that with the new awakening we have begun to take interest in places and things which we never thought of in the 'Dark Ages,' and once begun, it is improper, nay, sinful, to check our curiosity to see what our co-religionists are doing elsewhere. In both cases, the subscription should be raised to double its present amount and some who has the slightest love for Islam will, I am sure, grudge it." Look on that picture and on this! It reminds us of the poet's plight—

نور عرش بر می اور سرمی پای سانی بی

غرض کچه زور دهن من اس کمڑی میخوار ریختن من

(The imagination has soared to the Seat of the Almighty, while the head is lying at the feet of the wine-giver. Verily the wine-bibbers are in a strange and powerful stupor just now).

Our of his affection and generosity our kind correspondent talks of bending our "indomitable will". Perhaps The Hunger-Strike. it is already bending, though not in the direction in which he would like to bend it.

"Patience and forbearance" to which he refers equally generously have also their limits and evidently he little knows how near their limits ours have reached. The community represented in politics by the Moslem League would denounce its office-bearers the moment it found them submitting to the dictation of the rich instead of voicing the opinions of the masses; but we shall be surprised if even a small fraction of the community has realized the fact that even to this day the All-India Moslem League cannot defray half its annual expense out of its income from the contribution of its "democratic" members and has to depend on the annual "subsidy" from the much abused "aristocracy". Do our readers desire the *Comrade* to publish their righteousness at the expense of those whom they are only too eager to denounce? Well, it does not matter much what they desire, but it is just as well that they learnt to understand that defaulters cannot be dictators. We have received generous assistance from the "aristocrat" as well as the "democrat", but always on the strict condition that with us there is no buying and selling of opinions, and it is bare justice to say that the "aristocrat" has tried much less to dictate our policy to us than the "democrat". Now, however, the latter has got used to a paper voicing his opinions without having to incur the cost of this political necessity, and just as the constancy of an Indian wife gives birth to a security in the husband which soon degenerates into indifference, our fidelity to the popular cause has bred in our people an inertia not unlike indifference. Even the most callous husband would be a very different man if the poor wife who had fallen from the days of caresses on the days of kicks showed signs of loving her neighbour as herself and her neighbour's husband as her own. The indifferent husband need not, however, undervalue the faithful wife, for even if in his eyes she has shed the attractions of an earlier day, other eyes may yet discover in her more than a slight remnant of charm. But the Indian wife prefers the kicks of her own husband to the caresses of another, and reluctant as we may be to confess it, we must say the analogy certainly extends as far as this. Nevertheless, hunger-strike, as Mr. G. K. Chesterton has truly said, is the old weapon of the discontented dame, and our readers perhaps do not know that we are about to commence a hunger-strike ourselves. Only ours may not be voluntary! These are facts. What our ardent supporter suggests about a daily or a bi-weekly with double the present subscription is a fancy. And the more ugly the facts the more they insist on ousting out pleasant fancies. We hear of a big journalistic enterprise about to be launched in the Punjab and wish it all success. But our own fate is not the best of omens for others.

ای تازہ واردان بساط هوای دل * زہار اگر تہیں ہوس نای و نوش می
دیکھو بھی جو دیدہ عبرت نگاہ ہو * میری سنجو گوش نصیحت نبوش می

Like most Western institutions transplanted in the East, journalism is in its infancy, and even if some Indian journalists would be a credit to their profession in any European country, they have not yet succeeded in educating the Indian

Sectarian

Controversies.

public to comprehend fully the duties, the privileges and the limitations of journalism. It is true that the first duty of a newspaper is to publish news, and the consequences of a wide publication are so great that a journalist has to take far more care than an ordinary citizen to satisfy himself about the correctness of the news he publishes. But everything need not be published even if its correctness is beyond dispute. Every citizen must do that which is for the public benefit and must refrain from doing that which is against public interest. One of greatest moralists of the East, a man to whom Indian Mussalmans owe at least three-fourths of their moral maxims and a good deal of their observance went even so far as to prefer the "expedient lie" to "inexpedient truth." Of course Sa'di's expediency was only altruistic and not the low egotism of intriguers. This much will be admitted on all hands that even the most patriotic Ministers of modern States have on occasions declined to supply certain information to their Parliaments on the ground of its being against public interest. They recognise that their Parliaments are not their slaves but their masters, and that they cannot honestly be used as the instruments of their masterful wills when they are themselves the creatures of their Parliaments. Nevertheless, they withhold important information from their Parliaments believing that "the safety of the State is the highest law." This lesson must be carefully taught to our infant democracy and both newspapers and newspaper readers must learn it. We have been tempted to explain what must be only too obvious to many of our readers because we are occasionally asked why we had not published a certain news before a certain time, and why we had not published another news at all. To all these questions we have only one answer: public interest is with us the only consideration. This is our answer to those of our friends also

who ask us why we have been silent so long about sectarian differences among some Mussalmans concerning Aligarh affairs. It is our belief that the Trustees of Aligarh, both Shi'ahs and Sunnis, conscientiously desire to do full justice to the claims of all Moslem sects; but that they are as determined as their great master Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and his friends and collaborators, Khalifa Syed Mohamed Hasan and Khalifa Syed Mohamed Hosain to give no asylum in the nursery of Moslem manhood at Aligarh to the sectarian spirit that is now doomed throughout the world of Islam. The Trustees appointed a strong and fully representative Sub-Committee of their own some time ago to deal with complaints made in certain quarters, and we can regard it as nothing short of a misfortune that the Committee did not meet before a most deplorable incident, which was sure to provide fuel for the sectarian flame, happened at Aligarh. Thanks to the good sense and determination of all concerned, and of none more than Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, Maulana Abbas Hosain, Professor of Arabic, Persian and Shi'ah Theology, and the Shi'ah students of the College themselves, that most regrettable controversy is now closed. But complaints of a more permanent character have still to be dealt with and we have every hope that the deliberations of the Trustees' Committee which meets on the 26th instant will result in recommendations to the Trustees which would prove acceptable to them and to all sections of Mussalmans. When the Trustees, who ought to know, and do know, the nature of the problem better than those who are in no way connected with the management of the College, and do not so well appreciate its character and aim, are alive to the situation, we think the Moslem public should reserve comment till the Trustees have formulated their own solution of the problem. There will then be time enough to criticise and the criticism is then likely to be both informed and useful. We hope these views will commend themselves to all sections of Mussalmans and that their good sense will be fully equal to the delicate nature of the work which the Trustees have in hand.

Our readers must be familiar with the name of Mr. Syed Hasan Abid Jafry. He is an Old Boy of Aligarh and did great credit to himself and to the training he had received at his Alma Mater when he and some of his friends then in

An Important Contradiction.

England organised the first Indian Red Crescent Medical Mission for Turkey during the Balkan War. This was done, so far as we know, entirely at their own cost, and of this Mr. Hasan Abid Jafry had, we understand, borne at least a very great share. Even a more notable feature of this Mission was that it was composed entirely of Shi'ah gentlemen. To our mind the significance of this noble effort was so great that when we heard of it from Dr. Ansari we felt that Islam had not lost a hundred battles in the Balkans but had won the greatest victory of many centuries! Imagine, then, our great grief when we read in the *Zamindar* of the 12th instant that Mr. Hasan Abid Jafry had presided at a meeting of a society called "The Anjuman-i-Imania," of Shahgunj, Agra, which passed certain resolutions concerning sectarian differences about Aligarh to which we have alluded which were decidedly of an unfortunate character. We are, however, happy to learn that it cost Mr. Hasan Abid Jafry no less grief to read the report of the meeting which the *Zamindar* published over the signature of a "Syed Riza Ahmad Rizawi" who calls himself the Secretary of the Anjuman. We are thankful to Mr. Syed Alay Nabi, himself a resident of Shahgunj, Agra, for forwarding to us a letter of Mr. Hasan Abid Jafry contradicting some very important allegations and suggestions contained in Mr. Syed Riza Ahmad Rizawi's report of the meeting and explaining the true character and position of those who attended it. We publish it in our correspondence columns and are sure that it will be read with the great interest and appreciated by all those who desire to see the fast growing solidarity of Indian Mussalmans fully maintained.

Even the *Statesman* will not we think doubt the fact that we do not wish to come in the way of the building of New Delhi. But we certainly wish to come in the way of those who wish to disturb her old saints in their resting places. The

"The City of Tombs" and New Delhi.

Hon. the Chief Commissioner appeared to not be very sympathetic when the question of mausoleums, graves and graveyards situated inside and outside the present Delhi was being hotly discussed here last year, and we have no reason to believe that anything has occurred since then to make him any the less sympathetic. We, therefore, wish to draw his attention to the rumour current in Behar that the authorities here contemplate to demolish the grave of Sheikh Nuruddin Malik Baz Farran one of the ancestors of Haji Shah Badruddin Sahab of Phulwari Sharif, who is held in great esteem in Behar. The tomb is said to be situated on the left side of the road that runs from the Dargah of Nizam-ud-din Aulia to Shahjahanpur. The tombstone bears an inscription stating that the saint died on the 18th of the second Jamadi in the year 680 of the Hijra, that he was a great saint endowed with extraordinary powers and that the "Sultan of the Shaikhs" (Nizam-ud-din Aulia) himself used to visit his mausoleum

to pay his respects and in his lifetime had also inquired about him. Evidently the Shaikh was a man of great piety and saintliness, and this is confirmed by a reference to his life as well as the reproduction of this inscription in the *Akhbar-ul-Akhar fi Asrar-ul-Abrar* of the great Traditionist of Delhi, Shah Abdul Haq, whose mosque had been demolished by a mistake and, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, has, we understand, now been restored. We trust he will be pleased to order that this grave be left untouched. Its demolition will certainly cause great grief and pain to Mussalmans generally, and to the Mussalmans of Behar particularly who visit the Khankah in Phulwari Sharif in large numbers and hold Shah Badruddin Sahab who presides over it and his saintly ancestor in great veneration.

It is too late in the day to explain the doctrine of trusting the "man on the spot". It is the favourite theme of our bureaucrats and their advocates and partisans. It is insisted upon in season and out of season, and we may take it that nobody can possibly forget it for a moment. But when Lord Minto persisted with the reforms and accepted the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller the "man on the spot" was evidently not "on the spot". Similarly, when Lord Hardinge at last recognised the gravity of the situation arising out of the Cawnpore Mosque affair and took a line of policy not favoured by the bureaucracy, His Excellency immediately ceased to be the "man on the spot." His Excellency Lord Carmichael has charge of far the most difficult Province in India, and we admire the combination of firmness and patience with which he is dealing with its affairs, though we cannot say we approve of everything that is being done in the name of his Government. His Excellency has before him the example of the leader of his old party, Mr. Asquith, who has had every justification for a policy of blood and thunder in Ulster except that of a statesman's sagacity. But while joining the Tories, his new friends, as we have no doubt he does, in condemning "the Plot" with a capital P, Sir John Rees thinks it equally necessary to condemn the policy of Lord Carmichael with regard to repressing political crime in Bengal. Does it ever occur to this gentleman to compare his own conduct with that of, say, Sir Henry Cotton which he has always condemned? We always understood that he deprecated the critical attitude of Sir Henry when he sat on the same side of the House some years ago, and he desired no interference whatsoever in the affairs of Indian administration by Members of Parliament. He was, forsooth, afraid of "losing India on the floor of the House of Commons". But once more he has become a turn-coat and desires the House of Commons to interfere in the administration of Bengal. Well, he did so recently and got his reward. The Under Secretary of State for India rebuked him soundly and characterised his suggestion of remissness on the part of the Government of Bengal as both "unfounded and mischievous." Poor Sir John! He still thinks he rules the roost in India instead of being open to insult from a caddy if he pays the bare legal fare, as Mr. Harold Begbie wrote of the Anglo-Indian official in England after his retirement. But Sir John Rees must be told that happily or unhappily he is no longer the "man on the spot" but is very much off it.

After the judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our Pamphlet Case in which he had said that the provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive and its language as wide as human ingenuity could make it, and that "it is

A Novel Use of the Press Act.

very difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section "might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind", one expected anything to happen. But the ingenuity of the police in Bengal surpasses even the inventive genius of the Punjab authorities. For some reason or other the Bengal police has compelled the publisher of the *Habl-ul-Matin* of Calcutta to figure in the published proceedings of Calcutta Courts every now and then. The latest occasion was the 19th instant when he was called upon by the Chief Presidency Magistrate to show cause why his declaration as publisher should not be cancelled. Now the law requiring the publisher of a newspaper to make a declaration is contained in the "Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867" and not in the "Press Act of 1910." It runs thus:—"The printer and the publisher of every such periodical work shall appear before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such work shall be published and shall make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration: 'I, A. B., declare that I am the printer [or publisher, or printer and publisher] of the periodical work entitled—and printed [or published, or printed and published, as the case may be] at—and "the last blank in this form of declaration shall be filled up with a true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted." Other rules under the section require a similar fresh declaration to be made as often as the place of printing or publication is changed or the printer or publisher leaves British India and another resident within British

India is substituted. This is all that a printer or publisher has to comply with before he prints or publishes a newspaper. The next section lays down the law about the powers and the duties of the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made. It says: "Each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed as is aforesaid shall be authenticated by the signature and 'official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made.' The authentication of the declaration by his signature and official seal, then, is the only duty or power of the Magistrate so far as it concerns the person who makes a declaration. Into his qualifications for the responsibilities of a printer or publisher he is neither required nor empowered by law to enter. Nevertheless, the Calcutta Police evidently takes serious objection to a misfortune of the publisher of the *Habl-ul-Matin* which he himself has accepted without a murmur. A telegram from Calcutta published in the papers tells us that "Mr. McClure 'Special Branch, Criminal Intelligence Department, raised an 'objection to the Maulvi being the publisher because he was 'totally blind.' Naturally the counsel for the publisher asked what legal bar there was to a blind man becoming a publisher, and the Chief Presidency Magistrate asked the Court Inspector under what section he could cancel the declaration. That gentleman had to confess that there was no statutory power vested in the Magistrate to cancel the declaration of a publisher when he lost his sight; but the telegram also tells us that he emphasised the point of Maulvi Jalaluddin's blindness and said that he could not be a publisher because, being totally blind, he "could be easily duped." And let it not be forgotten that even when compelled to confess that the Magistrate had no statutory power to cancel the poor afflicted publisher's declaration, he did not despair but sought asylum in the policeman's haven of refuge—the Press Act! Section 8 of Act I of 1910 enabled him to cancel a previous order! And here is section 8 of Act I of 1910. "Every publisher of a newspaper 'who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press 'and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall at the time of making 'the same deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration 'is made security to such an amount, not being less than five 'hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate 'may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent 'thereof in securities of the Government of India . . . provided ' . . . that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit for special 'reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any 'security and may from time to time cancel or vary any order under 'this sub-section.' The italics are ours and indicate the only portion of the section which could by any stretch of imagination have any reference to the case in question. But it is obvious that this portion of the section authorises the Magistrate to cancel or vary an order of his own dispensing with the deposit of an security or fixing the amount of the security to be deposited within the limits prescribed by this section. Such a use of his power was, indeed, made by the Magistrate last year when the original order requiring a deposit of Rs. 500 as security was varied and the maximum security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded. The publisher must have heaved a sigh of relief at this order, for after that the only order that the Magistrate could have passed would have either dispensed with the deposit of security or reduced its amount. But the poor man has had no such luck and the very section is now being referred to when the Calcutta C. I. D. want to deprive him of his means of livelihood because God has deprived him of his sight. If *asamahi*, why not *sultani*? First the "Act of God," and then the "Restraint of Princes"! But may we not ask the Calcutta Police why it is more anxious than the poor blind publisher himself that he should not be duped? It retains the maximum security of Rs. 2,000, and after the first "offence" can confiscate it and demand another of Rs. 10,000, after which—the fate of the *Zamindar*! Is it not then the blind man's own look-out to protect himself from those who would dupe him? Since when has the Calcutta Police added to its other virtues the virtue of unadulterated altruism? In any case, is it only the blind that "could easily be duped"? After recent trials and retrials surely the Calcutta Police should know better!

THE directors of the *Habl-ul-Matin*, the Persian Weekly of Calcutta, have launched a new venture in the shape of an English weekly edition of their paper. The "*Habl-ul-Matin*." An Urdu daily edition was started some time ago, but it has now ceased to exist. We welcome the appearance of the English Weekly as a useful addition to the ranks of Moslem newspapers in this country. In size and general get-up it somewhat resembles the *Comrade* and its annual subscription is also Rs. 12. The content of the first two numbers range over a variety of topics, most of which deal with current affairs in the Moslem world. The editorials are well-written and show a clear grasp of the Moslem situation in India and abroad, and of the needs and duties of Mussalmans. A special feature of the paper is its "Foreign Letters" from its own correspondents in some of the Islamic countries. A news service of this kind is bound to prove interesting and useful if it is regular and well-sustained and if the news-agents of the paper are men having the necessary knowledge of public affairs and

a due sense of responsibility. We trust the Mecca Letter in its issue of 2nd May is not to be the model of its foreign correspondence. It makes vague hints at the revolutionary tendencies of the Arabs and speaks of the Sharif of Mecca as a medium of communication between the Porte and some Arabs Sheikhs for "political exigencies." But no light is thrown on the Arab movement for "freedom" and nothing is said as to what those "political exigencies" are and why and how they have arisen. The Tabriz Letter is a much better sample. We wish our new contemporary a long and useful career. The need for growth in the number of Moslem journals in this country on sound and independent lines is very great indeed, and it is always a matter of real satisfaction when an earnest effort comes to be made to supply the need.

THE *Times* Tangier correspondent writes that "the bombardment of Tetuan by mountain tribesmen with the gun 'A "Captured" Gun.' "which they captured from the Spanish war-ship 'General Concha,' when she was wrecked 'off the Riff coast last year, continues. Several shells have 'fallen inside the town and a Spanish soldier has been killed. 'Panie is reported to exist among the Mahomedan population. 'It is unlikely that much material damage will be done, but the 'fact that the tribesmen have been able to bring a gun into 'range of a town occupied by over 40,000 Spanish troops and defended by artillery has done incalculable damage to Spanish prestige, and has raised enthusiasm among the mountaineers." The gun has now been firing for some days, and the efforts of the Spanish artillery to silence it have so far proved unavailing. There is no amelioration in the general situation around Tetuan, fighting being of daily occurrence. Spanish troops, both regular and native, are suffering from numerous desertions, and native soldiers recently assassinated a lieutenant and two non-commissioned officers before deserting. This single captured gun at least indicates that the Moors are more than a match for the aggressors if they are well-equipped. The theory about superior morale and a physical stamina of the "civilised" soldier cannot, however be exploded by the havoc wrought by a single gun!

FRENCH doings in Morocco have fallen into comparative obscurity on account of the much bigger events elsewhere, which have engaged for some time past the attention of the world. Things are, however, happening in that ill fated land—awful, tragic things that have already wrought misery and desolation on an enormous scale and are tearing up the social peace and homes and institutions of a free and inoffensive people by the roots. The process of "penetration" is actively going on, though it is not exactly "peaceful." A "barbarous" race is being reclaimed to "civilisation" by fire and blood. The unspeakable meanness and hypocrisy of the thing becomes all the more soul-gripping when one sees a fine and manly race being exterminated by the hundreds by machine-guns—in the name of "civilisation!" The blessings of French occupation are already pouring into the land in the shape of French wines. A host of prospectors and company-promoters are following in the wake of the army of conquest. The unequal struggle cannot last much longer. The resistance of the Moors will be finally crushed by the huge and scientific engines of destruction with which civilisation has equipped the aggressors. The fate of Algiers awaits Morocco, the fate of a people reduced to impotence and despair, corrupted by French vices and exploited by French banks, existing only as a milch-cow for the money-grabbers of Paris. It is a terrible fate. And yet it carries the diplomatic sanction of all Europe. The Moors that are fighting for their homes and liberties are "rebels," their leaders are "pretenders," their devotion and patriotism for their own ancient land is dark fanaticism. Their death struggle and their agony—will they have no place in history? Are the thousands that are flinging themselves into the jaws of death in defence of their freedom and faith—are these supreme acts of devotion as though they have never been? It may be so. But history has hitherto taught us that wrong is righted in the end and sufferings sow the seeds of a glorious regeneration for those that suffer.

A RUMOUR seems to have gained currency in some quarters that Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana Shibli has been secretly trying to move the Department of Public Instruction in the United Provinces with a view to stop the Government grant-in-aid to the *Dar-ul-Ulum* of the *Nadwa*. Maulana Shibli Sahib sends to us for publication the following letter, which he has received from the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, and which, we trust, will set all such rumours at rest:—"Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 22nd April 1914, I have the honour to say that you have never at any time 'made the suggestion to me that the Government grant-in-aid 'to the *Nadwat-ul-Ulama* towards the maintenance of the *Dar-ul-Ulum* should be withdrawn."

The Comrade.

The Moslem University and Democracy.

A DAILY growing body of Moslem opinion had been criticising the two great faults of the system of the management of the Aligarh College, the life tenure of its Trustees and their selection by co-option. After four years of sustained attack, a little breach was made in the walls of this system in 1907 when by the allotment of three seats to the Old Boys' Association an outside constituency was allowed to elect the Trustees and that not for life but for a period of three years. In 1909 the number was raised to five and the tenure extended to five years. At first the proportion of these Trustees elected for a time to the Trustees co-opted for life was 3 to 70, but subsequently became 5 to 120, though it may be stated that the maximum number of co-opted life Trustees was to be reached by annual additions only, and has not yet been reached. The work done by the representatives of the Old Boys may not have been immeasurably superior to that of co-opted life Trustees, but evidently it has pleased the latter, and with a single exception, they have themselves co-opted every Trustee elected by the Old Boys' Association before his term of office expired, and the solitary exception who was no less deserving of the honour than the others missed the seat through sheer bad luck by a vote or two.

The attack on the system of life tenure and co-option which had been commenced in *Al-Bashir* in 1903 and carried on in the *Observer* in 1904 was resumed in 1909 in the *Times of India* and would have been pushed on were it not for the fact that the energies of those who initiated the operations were absorbed by the proposal of the Moslem University which they revived on the accession of King George in May, 1910. With the unprecedented and even unexpected success of this revived movement which gave hope of an early establishment of the University, naturally the attack on the system of life tenure and co-option was directed against the desire of those who wished to perpetuate it in the Constitution of the University also. As the Aligarh College was to be absorbed in the University it would have been a work of supererogation to mend the Rules and Regulations of the Aligarh College.

But so well had the ground been prepared in the years between 1903 and 1911 that very early in the course of the discussion the Moslem University Constitution Committee resolved that there should be no life tenure and no co-option in future. The majority went so far as to demand that even the present life Trustees should cease to be Trustees of the Moslem University Court. After a determined and prolonged opposition Sahabzadah Aftab Ahmad Khan and those who share his views agreed upon the compromise that although all elections for the future should be for five years, the present life Trustees should vacate their seats in rotation after the first five years of office as members of the University Court, so that at the end of ten years there should not remain a single life Trustee.

This was a great victory for the reformers, and, in justice to the Trustees themselves, it must be admitted that it was achieved with the assistance of many life Trustees of Aligarh. As a matter of fact it could not well have been otherwise for nearly half the seats on the Constitution Committee were filled by the life Trustees.

According to the expectations of 1911 the Moslem University should now have been in full working order; but fate and the advisers of the Secretary of State willed it otherwise, and we are still ploughing the sands. Naturally, therefore, the question of the reform of the Aligarh College Constitution once more assumes great importance and urgency and we shall soon deal with the subject in all its bearings. But we may as well state here that although co-option in recent years has given us much better results than in the past, it cannot claim for those co-opted an indisputably representative character, and that although the Trustees are far more alive to their responsibilities to-day than they used to be in the *régime* of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, when a quorum of seven out of seventy was not always available even for the Annual Meeting of the Trustees, so long as life tenure lasts indulgence and indifference are bound to characterise a number of life Trustees, and stagnation instead of progress in the affairs of Aligarh is certain to be the consequence. The awakened interest in the affairs of the Nadwa makes us hope that Mussalmans would also devote some attention to the defects of the Aligarh Constitution. If we receive an intimation that there is a fair demand for it, we may publish it as a supplement of the *Comrade* so that our readers may be able to study it and thereafter discuss it with knowledge.

When the Moslem University Foundation Committee met at Aligarh more than a year after the so-called final decisions of the Secretary of State, and it was clear that the establish-

ment of the Moslem University would take time, it resolved upon the only course that wisdom dictated. While standing firm on the subject of affiliation and other questions on which the Secretary of State had differed from the views of the Moslem community, and resolving to appoint a deputation that could lay before the Government of India the views of the community and, after making every effort to secure the objects it had in view, lay the final reply of the Government to its representations before the Foundation Committee for its final decision, the Committee decided to take immediate steps with a view to bring the Moslem University to a completion and, in the interim, to apply the interest on the Capital Fund of the University to the improvement of the Aligarh College in order to raise it to the status of the University.

It must be remembered that although affiliation was an underlying principle of the proposed University, and funds were collected on the repeated promise of affiliation, not one pie of these funds was collected for assisting any institution outside Aligarh. The initial plan of the University consisted of a University College with a thousand students residing in six or seven hostels of about 150 students each, and the minimum endowment required for the annual recurring expenditure was calculated on a basis of Rs. 500 for each of these thousand undergraduates, besides Rs. 35,000 a year for the University School, and a few lakhs of non-recurring expenditure on unproductive buildings.

The requisite Capital Fund having been collected, two things were needed for the establishment of the University, a Charter and the necessary arrangements for housing and teaching the thousand undergraduates. The grant of the Charter did not rest with the Mussalmans but with the Secretary of State and his advisers; but the erection of hostels and lecture-rooms, libraries and laboratories, the admission of a thousand undergraduates and the appointment of the necessary number of Professors, Tutors and Wardens of hostels rested with the Mussalmans. Had the Charter been granted as early as we expected, the community would have taken up the above task soon after and the University would have been in full swing two or three years later. But when the grant of the Charter was delayed, there was no reason why the other requisites of the University should be similarly delayed. The order should have been inverted and the buildings should have been erected and the undergraduates and the teachers got together according to the plans already made.

This was exactly what the Foundation Committee decided last July, and had weakness, disunion and procrastination not come in the way, this decision would have been arrived at in September or October of 1912. But even if arrived at last July there is little to justify the delay of nearly a year in carrying it out. It is true that the Cawnpore tragedy, following the Aligarh meeting as it did within a week, kept the Mussalmans both anxious and busy for no less than three months, and its aftermath, the deputation to H. E. the Viceroy, at last came off only two months ago. But overworked and overstrained as the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad has been during these crises, we appeal to him to make the necessary arrangements for the University deputation and bring this important business also to an equally satisfactory conclusion. We have heard rumours that the authorities may not perhaps be willing to receive a deputation which is not composed of plenipotentiaries; but we find it difficult to credit this as a firm resolve of the Government of India. His Excellency the Viceroy and his Government will not surely deny the right of a community's representatives to lay its views on so important a subject before them and to ascertain the latest views of Government in order to recommend a final decision to the community. Even Lord Crewe has travelled a great distance since he refused to receive two delegates of the Moslem community. To leave matters in their present posture is, it must be admitted on all hands, the least satisfactory method of solving a difficult and an important problem.

With a view to make the Mussalmans accomplish in the interval before the grant of the Charter their part of the work the Moslem Association was decided upon. But when the question of its composition arose, the reactionaries favoured the claims of the Trustees of Aligarh, while the progressives fought hard for a constitution such as that of the future Court of the Moslem University. Finally a compromise was made whereby the Board of Trustees was made a constituency itself for the election of 40 out of a total of 200 members of the Moslem University Association.

The Draft Constitution of the Moslem University had already provided for the election of 40 members of the Court by the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Mohamadan Educational Conference, and of another group of 40 by the Aligarh College Old Boys' Association from among its own members. It had also given the right of election of 20 persons from among themselves to a constituency to be created hereafter, namely "the Indian Moslem Graduates of any University who

shall have their names enrolled on the register of the University in accordance with the Bye-Laws." The Foundation Committee accepted this constituency and gave it the right of electing 20 members, while laying it down, in the absence of any Bye-Laws approved by the Constitution Committee, that *Manshi Fazils* and *Maulvi Fazils* should be counted as Graduates, and that at least 5 years' standing, and the payment of Rs. 10 as enrollment fee and Rs. 5 per annum thereafter were necessary for voting and eligibility for election.

Besides this constituency with an educational qualification, two other constituencies with a monetary qualification had been approved by the Constitution Committee and now accepted by the Foundation Committee. These were the *Moslem Landowners* and the *Moslem Taxpayers*. According to the Draft Constitution the Landowners and the Jagirdars were required to contribute one pie in the rupee on the land revenue payable by them to the Government, provided that they did not contribute less than Rs. 25 a year, and the Taxpayers were required to contribute half per cent on their incomes, with the same minimum contribution. The minimum was rather large and needed modification, but the desire to set to work at once induced the Foundation Committee to modify these provisions considerably, and it was decided that all Landowners and all Taxpayers could become qualified as voters and as persons eligible for election if they paid, like the Graduates, an enrollment fee of Rs. 10 and an annual fee of Rs. 5 to keep their names on their respective registers. Each of these constituencies was given ten seats on the Association.

The Committee of the Islamia College of Lahore had been allotted five seats on the University Court in the Draft Constitution, and the same number was allotted to it in the Association. In the Draft Constitution the Court itself was to co-opt 15 Ulama and 60 other members. The Foundation Committee allotted only 10 seats to the Ulama, and of the remaining 65, gave 10 to the Aligarh Trustees, 10 to the Moslem Press and 15 to Provincial Committees of the University Fund.

Opinion may differ as to details, but it could not be gainsaid that the constitution of the Moslem University Association for the first time provided an opportunity for the Moslem public to declare effectively who should manage the affairs of a public institution. The democrats had won a great victory and the more ardent and less experienced among them felt that now at last a new heaven and a new earth were going to be created through their efforts. But what is the result? The sky overhead is as blue and the earth beneath our feet as drab as ever. Only the constituencies already in corporate existence, like the Trustees, the Old Boys and the Central Standing Committee of the Conference, have elected their representatives, but the new constituencies, such as the Moslem Graduates, Landowners, Taxpayers and Press, which have had no less than 50 seats allotted between them, have hardly stirred. The Honorary Secretary of the Association, who is the Secretary of the Aligarh Trustees, has been appealing to them from time to time in the columns of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* but we shall be much surprised if he has been able to enroll even half a dozen names in each of the various registers. This is indeed a deplorable result, and if we could accept it as a fair test of Moslem Indian democracy, we would be induced to renounce our democratic faith as a belief in principles that are impracticable.

We have, however, to remember that democracies are notoriously ignorant of their own rights and need a lot of educating in that direction. When we see the extraordinarily large polls at parliamentary elections in England we are apt to forget that in spite of well-established local Party organisations of long standing, many weeks, if not months, of arduous canvassing and thousands of pounds in advertising have gone to the making of such huge polls. The *Institute Gazette* unfortunately is not very widely read, and what is needed is that a few groups of energetic and capable individuals, each keenly interested in his particular constituency, should be induced to organise it by writing in papers with wide circulations and as much as possible by private correspondence. Within a few weeks we hope that fairly large constituencies would be organised, and we can leave it to those who seek election at least to double the numbers on the various registers within the last fortnight before the election. For instance, could not the Hon. Mr. Syed Riza Ali, Dr. Mahmud and Dr. Naziruddin Hasan take up the Graduates' Association and induce five hundred Moslem graduates to pay Rs. 15 each in order to secure the right to elect 20 members of the University Association? Similarly, could not the Hon. Raja Abu Jafar, the Hon. Capt. Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana and the Hon. Shaikh Shahid Hussain induce two or three hundred Landowners and Jagirdars, and the Hon. Mr. Abdur Rahi, Mr. Alay Nabi, Mr. Fazle Hussain, and Mr. Ahsan ul-Haq induce the same number of Taxpayers to have themselves enrolled as voters for the twenty seats allotted to these bodies? Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Editor of *Al-Hilal*, has identified himself with the loud demand for the democratisation of the Nadwa Constitution. Here is a constitution as democratic as he could ever dream

of ready to his hand. Could not he and Maulana Abdul Wadood of Bareilly, who fought last July for no less than 10 seats for the Press, against the Press constituency? If not they, why not the Editors of *Paisa Akhbar* and *Watan*? We think this is not only possible but certain if only a few men were as good as their professions of zeal for democracy. We shall be glad to hear from those who are willing to take up this work, and we appeal to the Honorary Secretary of the Association to extend the time till the 25th of July and in the meantime publish every week the names of those enrolled in the various registers. It must be remembered that the Association will not only revise the Draft Constitution of the University but will administer till the University is established no less an annual income than a lakh of rupees and probably much more. It will be for the Association to decide whether this annual income is to be expended on creating more lecture-rooms or new hostels, on appointing more European Professors or sending out the best young Moslem graduates to qualify themselves in Europe, America and Japan by further study and specialization for Professorships in the University. These are valuable privileges and if Moslem democracy cannot be induced to secure these for the mere asking, we must

confess we shall regard all talk of *حریت* (liberty), *ارباب حل و عقد* (people's choice), *ایک قوم* (one nation) as so much bunkum. Is it not a sad commentary on our use of these words that, so far as we know, even if every graduate or editor who has hitherto enrolled himself only voted for himself tomorrow he would get elected with that single vote, and even then there will not be enough to fill all seats allotted to such advanced and democratic constituencies? We have seen friendships of a lifetime snap like a lady's chain in the hands of gaint over Municipal and District Board elections. Even if honest workers are not forthcoming for the Moslem University elections, let some of the leavings of Municipal and District Board elections apply for a much greater honour that goes abegging.

Sanitation in India.

THE Government of India have just issued an important Resolution dealing with the progress of Indian Sanitation. The document covers a large ground. It sets forth the general policy and lays down broad lines of advance with reference to the peculiar aspects of the question of public health in this country. The creation of the Department of Education has proved to be a very useful step, inasmuch as the sanitary needs of the country have begun to receive systematic attention. Prior to 1910 sanitation was more or less in a neglected state and official zeal showed itself in spasmodic measures which achieved no remarkable results owing to lack of method and adequate machinery for application. As the Resolution briefly notes, the first official attempt to introduce scientific sanitation in India was made in 1863 on the basis of a recommendation of a Royal Commission. Commissions of public health were created in the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal with a view to the diminution of sickness in the army and the improvement of the health of the general population. They were, however, replaced by sanitary commissioners with their assistants. Lord Dufferin's Government issued a resolution in 1888 in consequence of which sanitary boards were formed in each province. But the results of these measures were comparatively insignificant, because the sanitary systems of Europe were sought to be applied to India without due regard to the conditions of life in tropical and temperate climates and because the people were for the most part ignorant of the principles of modern hygiene. The outbreak of plague first roused Government as well as the educated classes to the supreme necessity of sanitary reform in a thorough and scientific way. The early efforts of Government to check the virulence of the epidemic were unfortunately not attended with happy results. The measures that were enforced in places to fight the scourge were imprudent devices suggested by panic and took no account of the social habits and deep-seated prejudices of the people. The enforcement of doctrinaire measures of precaution was naturally resented and in some localities it led to angry and serious outbursts of popular passion. This scared Government to a considerable degree and it was naturally assumed that efforts for sanitary progress on a large scale would simply prove a waste of energy as long as the attitude of the people remained so intractable. The doctrine of caution began to be preached with a loud belief in its expediency. The failure of the early plague measures of Government proved a set-back in the sanitary progress of India, for certain incorrect official theories were evolved out of that unhappy experience. As a matter of fact, the failure was due not so much to the innate apathy of the masses and their hostility to change, as to the injudicious way in which drastic measures of evacuation and prevention were enforced. We do not deny that the general ignorance of the people is a great obstacle in the way of sanitary advance, but the difficulty can be overcome if care is taken to adapt measures to the existing social conditions.

With the creation of the Education Department, which is also in charge of sanitation, the real, systematic effort to introduce scientific sanitation in India may be said to have begun. In addition to sanitary conferences held by local Governments, three all-India sanitary conferences have been convened since 1910 at Bombay, Madras and Lucknow, respectively, over which the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler presided as Member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of the department concerned. These conferences were attended by non-officials as well as officials, by laymen as well as professional sanitarians. The Indian Research Fund Association has also been founded "to further the prosecution of research, and the propagation of knowledge and experimental measures generally in connection with the causation, mode of spread and prevention of communicable diseases." The Government of India decided some time ago to make an annual recurring grant of 5 lakhs of rupees to this Fund. It is satisfactory to note that since the constitution of the new Department the claims of sanitation have been receiving an increasing measure of recognition at the hands of the Government, and grants from Imperial revenues have been made to local Governments and Administrations to the amount of Rs. 4,61,47,000 (£3,076,466), of which Rs. 55,23,000 (£368,200) are recurring and Rs. 4,06,24,000 (£2,708,266) non-recurring. In addition, grants amounting to Rs. 82,38 lakhs (£548,866) a year have been made to district boards in certain provinces, a substantial portion of which will, it is hoped, be expended on rural sanitation. "These grants" says the Resolution, "have rendered practicable the execution of schemes which a few years ago seemed beyond the limits of financial possibility; and there can be little doubt that the movement for sanitary reform is now well established and progressive throughout the country." We trust this will not prove a mere pious hope. In spite of some adverse criticism, we may readily assume that the Imperial grants for sanitation have been liberal and adequate. But what about the results? The local Governments have huge balances of these sanitary grants still lying unspent. On the occasion of the last Budget Statement in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Finance Member referred to these unspent balances with some concern and in view of this he had a plausible reason for making a paltry allotment for sanitation. If the spending powers of local Governments remain what they are, Imperial grants even on a liberal scale give little occasion for public enthusiasm. It may be agreed that local Governments have not yet been able to devise a thorough, practicable programme and machinery for the purpose. One may readily admit that the question is beset with difficulties, and much thought and labour will have to be spent in evolving suitable lines for the progress of sanitation in different provinces. And it is not very difficult to sympathise with the dictum of the Resolution that "in the land of the ox-cart one must not expect the pace of the motor-car." But even in the land of the ox-cart a period of four years can carry far, and it should not have been difficult for our efficient local Governments to find suitable ways for spending their balances if they had the necessary wills.

The problem of sanitation in India may be divided under three important heads. The first and most important is the organisation of scientific research into the etiology and bacteriology of tropical diseases and other peculiar conditions affecting public health in India; secondly, the elaboration of suitable measures of sanitary reform both for urban and rural areas, based on scientific investigation and research; lastly, the training and organisation of efficient sanitary staff to carry out these measures in the most economical manner and with due regard to the habits of the people and their social environment. The Resolution lays down some sound principles to which sanitary reform must conform in order to be successful. It must rest on a knowledge of the people, their surroundings and financial means; and it must secure their co-operation. It must recognise the diversity of local conditions in a country inhabited by diverse races and creeds and exhibiting every variety of climate, temperature, humidity and level of sub-soil water. Its introduction must be preceded by preliminary local surveys, inquiry, or experiment. These are sound propositions, and in a scientific and thorough organisation of effort for sanitary reform they must be rigidly adhered to.

It is satisfactory to note that the vital importance of research is fully recognised by Government. Efforts are being made to equip research laboratories in different places for the study of problems of public health. The King Institute, founded in 1902 at Quinyin Madras, was the first research institute established in India. In 1905, Lord Curzon's Government summed up the position and the policy of the Government of India in regard to the establishment of laboratories. Since then steady progress has been made; a Central Research Institute has been established at Kasauli and other provincial laboratories and institutes for the diagnosis and special research connected with local conditions have been established or are under construction in different provinces. The

Government of India hope that before long each province in India will have a laboratory fully equipped for research. The most notable event in regard to sanitary progress has been the foundation of the Indian Research Fund Association in 1911. The control and management of the association are vested in a governing body of which the Education Member is the President. The governing body is assisted by a "scientific advisory board" which examines all proposals for work in connection with the scientific objects of the association and reports as to their importance and feasibility. The membership of the Association is open to non-officials. Every donor of Rs. 5,000 is entitled to become a permanent member, while every subscriber of Rs. 100 per annum can be temporary member. The association has been able to do good work since its foundation. It is financing important investigations into problems connected with a variety of diseases, epidemics and other matters bearing on public health. Besides financing the investigations conducted by its own staff, the association gives grants-in-aid to outside research on approved lines. The association has also started a quarterly Journal—the *Indian Journal of Medical Research*—for the publication of medical research work done in India.

The sanctioned strength of superior sanitary organisation in India has been considerably raised. Besides a sanitary commissioner with the Government of India and the bacteriological department comprising thirteen laboratories, fifteen new appointments have recently been sanctioned for the prosecution of research work and direct investigation in the field, and large sanitary establishments have been sanctioned for each province. The progress of sanitation depends in reality on the industry and capacity of provincial sanitary staffs. If they have sufficient enthusiasm for their tasks, have insight into the conditions of Indian life and take into account the habits, customs and financial position of inhabitants in various localities, they may reap creditable results within a reasonable period and succeed in laying down the lines of sanitary advance in India on a broad and sure basis. Qualified Indians should as far as possible be appointed as deputy sanitary commissioners and health officers. A British diploma is required from candidates for the post of deputy sanitary commissioners and health officers of the first class, but arrangements for the training of the superior Sanitary staff should as soon as possible be made in India.

The Resolution concludes by laying strong emphasis on the importance of education in the growth of sanitary reform. It is absolutely true that the spread of sound education among the masses will facilitate the application of sanitary measures throughout the country. The claims of hygiene as part of their educational policy were recognised by the Government of India in their educational resolution of February 1913. The sanitary resolution emphasises the need of mass education. It now rests with the Department of Education to provide for the rapid and thorough application of sanitary measures and educational schemes with equal energy and liberality. There has hitherto been some disposition to discount the claims of either by alternately emphasising the needs of each. The twins of the Education Department should not, like step sisters, be played one against the other, but every effort should be made to endow both with equal generosity. We are satisfied that the Government of India view their responsibilities in these directions with increasing earnestness and there is no occasion to despair of rapid progress within the next few years.



Verse.

A Vision.

From out the golden dawn of vanished years
 She glides into my dreams, a form divine
 Of light and love, to soothe the thoughts that pine
 For what has been, to stem the tide of tears
 That inward flows upon the heart and sears
 Its inmost core. Her countenance benign,
 Where chastened Pity's softest graces shine,
 Reflects the hallowed light of other spheres.
 Then to my yearning soul, with care outworn,
 Comes, like a strain on aerial wings upborne,
 This message from her soul—"Bid sorrow cease;
 Love dies not; 'tis the immortal life above;
 And chastened souls, that win eternal peace
 Through earthly suffering, know that Heaven is Love!"

NIRANJAN JANG.

CORRESPONDENCE



The "Resolutions" of "Anjuman-i-Imamia," Agra.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It should give me no end of relief if you would be so kind as to publish the following in your paper:—

I learnt it with great disgust that certain resolutions passed by the Anjuman-i-Imamia, Shahganj, Agra, appeared in the *Zamindar*, Lahore. These resolutions concerning the recent Shia-Sunni misunderstanding at Aligarh are most absurd and absolutely ridiculous. Had it not been for the fact that the *Zamindar*, with its popularity and wide circulation, gave a place to them in its columns, I assure you, I should not have even looked at them. They are so silly and stupid that any sensible person will simply blush at them and feel sorry for the energy wasted in framing them.

Unfortunately the *Zamindar's* publication of these resolutions in its columns made them look rather important in the public eye and must have set many minds a thinking.

I am, however, taking the earliest opportunity of contradicting them and beg to explain through your columns the actual facts of the case:

Firstly.—The Anjuman-i-Imamia is mainly composed of young students i. e. most of its members are school lads.

Secondly.—These resolutions were read before the members the majority of whom was composed of urchins from Maktabas. There were hardly four or five grown-up members present, one being a student of the 2nd year class, another member a clerk in a certain local office, and two others of no particular calling.

Thirdly.—The resolutions were passed to the credit of the above mentioned urchins who are hardly well up in their First Reader and Second Reader lessons.

Fourthly.—I was present at this meeting at the request of the secretary who had previously asked me to visit the Anjuman and thus give an opportunity to the members to be benefitted by my advice. When I arrived at the Anjuman I found hardly fifteen or sixteen members present, including the school lads, of course. Before this I had never visited this Anjuman. I occupied the chair at their pressing request and asked them to refrain from sending these vicious, hot-headed and unreasonable resolutions to the Press or to the Government. I nullified the whole proceedings.

I was not aware of their doings till to-day when I caught sight of those very resolutions in the columns of the *Zamindar*, on my return from Kheri. I was shocked at their very sight and was frightfully disgusted with the unthinking members of the Anjuman and their unconstitutional proceedings. I am simply astonished at the result, and want to make it public that I have had nothing to do with the framing, publishing or sanctioning the publication or communication of these resolutions to anybody. I absolutely refuse my name being associated with the appreciation of such an infamous proceeding as this. I entirely disagree with the resolutions and I detest the very idea of their getting circulation in our midst.

I always held the Aligarh College in great esteem and regarded it as a purely Muslim national institution. I am a Muslim and a Muslim alone! I am capable of seeing only one shade in our national matters and that is of Islam. My eyes are closed to the disgusting and sickening sight of Shia-Sunni, Wahabi and Qadiani sects and their differences. To my mind divisions in Islam are most painful and horrible. It is most annoying to me to learn that I can ever encourage Shia-Sunni disputes. I am a staunch believer in the Muslim policy of to-day and those who make mischief between these two sects, I call criminal, or at least irresponsible, lunatics.

I regret I have taken so much space in your valued columns, but I hope you will agree with me that a few personal remarks about myself were necessary on this occasion.

HASAN MANZIL,
SHAHGANJ;
Agra, 14th May, 1914.

Yours faithfully,
SYED HASAN ABID JAFRY.

Legal Trifles.

THE tricks, the diverse shifts and make-believes of any trade are always looked upon with interest by those who think themselves unfortunate in not belonging to that trade. In the last issue of the *Comrade* I read with pleasure an article headed "the Lonely Homestead" and, though I was somewhat surprised at the simple optimism of a remark about the Pleadars, I tried to enjoy with the writer the shooting and the search, not to mention the sandwiches and the Badmashes. My pleasant reflections were, however, broken by a sudden remembrance of an experience that I had passed through not long before.

I remembered my anxiety and hesitation of some few moments of intensely hurried thought, whether I should cross-examine on a certain point in a case in which 3 accused persons were charged with receiving and retaining stolen property obtained by means of a dacoity. What the point was, I shall relate as we proceed further.

Once the Badmashes, the informers and the Swat Bonair Afridis were out of my mind, I realised fully the significance of the words, which in the abovementioned article, ran as follows:—"news had also been sent to the Joint Magistrate, who kindly rode over, a step that I calculated on to checkmate the usual assertions of Pleadars for the defence to the effect that the wicked Police themselves plant stolen property in order to secure the conviction of poor, honest people."

I am not going here to preach a homily, but just to note down a fact. I will only say that as the various professions have their work marked out in different spheres of life, criticism which takes measure of any other profession by its own rule of thumb goes amiss. Unless you put on a black gown on your mind, when judging the Pleadars, you are as likely to go astray as a Pleadar would, who judges the Police without putting on his mind a red turban with a golden tassel.

I was engaged at the eleventh hour in the case—a misfortune peculiar to juniors—just managed to reach the Sessions Court-room as the examination-in-chief of the first and a very important witness had terminated. And then I was called upon to cross-examine!

I have not been in the profession for a long time, and a few months before the commencement of my independent work, I had devilled it under the Hon'ble Mr. Riza Ali who was and is still my ideal of a young advocate. Well, the only thing that I think I have succeeded in catching, to some very small extent, of my learned senior's qualities was a little *Sangfroid*. On the day in question, my senior's gift proved very useful to me. A little apology to the Court, a meaningless remark to the Prosecutor and the thing was done. The bearded *Peshkar* in his sonorous voice re-read the whole testimony of the witness, with a certain modulation of voice more akin to reading verse than prose.

There lay on the table, nearly 2 seers of silver ornaments, some golden ornaments, clothes, *pandans* and other paraphernalia of the alleged loot, while the registering of the exhibits showed signs that all the 26 letters of the alphabet had been exhausted. Over and above these, there were two frowning exhibits. One was a big old-fashioned revolver the mechanism of which I could not at all understand and which seemed to date back to the days of Warren Hastings, and the other a rusty long sword (remining one of the *Ruhilla* war), the scabbard of which the prosecution took pains to be identified by each search witness. While the *Peshkar* was engaged in reading out the statement of the witness, I thought out my future plan of action. I was prepared to answer for the ornaments, but the arms were a riddle not to be solved in any way. After some anxious, very anxious moments of concentrated thought, I resolved not to question about the two weapons.

I honestly thought it was an idle excuse to place the responsibility of the revolver and the sword being found in the house on the shoulders of the Police. The revolver was alleged to have been extracted from a wall in the room and the sword was lying among some sticks, in a *kothi*, in which grain is stored.

Fortunately for my client and more for myself, that day only the identification witnesses of the ornaments were produced. Late in the evening one or two Police witnesses, also, deposed, but I was loth to ask them about the weapons as I was sincerely convinced in my mind that the arms belonged to the occupants of the house and were found in the place where the Police stated them to have been. However, when the Court rose for the day, I had an opportunity of a little conversation with my goal-bird—who, by the way was old hand at things—and his explanation and assurance changed my view of the case entirely. He told me, if I remember aught, that he had seen all sides of life, had been the leader in, what he called, the deeds of darings and that his hands were not pure; but despite this candour he absolutely denied, all knowledge of the weapons.

I knew that ordinarily these men try to impose on their Blesder; but it was one of those earnest moments when the very soul seems to speak, and if I was not fully convinced by his denial, at least a suspicion was roused about the sword and the revolver. Next day I was ready for my friends, the Police officers, and in the ensuing cross-examination expected a tough encounter. From the statement of the first Sub-Inspector, I gathered that he was very anxious about the case and wanted to "over prove." The next Sub-Inspector was a man of some 20 years' experience and he tried to be indefinite and took shelter behind a screen of vagueness. As a matter of the etiquette of our profession, the traditions of which we all hold dear, I was most civil to them and asked my questions in the plainest of language.

However, as the ice grew thinner under our feet, the replies became snappish and short. I drew them further on when, at last, the climax was reached. We exchanged glances and they were far from being amicable. Each reply now became qualified with an adverbial clause "as far as I remember." I knew that my friend had grown irritated and I was not slow to take advantage of it.

I followed with a rapid succession of questions beginning with "will you tell me, Sir, as far as you remember etc.," to which my friend replied in the same strain. At last, the Court interfered and an order for the total destruction of the adverbial clause was passed.

I succeeded in extracting by means of much round about questioning that there was darkness in the room where the weapons were found and that there was no aperture for light.

Then there came a young Assistant Superintendent of Police, who was among the search-party, but was at a distance of nearly a mile when the weapons were found in the house. He was sent for only after the discovery of the arms. He gave me the desired information without much difficulty. He told the Court that the room in which the revolver was found was fairly dark which, to my chagrin, was translated in Urdu as somewhat dark. But also for the honesty of the Police, the Sub-Inspector had deposed that his attention had been drawn to the resting place of the revolver by a slight roughness in the surface of the wall at a height of nearly 3 yards from the floor in a corner of the room away from the light and more specially by the difference in the colour of the mud in this place from the colour of the mud in the rest of the room. So in that fairly dark room, where the Assistant Superintendent of Police said he nearly tripped as his foot entered a hole in the ground, the lynx-eyed Sub-Inspector had distinguished the two colours of the mud!

As for the sword, which was found lying among some sticks, the very facility attending its discovery, was sufficient to arouse suspicion. In the end the assessors found that the weapons did not come from the house of my pretty gaol-bird and the Court was also of the same opinion. Far be it from me to suggest where they had come from and who had put them in that dark room equally useful for the expert photographer and for the Sub-Inspector, who is an expert in the colour of mud! Mr. Norton may perhaps try.

B. A.



Ghasita: a Budmash.

II.—A marriage marred.

Ghasita did not waste time at Saiyan, but leaving the railway station set off for the town of Khairigarh, 12 miles distant, where he intended stopping a few days in order to pick up information about the dacoit gangs supposed to frequent the neighbourhood of Jagner and the jungly tract of country stretching into Dholpur State. His wish was to attach himself to a set of those desperate characters in order to study dacoity methods, of which he had no previous knowledge, his crimes hitherto falling under the definitions of burglary and theft. Besides it was improbable that the Agra Police would track him into that wild region, while even if they succeeded in doing so, there were difficulties in the form of extradition rules that would favour his safety from immediate arrest, if discovered. His stock of ready money was limited to eight annas, extorted from his hosts of the preceding night, but he relied on his ready skill as a housebreaker to replenish an exhausted exchequer: if he could gain large sums of money by the exercise of his profession of burglar in a city like Calcutta, he ought to find it easy to relieve bunnias and grain merchants of the rupees they stored in their houses in the same sort of hiding place—under the hearthstone or at the bottom of the huge earthen vats for holding grain—as their forefathers had done for generations past. Ghasita accordingly took up his quarters in the little serai—Khairigarh is not by any means an important place or one with many visitors from the outer world—after recording himself, (under an alias of course), as a *bha-bhanya*, or grain-parcher,

proceeding on pilgrimage to the noted shrine of Gwal Baba at Jagner. That town lay nine miles to the west of Khairigarh and was the site of an old fort, held alternately by Moghul and Maratha garrisons during the period of declining Mahomedan sway over India. Fearing that a big burglary might excite suspicion against strangers in the town, he confined his financial undertakings to the committal of petty thefts, where the booty was just enough to meet current expenses, nor did he succeed in getting in touch with any dacoits. Plenty of stories about those gentry, the exploiters of the various gangs, the names and personal characteristics of the leaders, were told as lodgers in the serai squatted around the common fire at night, yet nobody hinted at closer acquaintance with the persons under discussion. He had almost resolved to push on to Jagner and try for news in that place, when a small party, ostensibly snake-charmers and jugglers of a sort, entered the serai one evening, and before they had been there a couple of hours, the natural instinct whereby people of the same stamp get attracted to one another led to Ghasita and the wanderers becoming quite intimate. They belonged to a sect of the Kanjars—gipsies proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act, and addicted to highway robbery for their maintenance, rather than to what sums they earned by the exhibition of their tame snakes and the performance of crude feats of legerdemain. The Kanjars were bound for Jagner, hoping to find employment (as they euphemistically expressed it), among the travellers now en route for the shrine mentioned above, where an annual Fair is held towards the end of the month of Bhadon, corresponding in the Hindu calendar to the English September. Ghasita decided, after some conversation with his new friends, to join the gang and an early hour in the following morning found them tramping along the rough track that served as road from Khairigarh to Jagner. The Kanjars did not proceed further than a few miles, when their head-man announced his plans for pitching camp on the slopes of the Noni hill, a long, low eminence, rising to about 600 feet above sea level, and the sides of which were covered by dense brush-wood. From this coign of vantage watch could be easily kept on the two main lines of approach to Jagner, and in the nullahs and recesses of Noni the gang would be fairly secure from pursuit and capture. These fond expectations were not disappointed, for once the stream of pilgrim traffic began, not a day elapsed without booty—sometimes very small, sometimes reaching to three figures in value—obtained by the gipsies, who divided their forces and trusted to their known daring and fierceness to overcome such resistance as timid folk were likely to offer. This run of good fortune ultimately brought their campaign of pillage to an abrupt termination. Daily reports of crimes by foot-pads caused the Superintendent of Police to hasten to Jagner and try to catch the perpetrators of those offences, which necessitated the compilation of Special Reports, (in triplicate), which had to be submitted to the higher authorities, and which, from their sudden frequency, might cast doubts on the efficiency of himself and his subordinates.

The Kanjars noticed an European on horseback, accompanied by two sowars, who—like the Knight in the Faery Queen—were "pricking o'er the plain" that skirted the hill on which they were encamped, and thought it necessary to send somebody to Jagner next day to ascertain who the intruder on their preserves might be, his object in visiting the neighbourhood, and the probable duration of his stay in that part of the world. Ghasita volunteered for this job on the Intelligence Branch, having for companion one of the smartest men among the Kanjar gang. It was not long—Jagner reached—before they learnt that the stranger was a Police Officer and their recent crimes the reason for his appearance on the scene. The spies strolled round the outside of the Police Station and calmly studied the Notices—printed in Nagri and Urdu—which were affixed to a large board for that purpose that can be observed at every Thana in the Provinces. Neither of the men were able to read Urdu correctly, but had a smattering of the Nagri characters, sufficient to gather the general import of the matter printed on those sheets of *badami* paper. Of course, full details—with dates etc. of the late robberies—occupied a prominent place, but another notice in larger type, and with the words "Reward Offered" in capital letters as its heading, possessed more interest for Ghasita than the rest of the placards, since it gave full particulars of his escape from the Central Jail followed by a correct descriptive roll of the fugitive from justice. He furtively watched his Kanjar comrade and detected the latter carefully perusing the Notice, every now and then casting a secret glance at Ghasita as if to compare his features and personality with that of the person mentioned, for whose arrest a hundred rupees—and no questions asked—was offered by the District Magistrate of Agra. The position was rather too exciting to be pleasant, so Ghasita insisted on their speedy return to Noni hill, declaring that the gang must promptly decamp from that place or run the danger of a surprise visit from the Police, certain to display much energy now that a Sahib had come to urge them to greater activity than had marked their proceedings up to date. Aware

that the Kanjar carried a pistol, albeit of ancient pattern, also a short hunting knife, concealed beneath the dirty waistband he was wearing. Ghasita hit on a plan for annexing those weapons and saying, farewell to his present associates. Tired by the hurry in which they covered the distance from Jagner town to the base of the hill, the two men sat down beside a well for a short rest and the inevitable smoke. Not suspecting that his study of the Reward Notice had been seen by the Kachi, the Kanjar was quite off his guard, so Ghasita met with no opposition to the spring he made at the throat of the other man, whom he nearly throttled before binding him hand and foot in the folds of his own *dhoti* and placing a gag—contrived from a piece of wood and strip of turban—in the mouth of the gipsy to prevent an alarm being given to any members of the gang who might be lurking in the vicinity. Having secured his victim, Ghasita lost no time in retracing his steps to Jagner: a bold move, yet an excellent piece of strategy. The principal day of the Fair was at hand and there was not much fear of his being noticed amid the dense crowd of pilgrims, while the Kanjars—ignorant of his intentions and not fully convinced of his identity with the person for whom the Reward was offered—would dread venturing into the town, lest he might have given tidings about them and their crimes to the Police. Thus secured from molestation on the part of his late *pals*, Ghasita quietly went across the border into Dholpur, spent a couple of days in the capital of that State and then began working back towards Agra. He did not know the lie of the country, so he took the railway line as a guide and by thus acting had a great stroke of luck.

The country he now traversed was sparsely populated in the immediate vicinity of the railway; small ravines, their sides hidden by thick undergrowth, interrupted the usual monotonous level of an Indian plain, and it was only on nearing a roadside station that villages were seen and signs of human life became evident. Half way between one of these places and Satyan—for two days hard walking had brought our traveller back to that point in his journeyings—a whitewashed building, situated on a knoll about a hundred yards from the line, attracted the attention of Ghasita. It was clearly meant for European tenants and he had no desire to come under the notice of any inquisitive Sahib, so went out on the permanent way to try and see if any village was within easy distance, where he might procure food and make a brief halt. Instead of what he sought his quick eyes perceived a small vehicle coming along the rails in his direction, which a moment's reflection showed him to be one of the trollies used by railway officials when inspecting stretch of line under their charge. A Permanent-way Inspector almost invariably travels in that fashion and it was a member of that class who now approached as rapidly as the efforts of two perspiring coolies, running barefooted along the hot metals could propel the trolley, heavy in weight yet capable of attaining a very decent rate of speed once fairly set going. Stepping back into the tall grass that fringed the line on either side and which afforded ample cover for a dozen men, Ghasita watched for the passage of the trolley and its occupants. Somewhat to his surprise, mingled with a little fear, it slackened speed on nearing his hiding place, but he soon found that he had no cause for alarm, since it came to a standstill where little path led up to the bungalow just mentioned and which proved to be a Rest House provided by the railway for its officers when out on duty. The European was dressed in khaki clothes of the usual type, conveniently loose to insure comfort at that season of the year; a big *solah topce* on his head, a pair of brown boots as foot-gear, and a soft shirt of Cawnpore manufacture to complete his outfit. Four coolies, acting in turn as human propellers, and a private servant, who filled the dual billets of bearer and cook, comprised the companions of the Sahib. It was between eleven and twelve o'clock and intensely hot, added to which circumstance it was past the usual breakfast hour, so the European stranger had grown impatient and lost no time in walking up the slope towards the Rest House, having ordered one coolie to run ahead and see about wood and water; another to look sharp and place himself at the punkah rope, the remaining two to assist his servant in carrying the Sahib's belongings, consisting of a tiffin basket, office box, roll of bedding, and big *sorahi* of the porous stone used at Chhunar for the manufacture of goblets for water. His orders were given with much gesticulation, in tones that evidently demanded prompt compliance, each sentence being duly emphasised by one of the expletives employed by the average Briton when excited and his temper ruffled. Ghasita noticed that a long leather case had been overlooked when the rest of the *usab* was being removed from the trolley, and he had not loitered on railway platforms without picking up some knowledge on the subject of a Sahib's luggage, so he immediately guessed the forgotten package to be a gun-case. The bearer had hardly gone twenty paces when he appeared to recollect something and was telling a coolie to go back to the trolley, when the voice of his master

"*Kadam uthao! Damn the *usab* and look sharp with my breakfast and tub.*" made him alter his intentions and the whole of the little party hastened to reach the bungalow without bestowing further thought on the leather case and its contents. Scarcely crediting the arrival of such good luck, Ghasita was out of the tall grass and had seized the case before its owner could have entered the house and started undressing for his bath. In fact, the convict had put several miles between himself and the trolley party before the loss was discovered and the unfortunate European given juster cause for anger and the use of still stronger language. Instead of proceeding straight to Agra, as he had originally meant to do, Ghasita diverged to the south-east in order to cross into Dholpur, a strip of that State running in that direction. He then marched nearly parallel to the Chambal river through a tract broken up by ravines and devoid of any sort of vegetation, save where a clump of *babul* trees waved their thorny branches or a solitary *nipal* or *mahua* crowned an upland spur overlooking the surrounding waste. His idea was to reach Agra from the south, and to do this it was necessary to cross the Pinahat Tahsil and strike the road from Etawah to Agra somewhere near the town of Bah; a place 33 miles distant from the city of Akbar and through which traffic from Gwalior and Mainpuri was wont to pass in considerable amount. He examined his treasure-trove, the gun case, as soon as he deemed it safe to indulge in a halt, pretty sure that he had eluded all possible chance of being overtaken by any pursuers. The contents of the case turned out to be a Winchester carbine, with a magazine and a packet of cartridges; just the kind of weapon a man could rely on to protect himself or damage an opponent. How to carry the rifle puzzled him for a bit, as it could not of course be taken to pieces like a sporting gun. However this obstacle was conquered by gathering a bundle of *karbi* stalks and artfully concealing the firearm in the midst of this innocent outside wrapper. Nobody was likely to interfere with a poor man, apparently trudging homewards with a supply of fodder for his bullock or country *tat*; in fact, it was improbable that he would encounter many wayfarers on the country tracks and small village paths along which he directed his steps. Besides he had a friend or two at Bah, who might be persuaded to let him have a small sum of money for current expenses, until he had fully matured his plans for the future and recommenced levying toll from the general public. Even keener than his wish to replenish his pockets with the rupees of others, was longing for revenge on the constable of Rikabgunge station whose evidence had been so material in getting him sent to gaol. Pondering over various schemes to pay out that policeman, he arrived in due course at Bah, and remained there for close on a fortnight, before resuming his travels. The associates referred to were induced, partly from feelings of charity, partly from fear, to supply him with funds which he devoted to making a few needful purchases. Among other things he bought a yard or two of coarse sackings, from which to make a rude cover for this precious rifle; having learnt how to use a needle, after a fashion, while in the Andamans. Provided with that weapon, the revolver and big knife stolen from the Kanjar, Ghasita felt prepared for any attempt to arrest him, nor imagined such would be made now that the first excitement caused by his escape from prison must have died out. Although efforts are made to prevent several members of the same family joining the Police in one District, it is fairly easy to evade the regulations on that point. Indians have so wide a circle of relatives, and these often living wide distances apart, that a recruit finds little trouble in concealing the connection between him and other relations he possesses in the Force. When a Superintendent has been a year or so in a District—especially if he is in the habit of talking freely with his subordinates, the Circle Inspectors, the Reader, and Station Officers—he is frequently surprised to unearth a family group of actual brothers, first and second cousins, and so forth, who have contrived to enlist under his command and form a tiny clique bound together by ties of blood for good or ill.

At Bah, there happened to be one of the armed Police on Treasury Guard at the Tahsil, whose brother was the person concerned in having Ghasita convicted; a circumstance that clever villain resolved to take advantage of. Allowing his intention of running into Agra for a day or so to be known to the Guard, he soon found the constable in question coming to ask the favour of his conveying to the Rikabgunge man a letter asking the latter to obtain three days' leave and come to Bah for the discussion of some family business. That errand was undertaken by Ghasita, after a little feigned reluctance, and thus a means supplied for effecting a plan of revenge he was preparing. Not caring to risk his safety by going in person to Rikabgunge with the letter, he got a *chankidar* to deliver that missive, and subsequent private inquiries informed him

that the leave had been sought for and granted. The object of his hatred would depart for Bah on a certain date. Ghasita lost no time in returning to Duhuki, a small village equi-distant from Agra and Bah, which all travellers were in the habit of using as convenient half-way resting place, for baiting ponies, cooking a meal, and enjoying a temporary halt on the journey between the two places named. Aware of the habits of his countrymen serving in the Police—or for that matter, in any Government Department—he knew that the constable would try and get gratis “lifts” on the road, either on ekkas or, failing that mode of conveyance, on a bullock cart. At all events he was certain to stop at Duhuki and then his enemy could settle on what course to adopt for satisfying his thirst for revenge. Everything happened as was foreseen by Ghasita. Towards the small hours, an ekka rattled up to the *parao* at Duhuki, its occupants an aged cloth merchant and a man whom Ghasita at once recognised as the hostile witness he was seeking for. The dealer in piece goods was too fatigued to proceed when the ekka driver announced his wish to make a start, so the constable said that he would walk on slowly and trusted the kapra-wallah would lose as little time as possible in following his example, so that the pair might travel to Bah in company. Ghasita meanwhile arranged his plan of operations, and directly he saw the policeman collecting his bundle of clothes and cooking utensils, which he handed over to the ekka driver to bring along with him, disappeared into the outer darkness. Trotting briskly along the road to Bah till he reached a spot suited for the crime he was about to commit, and too far from Duhuki to allow of the report of a gun being heard by people at that place, he took shelter behind a thick bush, removed the cover from his rifle. Loaded the Winchester, and may have muttered to himself the words lately used by a certain distinguished politician “Wait and see.” Ignorant of any danger, the constable soon afterwards came leisurely tramping along the road, singing some rustic ballad learnt in infancy at his home, the sound of which warned the man in ambush that his hour for clearing off old scores had arrived. Ghasita,—whatever his vices were—had an audacity in his actions akin to true valour, he did not shoot down his prey without informing the victim to whom he would owe his doom. Stepping suddenly on to the road, a few paces in front of the astonished traveller, he uttered a sentence full of the vilest abuse, then pulling the trigger sent the Rikabgunge policeman to a land where no Penal Code exists, where justice is not administered in quite the same way as in Indian Courts of Law (at least one trusts such is the case) and even an Inspector-General of Police has to take his chance along with the lowest of his earthly myrmidons. Returning the weapon to its covering, Ghasita made a wide detour so as to avoid repassing Duhuki, and regained the highway at a point near Agra, having determined to hide in a parlour of that city, till it would be safe to show himself abroad once more. He knew of a good place of refuge and hastened to reach it before the next day was well advanced and he might be subjected to troublesome inquiries en route. Fortune favoured the ruffian, and long before noon, he was seated in the house of a Sonar in Tajgunge, chuckling over the success of his scheme and absolutely careless at having the burden of a brutal murder on his mind. His next appearance in public was of a still more striking nature, but must be reserved for another of these stories of a Budmash.

A. N. G.



Sanitation in India.

The following resolution has been issued by the Government of India (Department of Education):—

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

The modern history of scientific sanitation in India may be said to date from the end of the last century. Previously there had indeed been periods of useful spade work and spasms of general sanitary activity. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1859 and reporting in 1863, recommended the formation of commissions of public health in the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, with a view to the diminution of sickness in the army, and the improvement of the health of the general population. These commissions were appointed but were soon replaced in each presidency by a sanitary commissioner with an assistant. Sanitary inspectors general, afterwards called sanitary commissioners, were appointed in other provinces; and the sanitary and vaccination staffs were gradually amalgamated. In 1888, Lord Dufferin's Government issued a resolution drawing the attention of local bodies and village unions to their duties in the matter of sanitation; and sanitary boards were formed in every province. But comparatively little success attended these efforts except in the larger towns. On the one side, sanitary measures and systems of western countries were applied to India without due regard to the fundamental differences of western and eastern civilisations and of the conditions of life in

tropical and temperate climates: on the other side, the people were unprepared for reform or any kind of change.

2. The ravages and horrors of plague and the discoveries resulting from medical research made some real impression on the educated community in India; and a demand gradually arose for sanitary surroundings and preventive measures, such as had not been known before. Individuals left their insanitary quarters for cleaner and healthier localities and in increasing numbers men began to realise the dangers to which they were exposed from existing conditions, and to appreciate the economic value of health and the wastefulness of sickness and premature death. Dislike of action was, however, for long persistent even among the educated. So far as the uneducated masses were concerned their apathy, fatalism and resentment of interference constituted a formidable obstacle to all sanitary progress.

RECENT ACTIVITY.

3. The Governments in India have moved more rapidly of late. In 1898, the Government of India issued an important statement of policy. In 1908, imperial grants amounting to Rs. 30,00,000 (£200,000) a year were made to local Governments. A new department of the Government of India was created in 1910 in order to relieve the Home Department of education, sanitation and some other branches of the administration. In addition to sanitary conferences held by local Governments, three all-India sanitary conferences have been convened at Bombay, Madras and Lucknow, respectively, over which the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler presided as Member of the Governor General's Council in charge of the department concerned. These conferences were attended by non-officials as well as officials, by laymen as well as professional sanitarians. Again, the Indian Research Fund Association has been founded to further the prosecution of research, and the propagation of knowledge and experimental measures generally in connection with the causation, mode of spread and prevention of communicable diseases. To this fund the Government of India make an annually recurring grant of 5 lakhs of rupees (£33,333). Moreover, since the constitution of the new department of the Government of India, imperial grants have been made to local Governments and Administrations to the amount of Rs. 4,61,47,000 (£3,076,466), of which Rs. 55,28,000 (£368,200) are recurring, and Rs. 4,06,24,000 (£2,708,266) non-recurring. In addition, grants amounting to Rs. 82·38 lakhs (£548,866) a year have been made to district boards in certain provinces, a substantial portion of which will, it is hoped, be expended on rural sanitation. These grants have rendered practicable the execution of schemes which a few years ago seemed beyond the limits of financial possibility; and there can be little doubt that the movement for sanitary reform is now well established and progressive throughout the country.

CARDINAL PRINCIPLES.

4. There has thus been progress although the rate has hitherto been slow. In the land of the ox-cart one must not expect the pace of the motor car. The truly remarkable improvements effected of late years in the health of the army in India, in the case of Indian no less than British troops, cannot be expected in connection with the civil population. In the case of the army, the problem is concerned mainly with well nourished adults, all of whom are selected lives, living in sanitary surroundings, under military discipline. Moreover, so soon as a soldier becomes unfit for active service, he leaves the army and forms part of the civil population. In the case of the civil population, conditions of the problem are very different, and sanitary reform has still to grope its way through a labyrinth of difficulties. In order to be successful it must conform to three cardinal principles:—

- (1) it must rest on a knowledge of the people, their conditions of life, their prejudices, social customs and habits, their surroundings and financial means; and it must secure the co-operation;
- (2) it must recognise the diversity of local conditions in a country which includes numerous communities, castes and creeds and which exhibits almost every variety of climate, temperature, humidity and level of sub-soil water, from the deltas of Bengal with their steamy atmosphere and dense lush vegetation to the burnt brown hills of the north-west frontier;
- (3) its introduction must be preceded by preliminary local surveys, inquiry, or experiment.

SANITARY ORGANISATION.

5. As a result of the Plague Commission's Report Lord Curzon's Government took up with vigour the reorganisation of the sanitary department. Research institutes were started and an appointment of Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India was created. The functions of this officer to advise the Government of India upon sanitary and bacteriological questions, to settle with local Governments the principles on which an advance should be

made, and to organise and direct research throughout India. The arrangement was not completely successful. Among the disadvantages, the separation of research from clinical work deterred men from entering the department, and the office work in connection with research prevented the Sanitary Commissioner from undertaking wide and constant touring. The organisation was accordingly modified in 1912. The Sanitary Commissioner is now the independent adviser to the Government of India in all technical and sanitary matters, but all questions of personnel as well as the administration of the bacteriological department and research generally have been placed under the control of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, with the Sanitary Commissioner as his staff officer.

6. The sanctioned strength of the superior sanitary organisation in India now is :—

- (a) A Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.
- (b) A bacteriological department comprising—
 - (i) thirteen laboratory appointments distributed as follows :—
 - Central Research Institute . . . 1 Director and 3 Assistants.
 - Bombay Bacteriological Laboratory . . . 1 Director and 2 Assistants.
 - King Institute of Preventive Medicine, Madras . . . 1 Director and 1 Assistant.
 - Pasteur Institute, Kasauli . . . 1 Director and 1 Assistant.
 - Pasteur Institute, Coonoor . . . 1 Director and 1 Assistant.
 - (ii) fifteen new appointments recently sanctioned for the prosecution of research work and direct investigation in the field.
- (c) The following establishments under local Governments :—

Province.	Sanitary Commissioners.	Deputy Sanitary Commissioners.	HEALTH OFFICERS (a)		SANITARY ENGINEERS.	
			1st class.	2nd class.	Sanitary Engineers.	Deputy or Assistant Sanitary Engineers.
Madras ...	1	3	12	19	1	6(b)
Bombay (c) ...	1	5	4	9	1	...
Bengal ...	1	5(d)	6	17	1	2
United Provinces ...	1	4	11	17	1	3
Punjab ...	1	2	2	5	1	1
Burma ...	1	2	4	16	1	2(e)
Bihar and Orissa ...	1	3	2	6	1	2(f)
Central Provinces ...	1	...	...	2	1	...
Assam ...	1(g)	1	...	...	1(e)	...
North-West Frontier Province ...	1(g)	1	1	1(h)	...	...
Delhi ...	1(i)	...	3(j)	...	1	...
TOTAL ...	11	26	45	94	16	16

In their resolution, dated the 23rd May 1912, the Government of India provided for a large increase in the number of deputy sanitary commissioners and for the appointment of health officers (of the first-class for larger municipalities and of the second class for the smaller towns) on the lines of detailed proposals received from local Governments. Twelve additional appointments of deputy sanitary commissioner, thirty-five appointments of health officer of the first-class and a large addition to the number of second-class health officers were sanctioned in 1912 and 1913, the entire cost of the additional deputy sanitary commissioners on the basis of the scale of pay fixed for Indians and half the cost of the health officers being met by imperial grants. The Government of India also advised local Governments to take powers, where these did not exist, to require a municipality to appoint a health officer and to veto the appointment

- (a) Appointments of health officer in presidency towns and Simla are not included.
- (b) Five of these are temporary appointments.
- (c) In addition to the officers shown in this statement, the Director, Vaccine Institute, Bangalore, is also a sanitary officer.
- (d) There is also a temporary appointment.
- (e) Temporary.
- (f) One of these is temporary.
- (g) The administrative Head of the medical department is also the Sanitary Commissioner.
- (h) There are also four 3rd class health officers in the province.
- (i) The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India is also Sanitary Commissioner, Delhi.
- (j) Two of these are temporary.

of an unfit person. Such powers already exist in the Bombay presidency, and have recently been taken by legislation in Bengal. Simultaneously, the Government of India recommend the system in force in Madras whereby every municipality is required to employ one or more trained sanitary inspectors in proportion to population. Sanitary inspectors are now being employed in large numbers in towns. In addition, the civil surgeon in every district is the sanitary adviser of the local authorities and in most provinces controls the vaccination staff. The provision of an increased staff of sanitary engineers is engaging urgent attention.

The Government of India attach great importance to the organisation of voluntary agencies and have recently made a grant of Rs. 20,000 (£1,333)—a sum equivalent to that given by the Bombay Government—to the Bombay sanitary association, which was founded in 1903, and now has corresponding branches in several districts and native states.

7. The policy of the Government of India is to keep the control of research under itself, but to decentralise other branches of sanitation. The creation of an imperial department is no departure from that policy, and the large imperial grants already mentioned have been made without any interference with provincial Governments. While the general direction of a policy of public health must remain with the central Government, all detailed control and executive action are, and will be, left with the local Governments. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India is a touring officer empowered to consult and confer informally with local Governments and their officers upon matters connected with sanitation. He is not permitted to encroach upon the authority of local Governments over the officers under their control.

8. The position of provincial sanitary commissioners towards the administrative heads of the medical department varies somewhat in different provinces. The Government of India do not wish to interfere with the arrangements which local Governments may consider best suited to local conditions, but they desire to insist on the importance of defining the functions of the two officers and securing to the sanitary commissioner the position of responsible technical adviser to the local Government in all matters affecting public health.

9. In every province, sanitary boards have been composed with varying powers, some being merely advisory, others having authority to sanction schemes and allot funds. These boards are composed of officers belonging to the medical, sanitary, engineering and other branches of the civil services with the addition of non-officials. The Government of India view with favour and confidence the devolution of financial authority and responsibility to these boards, and they commend to local Governments the appointment of a permanent salaried secretary to the board where this has not been done. They believe that such an appointment, wherever made, has resulted in an increase of efficiency.

TRAINING OF STAFF.

10. Arrangements for training the superior sanitary staff are now engaging the attention of the Government of India. The chief difficulty at present is to provide courses in practical hygiene and in the study of the bacteriology and etiology of tropical disease. It is hoped in the near future to make arrangements in India for the former and to utilise the schools of tropical medicine at Calcutta and elsewhere for the latter. Meanwhile, a British diploma in public health is required from candidates for the post of deputy sanitary commissioners and health officers of the first-class. The problems of public health in India are vitally complicated by the fact that biting insects are a prominent factor in the dissemination of disease, and it is obviously desirable to provide in India, as soon as possible, a complete course of training for sanitary officers.

Training classes for sanitary inspectors are now held in all the more important provinces.

11. A substantial beginning has thus been made for the development of a department of public health and Indians have been freely enlisted for it. The post of deputy sanitary commissioners and health officer are now open to Indians. Nine deputy sanitary commissioners out of 26 and the majority of health officers are Indians. The new bacteriological department consisting of 28 officers is also open to duly qualified Indians.

As health officers and sanitary engineers gradually relieve deputy sanitary commissioners of much of the drudgery inspection and routine work, it is hoped that the latter will be set free to deal with epidemics and communicable diseases from a higher plane, and to consider issues of public health wider than those which they are able to review to-day. It is, therefore, important to provide in advance free interchange between them, the laboratory workers and those carrying out practical research in the field.

RESEARCH.

12. Researches slowly lifting the veil which hides the secrets of disease and mortality and opening up fields of inquiry scarcely thought of a generation ago. The discovery by Sir Ronald Ross of the part played by the mosquito in the communication of malaria and the appointment of the Plague Commission in 1896

are landmarks in the history of Indian Sanitation. In 1902, a research institute was founded at Guindy in Madras, named the King Institute after Lieutenant-Colonel King, O. I. E. I. M. S., in view of his devoted efforts in the cause of sanitation in that presidency. In 1905, Lord Curzon's Government summed up the position and the policy of the Government of India in regard to the establishment of laboratories for the study of problems of public health in India. The functions of the central laboratory were original research, the preparation of curative sera and the training of scientific workers. The functions of the provincial laboratories were diagnosis and special research connected with local conditions. This policy has been steadily developed. The Central Research Institute has been established at Kasauli. The plague Research Laboratory at Parel has been extended and re-equipped and is now the bacteriological laboratory for the Bombay presidency; and a proposal is under consideration to attach to it a school of tropical medicine. A research laboratory and school of tropical medicine are under construction at Calcutta. Pasteur institutes exist at Kasauli and Coonoor. A third is about to be established in Burma, and it is under discussion to establish others in Assam (where it will be combined with a research laboratory) and Bombay.

Besides the routine work connected with the bacteriological diagnosis of disease, anti-rabic treatment, the manufacture of various vaccines and sera and general research, these laboratories at different times have been the centres of many special investigations, notable amongst which are those on the plague and enteric fever. It is hoped before long each province in India will have a laboratory fully equipped for research.

INDIAN RESEARCH ASSOCIATION.

13. The foundation of the Indian Research Fund Association in 1911 has marked an important era in sanitary progress. The control and management of the association are vested in a governing body, the president of which is the Member in charge of the Education Department of the Government of India. The governing body is assisted by a "scientific advisory board" of which not less than three members have seats on the governing body. They examine all proposals for work in connection with the scientific objects of the association and report as to their importance and feasibility. The members of this board are appointed for one year, but are eligible for re-election, and they have power to add to their number. The present members are the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, the Director of the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, the Officer in charge of the Central Malarial Bureau and the Assistant Director-General, Indian Medical Service (Sanitary): Sir Ronald Ross has been elected an honorary consulting member. The membership of the Indian Research Fund Association is open to non-officials. Every Donor of Rs. 5,000 is entitled to become a permanent member, while every subscriber of Rs. 100 per annum can be a temporary member. Members of the association are entitled to attend and take part in the annual general meeting of the association and to receive copies of the reports and other publications issued from time to time by the association. Although, so far, the fund has been financed solely by the Government of India, it is hoped that in time Indian philanthropist will contribute towards the expansion of the association by founding chairs of research, by financing experimental research measures and otherwise.

14. The association has been active and can already point to some achievement. Out of an income of Rs. 15 lakhs (£100,000) received since its incorporation and up to the end of 1913-14, and expenditure of over Rs. 14 lakhs (£93,333) has been sanctioned. In 1911 Major S. P. James, I. M. S., was deputed to study yellow fever in its endemic area and to draw up proposals for protecting India against the introduction of the disease. Those proposals are still under consideration. In the meanwhile, stegomyia surveys have been carried out in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi and Rangoon and other seaports. Anti-malaria schemes based on preliminary surveys have been carried out at a cost of Rs. 6,02,000 (£40,133). Investigations are at present in progress into the problem connected with the prevalence of cholera, kala-azar, dysentery, leprosy and goitre, as well as inquiries into the pharmacology of cinchona derivatives, the use of hydrocyanic acid gas as a pulicide and the fixation of chemical standards of purity for milk and milk products. Other investigations are under consideration regarding bacteriological standards of purity of water-supplies, the different anti-cholera vaccines and sera, the methods of water filtration and silt removal best suited to Indian conditions, and the etiology of diabetes and the fevers of short duration. These will be started as soon as more trained research workers are available. It is hoped also to carry out, during the next non-epidemic season, an experiment in plague prevention on a large scale on the lines indicated in paragraph 22.

15. Besides financing the investigations conducted by its own staff, the association gives grants-in-aid to outside research on approved lines. The co-operation of other workers has been sought, and every encouragement has been given to them. Grants for research have been made, for instance, to Professor MacMahon, Dr. Hossack and Mr. Howlett. The services of Indians have also been enlisted. Dr. Korke is engaged in an important investigation into kala-azar, while Mr. Awati, a medical entomologist, is employed under the association. The Government of India cordially approve the policy of encouraging private enterprise in the cause of research.

16. The association has also started a journal for the publication of medical research work done in India—the "Indian Journal of Medical Research"—published quarterly. The favourable reception which has been accorded to the first three numbers is evidence of the increased interest that is being taken in sanitary science in India to-day.

17. The investigations enumerated above represent the work directly under the supervision of the Government of India. The local Governments also are fully alive to the importance of research, and in seven provinces nine special officers are at present engaged in investigating the causes underlying the local prevalence of Malaria and devising suitable schemes, for the mitigation of that disease.—(To be continued.)



Toys for Men.

TO JUDGE from the toy-shops, the practice of giving children toys disguised as Easter eggs is on the increase. So various are the fancies displayed, that to the child who receives one the adventure of opening an Easter egg must be almost as great as to its elders the adventure of opening a breakfast egg. And it does not much matter which of the many kinds is chosen, because it is an affair of pure luck, not to be calculated beforehand from any probability or fact, whether a child will take to a toy or not. Children's tastes in toys seem to be ruled by nothing but caprice, and very often, while they make shift with what toys they have, their souls are possessed by a craving for something in which no one else can see any attraction. A child will pine for weeks for an hour-glass or a china bird, or something equally limited in scope and equally difficult to play with. It would be easy to put these queer cravings aside as one of the mysteries of childhood, if it were not that they attract with equal unreason and greater force full-grown and whiskered men. A common complaint at present-giving seasons is that men, even many-sided and light-hearted men, are such difficult beings to choose presents for. One reason is that, unlike children, men will not make shift to play with the things that are given them. It is not safe to assume that any toy you may choose will please a man. He must choose his own toys, and, however closely you may be in his confidence, the odds are heavy against his having admitted to you, even by oblique reference, what toy it is that he craves for. The secrecy of the affair is part of its attraction. Usually in the spring or summer a man of level head and sober views will be seized suddenly with an intense desire for something that he never desired before. The crisis is quite different from the yearly or half-yearly conviction that his wardrobe and his chest of drawers contain nothing but rubbish, the seasonable and reasonable impulse towards new socks, ties, shirts, and suits. The craving for toys is a much sharper and more sinister affair. It usually violates what the victim believed to be a law of his being. If he especially likes the feel of a cigar against his lips, he will be seized with a passion for a very long cigar-holder. If he is a cigarette-smoker, he will feel further existence impossible without some fantastically enormous pipe (men's toys are largely connected with smoking). A man who enjoys pen and paper will crave for a typewriter. Men have bought pedometers, sword-sticks, goloshes, monocles, vapour-lamps, chafing-dishes, anything and everything of which the buyer's friends would have said that it was the last thing he was ever likely to want.

In saying so they think that they have convicted him of folly. But the folly of it is an element that he enjoys even more than the secrecy. He recognizes in the unreasonable desire a vicious and delightful kick lashed out by some profound part of his nature at the work-a-day self of him. He will be as specious as the White Knight in explaining to himself, before the act of folly is committed, that the thing will be exceedingly useful, that it is just what he always wanted; he will earnestly assure his friends, when the deed is done, that he cannot imagine how he ever got on without it. All the time he knows in his heart, and rejoices to know, that his desire is for a toy; and a toy is not a thing that you need, but a thing that you want—an object not to use, but to play with. He knows, too, if he is honest with himself, that once he has bought the thing, he will play with it not at all or for a very short time. The knowledge adds to the adventurous naughtiness of the escapade; but it does not bear encouraging

To enjoy the feeling to the full, a man must be able to know that he will not play with his toy when he has it, and yet be sincerely convinced that he will; and the smooth interaction of these two wheels of consciousness is not so rare as might be supposed. The more experienced in the game prolong the state by all the delays possible. In the anticipation of falling lies the joy of temptation; and the prudent man will put off as long as he can the delirious moment when he will walk into the shop and buy at last the thing he desires. But he does not put it off until the craving has passed. For one thing, that is moral cowardice. For another, it robs him of a future and perhaps far distant thrill of pleasure, on the day when he will happen again on his long-forgotten toy, and, while he growls about the accumulation of lumber, will glow with the remembered joy of his folly. It is good, he will tell himself then, to be young enough and gay enough at heart to want a toy and to get it; for when a man wants toys no more it is time that he were thinking of his tombstone.—The Times.



More Howlers.

A CORRESPONDENT has sent us a copy of school magazine containing some "howlers" which strike us as exceptionally amusing; they are obviously genuine blunders. The secret of the power to amuse in howlers is a certain degree of reality—they should, as reviewers say, be "convincing." Directly they stray into artificiality or elaboration they cease to engage our true sympathy, however brilliant they may be. They are not real. Of course, many excellent examples of howlers have been invented, but if they are of the sort to keep a niche in our memories, where they bear company with old friends and are sure of an affectionate chuckle of greeting whenever they come to the surface, they are all capable of being catalogued as possible mistakes. We must feel that, if they were not actually perpetrated by honest blunderers, they easily might have been. The artificial invention may be witty, but we do not see behind it the working of a distressed and confused mind which by some clearly recognizable process arrives at a conclusion or assertion bearing a likeness to the right answer and yet grotesquely wide of the mark. It is safe to say that "Spoonerisms" are inventions from beginning to end. Some of them are delightful inventions. But the more subtly they tickle the palate the less they relate themselves to honest human bungling. For instance, we all enjoy the episode of the confused man who spent a day searching for an inn called 'The Dull Man' at Greenwich when the true object of his search was 'The Green Man' at Dulwich. But we are captivated by the fancifulness, not overthrown by a sense of happy clumsiness. So it is with schoolboy howlers. We do not cherish most what bear the mark of scholarship, elegance, or wit. Take the excellent mistranslation (which, however, requires the transposition of two words) of Cicero's denunciation of Catiline: *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit—abiit*, he went out to dinner; *excessit* he drank too much; *erupit*, he was violently sick; *evasit*, he laid it all on the lobster. That is not a howler. And we are suspicious of that delightful mistranslation of *splendide mendax*, "lying in state." But there is the reality of a true howler about the translation, which we find in the magazine before us, of *exempli gratia* as "samples free."

The mental operations of the schoolboy blunderer might be classified with almost a scientific exactness. We believe that there are four main sources of howlers. First there is the inability to visualize the difference between other ages and our own and other countries and our own. Perhaps this might just as well be called a want of imagination. The defect is not peculiar to schoolboys. It is only that in the minds of schoolboys we see it expressing itself in gross, elementary, or uncouth shapes. If the fundamental difference between Ulster and the rest of Ireland had been appreciated in time, we should not have had the Home Rule Bill in its present form. This is the howler of grown men. When a Board-school child was asked what Prince Harry did when he heard of the illness of his father Henry IV., he answered that he sent a postcard to say that he was coming at once. To that child the England of the fifteenth century was the England of the nineteenth century. Remnants of this defect cling to many people through life. They visit foreign lands and call the inhabitants of those countries foreigners. When the American general who received the submission of the people of Porto Rico in 1898 sent a despatch to Washington reporting the event, he described the welcome given to him by the Spanish population as extremely "patriotic."

The second source of howlers is unassimilated knowledge. Sometimes one can trace the results of cramming. Entirely different events become mixed up, as with the legendary boy who described the death of Jezebel: "And Jabhu said 'Throw her down,' and they threw her down. And he said 'Throw her down again,' and they threw her down again to seventy times seven. Last of all the woman died also

And they picked up of the fragments that remained seven basket full." Such an invented howler takes various forms. A good example of the blunder of unassimilated knowledge is in the magazine before us. It is an extract from an essay on Clive:—

"Robert Clive when he was a boy was very mischifus, he used to clime up to the top of the church spire and look for birds' nests, so his father and mother thought was too mischifous to be in the country, so they got a man to India. It is very curious that Robert Clive never set foot on a ship till he was forty-five years old, but still he became a very great sailor. Clive had some ships, their names were the Pellican and a few more. One time when there was a war going on with Spain Clive and a few other men were having a game of bowels and the Spainards were coming near Clive said let us finish our game of bowels first. ... Then Clive went on to Arcot and he had an army and had a battle there called the Battle of Plassey date 1459."

The same sort of blunder due to unassimilated knowledge was that of the boy who, when asked why John the Baptist was beheaded, said that it was because he insisted on asking Heredias's daughter to dance. Another instance was the answer of the American girl who said that Congress was divided into three classes, the civilized, the semi-civilized, and the savage. Mark Twain's comment on that answer (*in English as She is Taught*) was so far as we remember, "She knew too much." Accident, it may be remarked here, does indeed often come very near to wit, as in the translation of the boy who said that *puris omnia pura* meant "boys will be boys." It is a matter for judgment whether some mistranslations do not betray enough intention or malice for one to place them confidently outside the field of honest howlers. Take, for example, the translation of *Lebertas sub rego pio*, "Our pious king has got liberty under."

A third source of howlers is simple habit of making a shot. And a fourth source—an enormously large one—is the confusion of mind caused by kindred sounds. Howlers under this last head might be called phonetic mistakes. We mention the third and fourth sources together as they overlap considerably. In the school magazine we read: "El Dorado was King Saul's sheep man." This is no doubt a weak recollection of "Doeg, an Edomite, the chiefest of the herdmen that belonged to Saul." We could wish that the boy had said that El Dorado was an Italian who won the race from Marathon. Other answers in the magazine which come under either the third or fourth head are: "The Cabal was a Ministry to place wireless telegraphy"; "Farmer George was Lloyd George"; "Comer is a seaside town in Surrey"; "A metaphor is a suppressed smile." But most of the examples in this magazine are pure phonetic blunders. Everyone knows this sort of mistake. We have all heard of the child to whom the words "Lord, who hastest nothing that Thou hast made," became "Lord, who hatest nothing but the housemaid." Or of the child who, having heard in church the words, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is," apprehended that besides the heaven, earth, and sea, which she knew, there had been created some mysterious creatures or things called "all the tinomies," which her imagination attempted in vain to depict. Perhaps this is to be remembered chiefly as a lesson on the virtue of clear pronunciation in clergymen. A list of well-known phonetic mistakes would be too long to produce here. A few samples will serve. The claimant in the Tichborne case made a fine phonetic howler when he was asked to translate *Laus Deo Semper*, and said that it meant "The laws of God for ever." One child used to ponder with wonder the strange question in Cowper's hymn: "Can a mother's tender care cease toward the child she-bear?" It was natural for the little boy to say that our Lord, when the penny was brought to Him, asked, "Whose subscription is this?" It was natural, too, for the undergraduate to translate the Greek words for (the nether millstone) "a colt the foal of an ass." It was natural, again, for one high school girl to say that *Seneca* was the feminine of *senex* (or was the criticism embedded in this howler too penetrating to be accidental?), and for another to say that the genitive of *grus* (*grus, gruis*, a crane) was *gruntis*, and that it meant a pig! Natural, too, for the boy to say that Solomon and David were fond of animals, as they had so many porcupines!

In the magazine there are the following phonetic howlers: Solomon in all his glory was not a rabbit like one of these. "Petroleum is what you cover floors with." The only pouched animal in America is the apostle. "Hannibal was a well known music writer." "Britt, Omn. Rev. Fid. Def., Ind. Imp. Britain always rains, faithful definite, indicative imperfect." "S. P. Q. R. Answer if you please." "Penlents Lite. A chandelier." "Examen aptum. A huge ape." "Aegre sustinere. To be struck with sickness." "Care Nepos. O high-priced nephew." "Le vilal Allemand. The vile German." "F. R. C. O. (1) Fellow of the Royal Canine Office. (2) Friends, Romans, Countrymen, and Officers." "R. I. P. Redmond's Imperial Parliament."

We wonder whether any master has ever tried to discriminate between howlers and give marks for them, or whether they are invariably heaped together as belonging to the unclassifiable outer world of what is simply wrong. The boy who saw in *pendente lite* a pendent light, and therefore a chandelier, seems to deserve more for his mistake than the boy who turned Doeg, the Edomite, into El Dorado.

—The Spectator,



Ritual Murders.

FROM time to time the murder of young children, belonging to the male sex as a rule, by Jews, in supposed accordance with certain religious rites observed by the Chosen people, appear in the Press to horrify the civilised reader and make one marvel that such depths of dark superstition can still linger in the enlightened age of the 20th century. Such tales of cruel fanaticism usually hail from continental countries like Russia and Germany, where anti-Semitic prejudices are especially strong, and where former Governments often found it politic to divert the populace from more important issues by conniving at persecution of the stranger within their gates: the defenceless Jew, who had monies to be robbed off and who was unlikely to be in the position to resist brutal treatment, either on the part of Government officials or the ignorant mob. The idea of child murder being practised by the descendants of Abraham and Moses existed in Great Britain till the 12th century, and the sad, if now proved to be apocryphal, tale of Hugh of Lincoln, raised a wave of popular indignation among the subjects of the third Henry, then occupying the Throne. From an ancient ballad descriptive of that tragedy one learns that Sir Hugh—as the poet calls him,—was beguiled by the daughter of a Jew to enter her house and was there put to death in the manner so realistically set forth in the following verses:—

"She's led him through ae dark door,
"And sae has she thro' nine;
"She's laid him on a dressing-table,
"And stick't him through like a swine.
"And first came out the thick, thick blood,
"And syne came out the than;
"And syne came out the bonny heart's blood:
"There was nae mair within".

Zola himself could not have painted the scene in fuller detail. That gentle Essayist, Charles Lamb, gave as a reason—among others—for his dislike of the Jews that between him and the objects of his aversion arose memories of Hugh of Lincoln. Regarded from a strictly logical standpoint, the notion that human sacrifices of any sort would prove more effectual in turning away divine wrath or in securing the wishes of the party performing the sacrifice, was natural enough: the greater the value of a voluntary offering, the more chance of its being successful in achieving the object aimed at. When Abraham, in obedience to an order conveyed to him in a dream, was ready to slay Isaac—"his son, his only son"—he afforded the first instance in Scripture of a Ritual murder of a purely religious type. That the putting to death of children was not unknown to the Israelites is evident when we find Moses, and later prophets, denouncing their countrymen for "sacrificing their sons and daughters to devils." It should be noticed that the Hebrew word *seirim*—used in the passages referred to—literally means "the hairy ones", and probably denoted a he-goat, worship of which animal must have been borrowed by the Israelites from Egypt, where the Creator was commonly adored in the form of the creature. In India, the beneficial effect of killing a human being has not died out, for it still is believed in among the more ignorant classes, hence the scares that occur when the foundation of bridge is about to be laid or any public work on a large scale is undertaken. Hundreds of villagers were firmly convinced that Government would never think of erecting the Elgin Bridge over the Gogra or—in present times—the big Sarah Bridge without first propitiating the hidden powers by the slaughter of a child, or children, of tender years. The two most civilised nations of antiquity, namely the Greeks and the Romans, do not appear to have held these views concerning the efficacy of child murder, although the case of Iphigenia, sacrificed at Aulis by the leaders of the expedition against Troy, will at once be called to mind by lovers of classic lore. The wholesale massacre of slaves on the death of a rich Roman patrician under suspicious circumstances was dictated by other than religious motives; the object being to terrify serfs from venturing on reprisals against their cruel masters.

Lately we read an article concerning the Spirit World of the future, the kind of environment we must enter upon after the last fluttering breath has left this "tenement of clay", which goes some way toward explaining the Sutte—Sati, a virtuous wife—custom once prevalent among the higher castes of Hinduism. Although oriental scholars have pointed out that no reference to that barbarous rite can be traced in the writings of the great lawgiver Manu, it owes its origin, we suspect, to the interpretation given by a later Brahmin school to sundry obscure sentences in the Vedas, Puranas and Shastras. That it was attributable to a desire on the part of Hindu husbands to shield their widows from possible insult or outrage at the hands of

the Mohamedan rulers may be dismissed as devoid of foundation: Only last week one saw an account of a Khoja in the Madras Presidency being sent up for trial for the murder—performed after the manner of a sacrifice—of a young lad, so the Jew does not possess the monopoly of so frightful a crime. In distant Norway, at a period when a Jew would have been as great a novelty in Scandinavia as a Kangaroo, Tennyson relates in a short poem how the priests of Odin sought to free the country from famine and strife by the shedding of human blood, and that such offering must be chosen with respect to the great value placed on it. Accordingly the king, sorely troubled, surrendered his son as a victim, but when the knife was about to descend on the helpless boy, his queen rushed forward and received the deadly stroke.

"The Priest was happy;
"Oh, Father Odin,
"We give you a life.
"Which was his nearest?
"Which was his dearest?
"The Gods have answered;
"We give them the wide."

The strong protest that the charge of Ritual murder against a co-religionist in Kief has evoked from leading members of the Jewish faith will weigh heavier with the world at large than the accusations of the Russian officials, and the acquittal of the person charged with committing so dastardly a crime is tolerably sure proof of his innocence, since the temptation to gratify the popular hatred of the Jews must have been a strong factor to contend against. That sacrifices of human life will occasionally take place is but too probable, since the sneer of Lucretius has not lost its original force—*Quantum religio potuit suadere malorum*; superstition is still responsible for many evil actions, but with the growth of more humane sentiments and the spread of education, these must eventually vanish into the Limbo of things that have been. That none but the most bigotted individuals will picture the Jews as delighting in Ritual murders is as certain as that the present generation no longer credits the exploded theory of the sun revolving round the earth or believes in witchcraft.

A. N. G.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.)

Suit No. 48 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

B. Shamsunder Lall, son of Ram Charan of M. Kotha Parcha, City Fyzabad ... Plaintiff,

versus

Dabi Dyal, etc.

... Defendants.

To

1. Dabi Dayal son of Lachman Dass of City Behri.
2. Bota Mall son of Gopi Chand of City Bhilwal, District Saiwal.

Whereas the above named Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 507/12, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 5th day of June 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 15th day of May 1914.

By order,

Raj Bahadur, Munsif.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say.—You are (or such a party as the case may be) require to put in a written statement by the 22nd day of May 1914.

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—Morris.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Home Rule.

London, May 22.

Mr. Bonar Law pressed for the introduction of an Amending Bill saying that it was not fair for the House of Commons to continue the discussion of Home Rule without knowing Government's real proposal. Mr. Asquith replied that he would explain the reason later.

When the Bill came up for third reading, Lord Robert Cecil moved an adjournment, saying that his reason for so doing was that Government would not command a majority when the whole of their proposals were submitted. Mr. Asquith replied that the House of Commons must give a deliberate judgment on the main proposal first. Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that the whole proceedings were farcical and he saw no use in participating in them. The motion to adjourn was rejected by 286 votes to 176.

The Speaker then put the motion for third reading. Thereupon the Opposition raised a chant “Adjourn, Adjourn” and kept up the uproar. The Speaker asked Mr. Bonar Law if he approved the demonstration, but Mr. Bonar Law refused to answer amid frantic opposition cheers. The uproar still continued and the Speaker said that in the absence of Mr. Bonar Law's assistance in maintaining order, a suspension of the sitting was unavoidable. Members left the House amid continued confusion. The sitting was suspended until to-morrow.

Home Rules are not on Order Paper again until Monday. Ministers will thus have time to re-consider their attitude regarding the Amending Bill.

London, May 22.

The Unionists' chant “adjourn” during yesterday's debate in the House of Commons was raised when Mr. Campbell rose to move the rejection.

When Mr. Bonar Law rose to answer the Speaker there were cries from the Opposition back bench of “What right has he to ask that of you?” “Don't answer” Mr. Bonar Law replied:—“Mr. Speaker, I do not presume to criticise what you think is your duty, but I know mine and that is not to answer any such question.”

It is stated in the lobby that Mr. Bonar Law previously appealed to his followers to refrain from disorder. Chanting was confined to some 30 to 40.

London, May 25.

The House of Commons was crowded this afternoon and the wildest excitement prevailed during the session. The answers at question time were almost inaudible owing to the huzz of conversation. There were excited comments when Mr. Asquith entered and cries of “Ipswich” and “Where is Charlie?” were raised.

Some hundreds of Irish Constabulary, armed with rifles and revolvers, have been entrained for Ulster.

London, May 26.

Mr. Bonar Law and the newly elected member for Ipswich Mr. Ganzoni were received in the House of Commons to-day with exultant Unionist cheers.

The Speaker in a statement regretted if his question of Thursday last seemed to impute that Mr. Bonar Law was responsible for the Unionist demonstration. He said it was not always easy in such circumstances to hit the right nail on the head. He did and would do his best. (Cheers). With regard to the demonstration he suggested that Mr. Asquith should make a communication with reference to the amending Bill. (Ministerial Dissent). Mr. Bonar Law cordially accepted the Speaker's explanation and assured the Speaker of the confidence of the House. Mr. Asquith concurred.

The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Home Rule Bill by 351 to 274.

Mr. Asquith, responding to the Speaker's suggestion regarding the amending Bill, said it was the intention of the amending Bill to give effect to any agreement. If however none was reached when it was introduced into the Lords it would embody substantially his proposals of March 9th. Then the motion was put to read the Home Rule Bill a third time.

Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that the Premier had made the usual conciliatory speech but had not altered the facts of the situation. It would be futile and ridiculous to continue the contemptible farce. Let the decision be taken forthwith. (Loud cheers). Let the curtain be rung down, that would however only end the act. It would not end the play. (Cheers). The country would decide the conclusion of the drama.

Mr. Asquith replied that so long as he had the confidence of the Commons he desired no better title to the tenure of the Premiership.

(Ministerial cheers). The Government had redressed an injustice Liberals had suffered for generations. This explained the present attitude of the opposition. The Division was then taken.

The Lords to-day passed the first reading of the Home Rule Bill. Lord Crewe said that the second reading would be taken before June 22nd.

London, May 26.

In a statement in *Freeman's Journal* Mr. Redmond says that nothing conceivable can happen to alter the fact that the Home Rule Bill is now an Act of Parliament. Despite all prophecies of evil; patience, discipline and mutual confidence have won the day and there is not an Irishman in the world but will rejoice that he has lived to see the end of the Union of Pitt and Castlereach. Its place will be taken by a new Union founded on mutual respect and goodwill.

Rejoicing, illuminations and burning of tar barrels were features of the celebration of the passing of Home Rule in Limerick, Cork and elsewhere in Southern Ireland yesterday evening. There were no disorders.

Albania.

London, May 21.

Essad Pasha has arrived at Brindisi and gone to Naples. He has signed a pledge never to interfere in Albanian affairs.

Essad Pasha at Naples denied that there was a conspiracy in Albania. He said he was the victim of a plot on the part of Austrians and Dutch gendarmes; protested against the outrage on Albanian autonomy and added that his Sovereign had shamefully deceived him.

Rome, May 21.

It is denied that Essad Pasha will be deported to Tripoli.

London, May 23.

A message from Vienna states three hundred insurgents have hoisted the Turkish flag in the town of Kavaja, twelve miles north of Durazzo.

Rome, May 24.

The Italian Minister at Durazzo gives a graphic account of recent incidents. He says that after the capture of Dutch Officers, a dragoman was despatched to parley with the insurgents, who declined to negotiate until they had reached the sea coast. A panic prevailed at Durazzo. The Prince was urged to place the Princess and their child in safety, but the Princess declined to leave her husband. Thereupon the Prince agreed to go on board the "Misurata" temporarily. Subsequently, the insurgents sent a white flag with a Dutch Captain requesting that the Prince should receive the Delegates, who would submit their demands and threatening to shoot the prisoners if the Captain did not bring a favourable reply by 8 tomorrow morning. They also demanded that no further force should be used against them. The Prince went to the palace received the Captain and signed the letter. The insurgents number several thousands. The movement is mainly a religious one; but it not doubted that many of Essad Pasha's supporters are taking part.

Durazzo, May 24.

The insurgents are advancing and the Prince and Princess of Albania and their suite have boarded in Italian warship.

The International Commission which went out to parley with the insurgents returned with the representatives of the latter. These demand to see the Prince.

His Highness landed, accompanied by his staff and the Italian Admiral.

The insurgents have captured four gendarme officers.

Athens, May 23.

A hot-headed Greek Lieutenant stationed at Garmia persuaded two hundred and fifty of his battalion to follow him to Epirus to fight the Albanians. The mutineer seized a steamer and forced her captain to start for Epirus, but the Greek Government sent torpedo boats in pursuit and obliged the mutineers to surrender and disembark.

London, May 25.

Austria and Italy have both sent several more war vessels to Durazzo.

London, May 25.

The opinion prevails that the Prince of Albania has greatly jeopardised his position by hastily embarking on board a foreign vessel. A scheme is being considered in Vienna for detaching 500 men from the international force now in Skutari to re-establish order in Albania. The scheme is ascribed to anxiety to avert Austro-Italian jealousies to which the newspapers of both countries are giving strong expression. Meanwhile the latest reports from Durazzo state that the insurgents have released all their prisoners. The Prince yesterday visited all the outposts, everything is quiet.

London, May 26.

The insurgents at Durazzo have formulated a demand for the restoration of Moslem rule. They state that if this is impossible they will place their destinies in the hands of Europe again, trusting

that a solution will be found in conformity with Ottoman character and religion. Five hundred rebels at Kavaja tore up the Albanian flag and hoisted the Turkish flag.

In a speech before the Austrian delegation, Count Berchtold announced that Austria and Italy had agreed to interfere as little as possible in Albania and neither Power would act separately.

Italy urgently desires the despatch of an International force to Durazzo. France and Russia are acquiescent. Austria-Hungary does not oppose the idea. Great Britain, on the other hand is disinclined to it and has not replied to the suggestion. Germany likewise has not answered.

LATER.

It is announced that Germany is prepared to contribute a contingent to the International force in Albania provided that all the Powers take part.

London, May 27.

In the Chamber yesterday the Marquis di San Giuliano dealing with the situation in Albania, said that other countries at the outset of their independence had overcome greater difficulties. He hoped Albania would do the same. The insurrection was partly social, partly agrarian and partly democratic. It was also the outcome of Mussalman fears of predominance of the Christian minority. Essad Pasha had undertaken not to return to Albania without the consent of the Powers. The Marquis added that he had had active exchange of views with Count Berchtold on the situation which had inspired mutual confidence and perfect loyalty. The results were that the two Governments were agreed on the necessity for consolidating Albania and the authority of the Prince. Previous decisions with regard to Epirus could not be modified. They would do their utmost to avoid armed intervention and had agreed to ask other powers to assent to the despatch of an International force to Durazzo from Skutari.

Turkey.

Havre, May 21.

Turkey has ordered twelve destroyers here.

Anglo-Italian Relations.

Rome, May 26.

The Marquis Di San Giuliano in a long statement regarding Anglo-Italian relations in the Eastern Mediterranean dwelt on the extremely cordial and loyal attitude of Great Britain in the matter of railways in Asia Minor. He explained details of the agreement whereby Italians obtain railway concessions southward of the Smyrna-Aidin line and the British northward thereof.

Council of India Bill.

London, May 25.

In the House of Lords to-day Lord Crewe formally introduced the Council of India Bill which was read a first time.

Indians in Canada.

London, May 23.

Gurdit Singh the wealthy organiser of the trip of the "Komagata" says that he financed the trip for the purpose of testing the validity of the Immigration regulations. He is prepared to carry the matter to the extreme limit if his countrymen are deported. They claim the right, he declared to migrate anywhere in the Empire as British subjects.

Victoria (B. C.), May 22.

The "Komagata Maru" has obtained a bill of health at the quarantine station but is still being held there and is awaiting instructions from Ottawa before proceeding to Vancouver. Boat-loads of local Hindus have been prohibited from approaching the vessel, which was isolated until the passengers had been examined by immigration officials.

Victoria (B. C.), May 23.

The "Komagata Maru" has been released from quarantine for Vancouver. The Indian leader, Gurdit Singh, is determined to carry the fight to the last tribunals. The examination of the passengers will occupy several days. The vessel is meanwhile moored in mid-stream to prevent any escape from quarantine. Gurdit Singh is communicating with the British Government.

The *Victoria Times* says that British Columbians cannot for economic reasons allow Indians to enter because they will be swamped by a people whose standards are vastly different from ours and whose presence in large numbers would cause most dangerous disturbances and would be laying up a store of trouble, not only for ourselves but for the Empire. The paper emphasises that the occurrences in South Africa furnished an abundant warning and that they cannot afford to throw down the bars even at the risk of India's loss to the Empire.

London, May 24.

Reuter learns that neither the India Office nor the Colonial Office has hitherto received a communication from Gurdit Singh.

Victoria, May 24.

The Immigration authorities of Vancouver are engaged in conducting medical examination of the immigrants on board the "Komagata Maru" which has not been allowed to proceed to the wharf and is being carefully watched by Government launches. None but official are allowed on board. Individual examination of arrivals for right of entry will begin probably on Tuesday.

Meanwhile the problem as regards the cargo coal, consigned to Lloyd's agents, is being considered by the Ottawa authorities.

No Indians have been permitted ashore even to buy stores, the ship's purser during all necessary catering.

Hundreds of the Hindus of Vancouver attempted to reach the ship on boats but were turned back and they are now not permitted on wharves. No definite instructions regarding the disposal of the vessel have yet been received from Ottawa; but immigration officials have been told to enforce law to the latter.

Trans-Persian Railway.

London, May 25.

Lord Lamington raised the question of the Trans-Persian Railway he declared that it would be the least beneficial scheme for Persia, that it was commercially unsound and that it would become a burden on the finances of India besides involving an increase in the military forces of India and greater naval protection.

Lord Sydenham dealt in detail with a possible branch line.

Lord Crowe said the question had not moved materially since it was last discussed by the Lords in June, 1912. Then Lord Morley had demonstrated the impolicy of a blank refusal to discuss the suggestion. The Societe D'Etudes had not been able to proceed very far and regarding the meaning of Sir Edward Grey's words of May 19th, that he was "prepared to agree to such extension" he meant only leave to survey not to construct.

A railway system to develop Persian commerce was another matter altogether and if a number of small lines were constructed combining trade centres they might suddenly be found a considerable aid to the Trans-Persian line already built. The Government had however already made it quite clear that whatever railway were made any continuation towards India remained an absolutely reserved question and unless they agreed it could not be made. They had also made it quite clear that they were bound to exercise control in the ports of the Gulf. With regard to the suggestion for a line ending at Bunder Abbas, the Russian view was that the only effect would be to abstract from Russia a portion of the trade which legitimately belonged to her. Certain discussions had taken place but no definite conclusion on that subject had so far been reached. From the point of view of the development which the Government had most at heart the construction of lines inland would be commercially more effective than great through lines and preferable from the Persian standpoint.

Tibetan Treaty.

London, May 22.

According to a telegram from Peking to the *Daily Telegraph* the British and Chinese delegates in Simla have initialled a draft of the Tibetan Treaty. It provides, says the telegram that Great Britain and China shall have representatives in Lhasa and gives to China undisputed sovereignty in outer Tibet, including Koko-Nor.

London, May 23.

A message to the *Times* from Peking says that the Tibet Convention has been initialled. It is understood that complete autonomy of Tibet proper has been recognised. China is entitled to maintain a Resident at Lhasa with a suitable guard.

A semi-autonomous zone will be constituted in Eastern Tibet wherein Chinese position will be relatively much stronger. The correspondent adds that it is disappointing that he has not been able to learn that provision has been made for the establishment of a British Resident at Lhasa.

London, May 26.

The *Times* says that Russia has assented in principle to a policy of non-interference regarding Tibet.

With reference to the Tibet negotiations, Reuter learns that nothing has been signed and nothing can be signed except under conditions which do not conflict with the provisions respecting Tibet comprised in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. These conditions must of course form the object of discussion with the Russian Government.

Our London Letter.

London, May 8.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The political situation during the week has undergone no substantial change, though the prospects for a peaceful solution of the Irish problem are decidedly brighter, so far as one could rightly judge by the political atmosphere. The Prime Minister has already met Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and, though the Irish Nationalist Leader was not present during Mr. Asquith's "conversations" with the Unionist leaders, Mr. Redmond has likewise privately interviewed the Prime Minister. These proceedings, however, must not lead one to suppose that the Government are negotiating for the acceptance of further concessions on their part, as any step of that nature would produce a serious revolt in the ranks of the coalition and Mr. Asquith has repeatedly warned his political opponents of the finality of his overtures.

The following statement issued by Mr. Redmond last night renders the matter quite clear, so far as the position and the attitude of the Irish Party are concerned:—

The statements which have appeared recently in most newspapers with reference to the renewal of "conversation" on the question of further concessions to Ulster are, according to his information, entirely incorrect. As far as he knows, no renewed "conversations" on the question of further concessions to Ulster have taken place, and the statement that Mr. Redmond himself has been in consultation with Mr. Asquith with reference to new concessions is untrue. The position of the Irish Party with reference to concessions has undergone no change since the second reading of the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Redmond is confident that the Home Rule Bill will now be proceeded with rapidly, and will receive its third reading, and will be sent to the House of Lords in its present shape, certainly before the Whitsuntide recess.

So it is plain that any further "concessions" are now to come from the Opposition, if civil war is to be prevented. The Government have gone to the very extreme length of conciliation that they reasonably and in fairness to their supporters could, and it is now for Sir Edward Carson and his friends to take advantage of Mr. Asquith's offers. The door of peace is yet open to them and, if they have any patriotism still left in them, they would be well-advised to meet the Government half-way. So far, of course, they have not shown the least sign of their willingness and their genuine desire to secure peace, neither in speech nor in practical politics. As the end of the crisis is fast approaching, let us hope they would at last realise the gravity of their attitude—an attitude which cannot but be described as criminal—and face the situation in that true spirit of real statesmanship that the country rightly expects in her chosen representatives on great national questions.

THE CASE OF COL. AZIZ ALI BEY.

The Agence Ottoman at Constantinople has published a statement to the effect that the grant of a free pardon to Colonel Aziz Ali Bey was due in no sense to foreign influence, but entirely to the mercy of the Sultan and the initiative of the Turkish Government.

This statement, which bears a strong resemblance to a semi-official *communiqué*, is no doubt intended—and rightly intended—to counteract the effect produced abroad by the "knowledge" that British official influence has been exerted on behalf of the Egyptian officer. It is thus in conformity with the view I had expressed in one of my previous letters to the *Comrade*, a view that has been seriously entertained by all those who are at all acquainted with the modern political life of Turkey. It is indeed a matter for regret that the above statement was not made a little earlier, before the mischievous agitation in the Press of this country had fully developed, but even now, late as it is, it is bound to create a favourable impression on the minds of those who are earnestly desirous of seeing a strong and independent Government established in Constantinople.

It is fortunate that this novel method of outside interference in a purely domestic affair of Turkey has miserably failed, in spite of the boastful attitude in the rôle of the Colonel's "protector" that has been adopted by the *Times*. This journal has given its readers to understand that it has taken no little part in securing the acquittal of Colonel Aziz Ali Bey and has tried its utmost to strain the cordial and intimate relations that have hitherto happily existed between Cairo and Constantinople, the reasons for which are obvious enough. In both instances, and particularly in the latter case, the scheme has fallen to the ground. No sane Egyptian has ever seriously believed that the case against their fellow-countryman was only a "put-up job" and that the Colonel had been doomed from the beginning of the proceedings, in spite of a formal court-martial

appointed to try him, and further that Great Britain or, to be more accurate, the *Times* had at last succeeded in saving the life of Aziz Ali Bey. Nor had Cairo for a moment suspected Enver Pasha of jealousy towards the Egyptian officer, as the readers of the British Press had been "informed." Enver Pasha is nowhere more popular than amongst the Egyptians and his faithful services to the sacred cause of Islam, his brilliant achievements on the field, his extraordinary personal courage and bravery, his wonderful powers of organisation and statesmanship and, - last but not the least, the absolute and genuine devotion with which he has been attending to his duties in various walks of life—and that too, let it be at once said, disinterestedly and conscientiously—have gained for him a position unique in the whole Moslem world. To attribute jealousy to a man of such a noble character—and jealousy towards an old comrade-at-arms, who, one is forced to state, under the circumstances, has never even pretended to be anything like a rival to the great hero—would be indicative of a colossal amount of ignorance on the part of those who have ever believed in this remarkable "theory."

The fact remains that the deliberate attempt made in this country to strain, if not to actually shatter, the loyalty, the patriotism, the reverence and the friendship of the Egyptians towards Turkey has luckily proved fruitless and indeed it has incidentally brought about a still further strengthening of the attachment of the people of that ancient land to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and his Government. This is yet another happy confirmation of the truth of the old saying that "good comes out of evil." It is, therefore, a matter for sincere gratification to Moslems in all parts of the world that the solidarity of Islam, when put to the test, has again proved itself great enough to resist such attacks. If Egypt had really shown the least symptom of her disbelief in the justice of those who had been appointed by the Sultan to try and deal with Col. Aziz Ali Bey in accordance with the laws of Islam, the results, both political and moral, would have been disastrous in more ways than one. In spite of a few telegrams published in the *Times* from some irresponsible quarters in Cairo and notwithstanding the frequent "impartial" reports submitted to Printing-House Square by that journal's special correspondent in Egypt, one is bound to be driven to the conclusion, on honest investigation, that such an unfavourable symptom had never manifested itself amongst the Egyptian Moslems as a whole. Naturally enough, a good deal of fellowship, sympathy and concern had been noticed in Egypt, but there had not been the remotest trace of uneasiness as to the probability or even the possibility of the Egyptian officer receiving an unfair trial at Constantinople.

The Imperial pardon granted to Aziz Ali Bey has obviously been enthusiastically received in Egypt in common with Turkey and other Moslem lands, and the Sultan's advisers are to be congratulated on the lofty and broad-minded statesmanship they have thus shown. They are equally entitled to the deep gratitude of every true Moslem for the bold and independent way in which they have managed this piece of domestic business, without in any way allowing themselves to be influenced by the vain threats of foreign interference in "favour" of the prisoner—but in reality for other sinister purposes—throughout the proceedings before the court-martial at Constantinople. Turkey will be only too glad to show every friendship and courtesy towards other Powers in Europe, especially Great Britain, whose relations with the Turkish Empire, on account of her vast number of Moslem subjects, have always been of a particularly intimate character; but she cannot afford, in the interest of her own sovereign rights and privileges, to permit any foreign interference, from however influential quarter, in the judicial administration of the Empire. The remarkable way in which the Turkish Government has ignored the floods of protests that had lately become evident in the British Press, during Aziz Ali Bey's trial, and the silent yet effective method in which the Ottoman Cabinet has so rightly snubbed the promoters of this last Anti-Turkish campaign in the newspapers of this country, will, let us hope, succeed in reminding them that when dealing with the new Turkey they are as much bound by the excellent moral underlying the doctrine of "minding one's own business" as they would be in their treatment of any other Power in Europe.

A Muslim subject of the Sultan has been fairly and impartially tried by a court-martial, found guilty of certain crimes and duly sentenced. He has subsequently received the Imperial pardon on the recommendation of the Sultan's legally constituted advisers—which is a not unfamiliar practice in every civilised country. There the matter ends and, as far as the Turkish authorities are concerned, the incident is closed. The host of "conscientious moralists" in this country—whose number is legion, whenever Tur-moralists in this country is involved—ever ready to publicise or any other Oriental State is involved—ever ready to publicise their "superior" and "human" virtues, as soon as they become acquainted with any case in which there has been an alleged miscarriage of justice abroad, would be well advised to turn their attention towards such incidents in the British possessions across the seas—which, after all, is their primary duty—instead of allowing themselves to be overcome with an unusual degree of jumpy enthusiasm in the interest of justice and fairplay in foreign countries,

whose rulers are perfectly capable of managing their own affairs with due regard to the proper administration of justice, law and order. The great Eastern Dependency of the Crown and the several Crown Colonies abroad would afford them an ample scope for their activity. Justice and fairplay, like charity, must always begin at home! The British Empire itself should consequently first be rid of all its unrest, and its defects—social, industrial, economic, and political—before these energetic and lofty humanitarians in England conscientiously engage themselves in the gigantic task of putting their tender and highly sensitive fingers on the pulse of the entire mass of humanity in the universe.

CHINESE JOURNALISTIC ENTERPRISE IN LONDON.

A new note in London journalism is sounded by the publication of a Chinese journal, printed in English, but edited by two Chinese graduates. The title of the paper is the *Chinese Review*. It will appear monthly at a shilling and the May number is just out. The journal is a purely Chinese enterprise, being owned, edited and managed entirely by natives of China, whose foremost aim is the presentation to English readers of accurate and impartial information on the course of events in the Republic.

The first number contains messages of welcome from Lord Bryce, Lord William Cecil, His Excellency Lew Yuk Lin, Sir Walter Hillier, Professor Giles, and others. Mrs. Archibald Little writes on impressions received during her recent visit to China; Mr. Ku Hung Ming contributes an interesting analysis of the spirit of the Chinese people; Mr. Wilson Harris describes the work and aims of the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau; and the editor, Mr. Wong Anincey, examines from the attitude of a sympathetic but, on the whole, severe critic the record of the Young China Party.

The editors, Mr. Wong Anincey and Dr. W. O. Chen, have both received a Western education, Mr. Anincey being a graduate of London University and Dr. Chen a Ph. D. of Yale.

An interesting departure is being projected in the shape of occasional discussions or criticisms of British affairs from the Chinese point of view. "English people are very fond of coming to China and writing about us," one of the editors remarked to a Press representative, "and we think they may be interested sometimes to read what we think of them."

The *Chinese Review* is published from 42, Hillfield Road, London, N. W.

THE KING RECEIVES INDIAN OFFICERS.

At Buckingham Palace on Tuesday last, the King received Major P. E. Ricketta, 18th King George's Own Lancers (Officer in charge), and the following King's Indian Orderly Officers who were presented to His Majesty by Lieut.-Col. Sir J. Dunlop Smith (Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India):—

Risaldar Zaman Khan, 26th K. G. O. Light Cavalry; Subadar Mihar Din, 1st K. G. O. Sappers and Miners, No. 1 Company; Subadar Bostan Khan, 53rd Sikhs (Frontier Force); and Subadar Abdur Razzak, 63rd Palamcottah Light Infantry,

Major Olive Wigram (Equerry in Waiting) was in attendance.

HOW BRITISH STATESMEN MAKE THEIR SPEECHES.

A brief description of the various methods adopted by some of the leading politicians of this country in making their speeches may not be without interest to your readers, especially during the present acute stage of the political situation.

At least two members of the House of Commons—Mr. Tim Healy and Mr. Ginnery—take all their notes in short hand, the former using Pitman for the "heads" of his discourse, and the latter relying upon a copious phonetic manuscript.

Mr. Asquith, the greatest Parliamentary master of precision and conciseness, commits to writing certain phrases of any important pronouncement, but on all other occasions he trusts to the inspiration of the moment and without loss of his sledge-hammer and clear-out style.

Mr. Balfour, as is well-known, jots down his main lines of argument on the back of an envelope, but nothing else, whilst Mr. Bonar Law makes a fetish of speaking without notes (except quotations from speeches of adversaries), with consequences that are sometimes inconvenient.

Mr. John Redmond, the last of the old school of orators, is most effective when he speaks impromptu, but he apparently realises the danger of trusting entirely to the inspiration of the moment, and on big occasions he fortifies himself with a manuscript, to which he adheres pretty closely, though always ready and willing to be drawn into "asides."

"T. P.," as becomes the experienced journalist, scorns such adventitious aids, and might have difficulty in deciphering his own manuscript if he ventured to rely on it.

Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh the Irishman, who delights the House with his humour no less than his ability, has never been known to write any of his famous jokes down on paper. He has them docketed in his mind to fit every occasion, and between the seriousness of his arguments he brings them out to point a moral and adorn a tale.

Mr. Winston Churchill not only carefully prepares his more important pronouncements, but actually commits them to memory, and he may sometimes be seen buried in thought and pacing one of the long unfrequented corridors deliberating with himself on his next utterance.

Lord Hugh Cecil is another politician with a weakness for committing speeches to memory, after which he rarely uses a note; but his brother, Lord Robert Cecil, is more promiscuous in his methods—and, strange to say, more effective. Mr. Lloyd George "thinks out" his line of speech, but relies on his store of celtic imagery for his phraseology.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland, one of the most humorous and most delightful of speakers, never seems to prepare anything or to use any note, and the unpremeditated Birrellisms flow from him like water over Niagara, and at a rate that exceeds the widest of speed limits.

Mr. F. E. Smith's speeches are carefully prepared, and many of his epigrams are suggestive of the midnight oil, but he uses notes very sparingly.

Mr. Will Crooks, a natural orator, never uses notes, his eloquence, his humour and his pathos being entirely spontaneous; and the same may be said of Mr. Keir Hardie, though few would ever accuse the Scotsman of humour.

Mr. John Burns always arms himself with a mass of statistics and other ammunition, and to that extent his speeches are carefully prepared; but he does not place much reliance upon notes or manuscript.

MRS. BESANT'S APPEAL ALLOWED.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Moulton, Lord Parker, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, has, on the question of jurisdiction, allowed Mrs. Annie Besant's appeal from a judgment of the High Court of Madras in the litigation respecting the guardianship of J. Krishnamurti and J. Nityananda, two Hindu youths, who are being educated in England.

Mr. Younger, K. C., Sir Erle Richards, K. C., and Mr. R. W. Turnbull appeared for the appellant; Mr. Kenworthy Brown, for the respondent; and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. W. R. Sheldon, and Mr. W. Ingram for the two youths, who had been added as interveners by Order in Council.

The facts of the case, as revealed before the Indian Courts, are no doubt quite familiar to your readers. After the suit was removed to the Madras High Court, where it was heard by Mr. Justice Bakenwell, as everybody is aware, the learned judge had declared the respondent to be the guardian of the boys, and had directed Mrs. Besant to hand over the custody of the boys to the respondent, their father, on or before May 26, 1913. Mrs. Besant appealed from that decision, but the appeal was dismissed by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Oldfield before whom it was heard.

Mr. Younger, K. C., continued his argument on the preliminary question of jurisdiction. Mrs. Besant had contended before the Indian Courts that the High Court had no jurisdiction over the persons of infants other than that conferred by the Letters Patent of 1865 and that the Letters Patent gave the High Court no power to make the decree appealed from.

The Lord Chancellor, addressing the Lord Advocate, said that he understood that it was stated on Monday that the boys objected to return to India.

The Lord Advocate.—That is so. I am glad you have given me an opportunity of stating expressly and clearly their position. They are passionately desirous of staying in this country and extremely averse from going back to India.

The Lord Chancellor asked the Lord Advocate whether he had satisfied himself personally that that was so.

The Lord Advocate replied that he had.

At the close of Mr. Kenworthy Brown's argument, the Lord Chancellor said that as at present advised his view was that the proceedings in the Court below were altogether misconceived and brought in a wrong form, and for that reason ought to fail, without prejudice to any further proceedings which the father might make in proper form.

Mr. Kenworthy Brown asked whether the difficulty was that the boys were not represented in the Court in India.

The Lord Chancellor.—It is more than that. The boys not being represented, the issues were not properly framed, and the mind of the Court was not properly directed to the true question, but it was not the fault of the Court.

Mr. Kenworthy Brown said a great deal of attention was paid to the issue. He added that the boys were under the extremely powerful influence of Mrs. Besant, who occupied a position in the Theosophical Society, which made her word law. If their Lordships had come to the conclusion that the proceedings in the Court below had been misconceived he did not wish to occupy their attention further.

The Lord Chancellor said their Lordships had made up their minds as to the course they would take. They would humbly advise his Majesty that the judgment of the Court below could not stand, for the reason—the only reason—they had discussed that day. Their Lordships would give their reasons at a future date.

The question of costs was reserved.

ORIENTAL STUDIES: LORD CURZON ON THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST.

A largely attended meeting was held at the Mansion House on Wednesday afternoon in support of the scheme for establishing a school of Oriental Languages in London. The Lord Mayor presided and the company included: His excellency the Persian Minister, Lord Crewe, Lord Curzon, Lord Redesdale, Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord Reay, Lord Inchcape, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Peel, Sir Montagu Turner (Chairman of the City Executive Committee), Sir W. Anson, Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir A. T. Arundel, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Stanley Bois, Sir Reginald Brade, Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree, Sir Edward Busk, General Sir E. P. Chapman, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Ernest Clarke, Sir William Collins, Sir Homewood Crawford, Sir Louis Dane, Sir Algernon Firth, Sir W. E. Garstin, Prof. Gollanez, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Murray Hamrick, Mr. F. Begg (Chairman of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce), Sir Lancelot Hare, Dr. F. Heath, Sir Frederick Lily, Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Phillip Magnus, M. P., Sir Carl Mayer, Sir T. Morison, Mr. A. C. Morton, M. P., Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Mr. C. H. Roberts, M. P., Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir Felix Schuster, Sir John Stanley, Sir T. Vesey Strong, Sir Mark Sykes, M. P., Sir Henry Wilson, the Sheriffs and several of the Aldermen of the City, and chairmen and clerks of various City companies.

Lord Curzon pointed out that Germany, France, Austria, Russia, and Italy all spent considerable sums on centres of Oriental study in their capitals. Great Britain, which ruled over nearly 400,000,000 Eastern peoples and had commercial and diplomatic relations with 400,000,000, besides a trade with the East amounting to £200,000,000 per annum, had no such central institution. We had no machinery at all in this country for teaching acquaintance with ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of oriental peoples.

In making a strong appeal to the City to supplement the support already provided by the Treasury and the Government of India, Lord Curzon said that they would make a great mistake if they thought the men who went out to the East could get along all right if they merely had a smattering of the native tongue. In the case of a man in charge of a tea or rubber plantation knowledge of the language, customs, and habits of the coolies under him would save many a row—and rows easily occurred under such conditions—and in the long run their firms would be saved large sums of money. In the mercantile sphere, unless the training such a school would give was provided for their assistants, they would see the spoils of their commercial enterprise taken away, as they were already being largely taken away in the Far East at this moment by their active and indefatigable rivals, and most of all by the Germans. The meeting commended to the commercial community of the City of London and to the general public an appeal for the necessary funds.

Lord Crewe said that the balance of expert opinion was strongly in favour of linguistic study being undertaken before young officials went out to the East, while the fact that an increasing number of Indians were familiar with their language literature, and history impressed upon them a reciprocal obligation.

NEW INDIAN BARRISTERS.

Wednesday night last was call night at the Inns of Court, when the following Indian and Burmese gentlemen were called to the Bar:—

Lincoln's Inn.—A. P. Basu (certificate of Honour C. L. E., Easter 1914), a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court; Mohamed Khairuddin Sagg, M. A., D. C. L., Punjab University; Maung Sein Daing, Downing College, Cambridge; Vinayak Ganpat Rao B. A., LL.B., St. John's College, Camb.; Haroon Khan Sherwani, B. A. Jesus College, Oxford; M. C. Ghose; T. Chhibbar, Edinburgh University; D. Nanda M. A.; R. D. Javeri; S. C. Gupta; J. J. Mugaseth, B. A. (Honours) Fitzwilliam Hall, Cambridge; M. P. Loke; Fazal Elahy; M. V. Desai, B. A., LL. B., Bombay.

Middle Temple.—Syed Jamal Hyder Warisi; Raghu Nath Singh; Bashir Ahmad; Isher Das Madhok; B. G. Kane; T. C. Kesava Rao; Dina Nath Gantam.

Gry's Inn.—S. B. Vaidya, B. A., St. John's College, Cambridge; Nihal Singh; B. B. Bhagat; C. V. Dharma Rao, Edinburgh University; Abdul Ali; Ramzan Ali Bhaloo Velani; Sir Prakasa, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

TETE À TETE



To AN Address of the House of Commons, dated 7th

"To Exact Reparation".

August 1913, a Return has been published in the usual form with a view to keep the British democracy well informed on the subject of (1) wars and military operations on or beyond the borders of British India in which the Government is engaged; (2) the causes of such wars or operations; (3) the locality in which troops operated; (4) the results obtained; (5) the numbers approximately of the troops employed; (6) the cost of such wars or operations; and (7) the amount of any contribution towards such cost from the British Treasury. Fortunately for India and for her neighbours there is very nearly a clean bill of health for the quinquennium 1909-1913, the only exception being the Abor expedition. The Return tells us with commendable brevity and clearness that the Abor Expeditionary force consisting of 2,500 troops and 400 Military Police operated on the North East frontier in Dihang Valley, Abor country, between October 1911 and April 1912 and that the bill of costs amounted to Rs. 21,60,000, towards which the British Treasury, of course, contributed nothing. When we turn to the column: "Object of the Operations", we are told, as, of course, we knew, that they were undertaken "to exact reparation for the murder of Mr. Williamson and Dr. Gregerson by the Muizong Abors." We hope it will not be accounted to us as the height of brutality to point out that each of the two aforesaid lives lost cost India more than ten round lakhs in cash and our troops and the Abors a good many more lives than two in kind. And the "Results Obtained"? We are informed that "the tribe was completely subdued after two or three small actions and the capture of their stockades, and the murderers were delivered up". When the Abor expedition was being arranged, we had asked the Government a single and a simple question, but in vain. It will serve no purpose to refer to "Christless Cude" that wants a life for a life. Christendom has worked itself free from the shackles of turn-the-other-cheek policy, even if its men of affairs had ever heeded it at all. But granting that a life must be taken for a life, and putting on this doctrine the gloss that more than one life may be taken for a life when it happens to be a case of a neighbouring country or people and not of fellow-subjects in the same State, we must at least satisfy ourselves that the life taken for which we are to take many more lives was taken without any justification. What was Mr. Williamson, a servant of Government, doing in the Abor country beyond our borders when he lost his life? We had asked this question three years ago, but no answer was then vouchsafed. May we not ask it again when Mr. Lewis Harcourt has publicly repudiated the deliberate insubordination of Mr. Corfield in Somaliland and is, in spite of sustained "Imperialist" agitation, still impenitent? Did not the Mullah deserve castigation like the Abor after cutting of Mr. Corfield? Why no reparation exacted? And had the prestige of the white rulers of India to be established only among the Abors? Were there not Tibet and China also in the background? Again, even if Messrs. Williamson and Gregerson had never lost a hair of their heads, would not the circumstances that arose towards the end of Lord Minto's regime and that induced Lord Hardinge's government to revert to the system of Chief Commissionership under more direct control of the Government of India, have compelled Government to "make things hum a bit" on the North East Frontier? When will Western diplomacy learn to call a spade a spade? It is some consolation at least that the Abor Expeditionary Force was not called a "Mission" and the real object was not disguised as "to civilize the heathens and bring peace to them". On the whole "to exact reparation" is good!

It is true that many even among the educated Indians interested in politics do not understand much about the arrangements concerning the disposal of business in the India Office. But it is equally certain that the Secretary of State for India and none

"Domestic Arrangements."

else is the person primarily responsible to the King and to Parliament for the good government of India. He is the principal and the Governor-General in Council is the agent, as Mr. Montagu had clearly stated in the House of Commons on a memorable occasion three years ago. Naturally, therefore, India is greatly concerned in everything that is likely to affect the settlement of Indian issues placed before the Secretary of State. It is true that he is an autocrat, in theory at least, and Mr. Birrell once envied the autocracy of Lord Morley. But even autocrats are susceptible to influences and it is distinctly against the interests of India to allow the Secretary of State to be powerfully influenced by individual members of his Council, who in the majority of cases are retired Anglo-Indian officials with settled views and inclinations often at variance with those of Indians. A Secretary of State not particularly distinguished for taking an independent line of action now proposes to divide his Council into departments with a member at the head of each, instead of some committees of two or three, and we in India, who have some idea of Departmentalism and what havoc it plays with Council Government, naturally feel anxious. The two Indian members, who are not always chosen for being "experts" in the bureaucratic sense, are able to represent Indian points of view by a method of permutation and combination on all questions before they are brought before the Council, and even if they are not brought before it. With a clear demarcation of departments we shall be splitting the India Office into more or less watertight compartments in most of which the Indian point of view will not be represented. Moreover, Indians have their own views about the method of selecting the Indian members adopted by the Secretary of State as well as about the proportion of the Indian, English, and Anglo-Indian members in the Council. A Congress deputation which, so far as we have been able to ascertain, shares on the question the views of the All-India Moslem League, has travelled all the way to England to lay its views before Lord Crewe and has made this an important part of its programme. Lord Crewe, too, has reverted to the practice of his predecessor and also his own earlier practice and has not only received the deputation, but also promised to consider their representations carefully. But if we are to believe the *Pioneer*, the Bill "is merely concerned with a reconstitution of domestic arrangements affecting the disposal of business in India Office." We really admire the naivete of language of our contemporary. "Domestic Arrangements!" Isn't it superb, exquisite, delicious? But is not the entire business of Indian administration a "Domestic Arrangement"?

No one would seriously argue that Indian Mussalmans have not had a share out of the "general awakening" that these piping times are said to have produced in India; and if the testimony of the expert

The Moslem Communal Work.

psychologists of sundry hues counts for anything, they have had more than their legitimate share quite recently and have almost "awakened" too much. Apart, however, from the outward symptoms of this awakening, which have alarmed their "friends" a good deal, there are few other signs to show that they have been really restored to a full, healthy, wide-awake consciousness. If "awakening" means anything, it means that a community or a group of people has begun to realise its wants and make serious efforts to provide ways and means for meeting them. Has the Moslem community become thoroughly alive to its needs? It is, no doubt, true that some sort of general feeling has grown up among Mussalmans that all is not well with them. One also hears some din and clamour of effort in some places. The Muslim Press, too, is vocal with eager voices pressing to be heard. But a careful student of Moslem affairs would discern little useful purpose in all the lively discussions of the hour, no method and no design, in fact, no serious, intelligent and systematic effort to study, elucidate and solve the fundamental questions relating to the progress of the community. Much of the literary energy, that certain recent circumstances have called to birth in the shape of Moslem journalism, is running to waste along unproductive channels—in interminable and senseless debates about first principles, in the rehabilitation of exploded myths, in sentimental adulation of impossible virtue and equally absurd denunciation of impossible evils, in personal wrangles, revuls and strife. It seems as if Mussalmans have not yet settled even the general lines of communal advance. Everything that really matters would seem to be an open question still, and every communal patriot is busy generalising with tremendous fervour and assurance. The Moslem democracy is beginning to be vocal, and it is no fault of a democracy if it cries aloud for knowledge and faith. But the real danger is that its genuine and helpless cries for more light are sometimes taken

as the oracles of Delphi, which bustling persons of certain mental and moral density set themselves noisily to decipher for the guidance of the whole community. قریس is said to have spoken when, as a matter

of fact, some perplexed souls inquire, in earnest but broken accents, about the right path and the ultimate goal. The anxieties and uncertainties of the mass of the people are exploited in some cases with ruthless thoroughness. They are turned upside down; they are paraded as popular vendicts, and the process ends finally when the

قریس gets back its doubts stamped as its own mandates by the eager interpreters of its wisdom. We wish it were possible to teach these busy exploiters of Muslim democracy that their ceaseless spinning round communal perplexities is leading nowhere. We wish they could understand that what the masses of the people want is real guidance and faith. The masses are alive with a genuine desire to learn, to know and to do. They want direction and a fair amount of assurance that the path they are asked to tread leads to salvation. The duty of the Moslem Press is to try to supply this great need. The main lines of work have already been laid down. The programme needs no recasting after every week or month. Even the discussion about ways and means has not been wholly unfruitful. What is now wanted is to press every individual into active service for the building of the future. Quest for ideals and principles has lasted long enough in all conscience and some "discovery" has already been made about the first and last things. It now remains to fill in the plans of reconstruction with details, to devise suitable methods and to co-ordinate effort. The field for constructive work in the development of the Moslem community is vast and the Moslem Press should give the lead by helpful suggestions and encouragement, by intelligent discussion of questions needing elucidation, by focussing opinion on matters requiring public attention and organised action.

We could name a score of matters of topical interest to the Moslem community about which, however, the

Literary Contributions to The "Comrade."

Moslem Press discussions are either vague and inconsequential or violent and sterile through partisan bitterness. They generally lack intelligent interest and earnest efforts to reach practical conclusions. In this respect, however, journalists are not wholly to blame. They cannot obviously go on delivering their *obiter dicta* on a number of topics without wearying themselves and their readers. What they want to say on a subject is said once or twice or even thrice, but they must in the end turn to other topics from sheer exhaustion. The real, sustained and fruitful "discussion" of important matters is not brought about in the editorials but in the correspondence columns of a newspaper, in which persons interested in particular subjects state their points of view and conclusions, or argue disputed points and thus help to create real public opinion. We have often invited our readers, some of whom are persons of remarkable gifts and therefore quite competent to offer helpful advice or criticism, to initiate discussions in our columns on current matters of public interest. Our request has, however, been seldom fruitful of great results. We do not, of course, mean that we receive few literary contributions for *The Comrade*. Our daily mail bag brings dozens of "letters to the editor" and other manuscripts for publication, the majority of which are not at all suitable for the purpose. They are either lengthy "essays" on things in general or huge and breathless dissertations on quite trivial affairs. The art of newspaper correspondence has not yet fully developed in India. The casual correspondent has yet to learn that he would lose not an atom of his weight and effectiveness if he says what he wants to say in as few words as possible. He sometimes needs to be reminded that he is not the first man in the world who has discovered the "importance" of a certain "subject," and that he needs not therefore introduce it to his fellow-men by beginning from the birth of creation. We regret we may have caused some annoyance to several correspondents by our inability to accept their contributions, but we would request them to exercise greater care in the choice of their subjects and to state what they have to say in as brief a way as they can. Our greatest desire is to keep our columns always open for the discussion of matters of real public interest from all possible standpoints.

We are glad to note the progress in England of our distinguished fellow-countrymen who have gone there as the Congress delegates. The venerable

A Faint Memory.

Sir William Wedderburn gave them a breakfast on the 14th instant and a conference was held after the breakfast. Among the distinguished guests that came at least to honour our friends by breakfasting in their company, if not to take part in the subsequent conference, we notice with pleasure the names of three prominent officials of India, Sir Basil Scott, Sir Benjamin Robertson and Sir K. G. Gupta. On their arrival in London another high official, the Hon. Mr. Chaudhary, had received the delegates. We have a distant recollection that two Indians had once upon a time gone to England

where they were being asked to dine with some prominent Englishmen, including some former Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors. An eminent fellow-countryman of theirs, who drew no salary from the Indian Exchequer, was only too anxious to take them by the hand and show them every hospitality, when an Ogre, called the Lord Chancellor, turned the beautiful dream into a nightmare by objecting to his participation in a "political dinner." Is it really true or are we dreaming?

In closing his Resolution on the Revenue administration for the last year. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces observes that during the year the Hon. Sir

Unavoidable?

Duncan Baillie K. C. S. I., and the Hon. Mr. G. A. Tweedy will retire from Government service "inflicting an almost irreparable loss upon the land revenue administration of the Province." It is a relief to know that the loss is only *almost* irreparable, and one knows, in spite of the official assumption to the contrary, that no one is absolutely indispensable. But is the loss absolutely unavoidable? May we not hope to secure an Executive Council for the United Provinces in time to avoid the "almost irreparable loss"? Or will the Council have to wait till Sir Duncan Baillie and Mr. Tweedy have both left and younger men can take their place? We thought the only thing the Council was waiting for was the departure of Sir John Hewett. Is it possible that the U. P. Government's alleged aversion to "young men", of which one hears so often, is insincere, or does it apply only to non-officials?

The dramatic news from Albania throw little light on the real tangle of the situation beyond making it clear

The Situation in Albania.

that the affairs of that unhappy land are in a thorough mess. Since the Concert of Europe decided to preserve the individuality and integrity of the Albanians by turning the province into an independent principality, there has been little progress towards the establishment of civil government and peace. Even some of the boundaries of Albania yet remain undefined. A Protestant German Prince has been imported as its new ruler, but he commands little allegiance in his new kingdom and the task of settling the people to peaceful and ordered reconstruction seems to be well beyond his strength. Hellenic intrigues set early on foot a general revolt in Epirus which, led by officers of the Greek army, declared for autonomy. There have been wholesale massacres of Moslem children and women as well as of men, and unspeakable atrocities have been committed by the Epirote revolutionary bands. The "protecting" Powers have looked on without moving a finger, and now it seems that the Epirotes have been pacified by the grant of extensive concessions regarding the formation of their own gendarmery, language, education and appointment of Christian governors under the guarantee of the Powers. Trouble is also brewing on the northern frontier. Montenegro has proceeded to occupy the Albanian districts assigned to her by the Concert, but the population of these districts, almost entirely Albanian, detests Montenegro and would not submit to her rule unless it is crushed by force. On the eastern side some of the most fertile districts of Albania have been torn out of the Principality and handed over to Serbia. The Albanians of these territories are being harassed and persecuted in innumerable ways. They are being forcibly ejected out of their homes and their lands. The stream of refugees from across the Servian frontier is constantly pouring into Albania bringing harrowing tales of misery and distress. All these factors have combined to exasperate Albanian feeling and a spirit of deep restlessness and discontent with the existing state of things has been growing among the people. They are feeling injured, maimed and helpless. The independent, proud and sturdy mountaineers, who are never known to have forgiven an insult or suffered quietly a wound to their self-respect, feel bitterly the humiliation of their present position. Their civil affairs are in chaos. Europe has imposed upon them a supreme authority for which they can have little love and respect. Their own leaders are either fickle and selfish or feeling the heavy weight of pressure from interested Powers which has rendered them powerless to act. In the circumstances, what is now happening is natural and intelligible. Essad Pasha's mysterious arrest and his deportation to Italy is a *coup* that can not be expected to pass off without an aftermath. He is a powerful chieftain, perhaps the most powerful Albanian leader who can make or mar the future of his country. He is not a man of unimpeachable record. He is wily and astute. His services to his former master, the Sultan, were tainted with gross infidelity. His loyalty to his own country is questionable. He is ready to play for his own hands under any master. For sometime he was the protégé of Austria-Hungary, and received Prince William by loudly swearing his allegiance to him. He has now fallen out with the Prince, and has contrived to become the favourite of Italy. Whe-

ther in his present quarrel he is in the right matters little. The situation that the episode has produced is fraught with serious possibilities. The Albanian cabinet has resigned. Thousands of Moslem Albanians have marched on the capital determined to have their demands accepted. The Prince first sought safety in an inglorious light to an Italian steamer. Saneer counsels have, however, prevailed and he has come back to his palace to negotiate terms with his enraged subjects.

The demands of the Moslem Albanians are significant and the movement behind these demands seems to be formidable. The Albanian Moslems demand the restoration of Moslem rule, but if this be impossible, they will place

Moslem Demands.

their destinies in the hands of Europe again trusting that some solution of the difficulty will be found "in conformity with their Ottoman character and religion." In some places Albanian flags have been torn down and Turkish flags hoisted. We can easily see how the Concert will treat these demands. Its "honour" has already been committed to a certain solution by the appointment of Prince William. That solution has well-nigh failed. But the interests of Austria-Hungary and Italy demand that no other solution should be tried but the one which they have helped to devise and which lends itself magnificently to the success of their respective diplomatic games. Albania has been allowed to come into existence as an independent State, not because the claims of nationality are held sacred and inviolable by the Chancelleries of Europe, but because only an independent Albania could furnish a convenient hatching-ground for the Austro-Hungarian and Italian designs in the Balkans and the Adriatic. It is these ulterior designs that have led the Powers to impose an alien ruler on Albania. Otherwise, the easiest solution of the difficulty would have been to let the people choose their own ruler. The Albanian nationality is composed of various creeds, but the most considerable portion of it is Moslem. It is, therefore, the Moslem Albanians, who far exceed their brethren of the Catholic and the Greek faiths in number and strength, whose views about the government of their country should have been predominant. What respect and allegiance can a people entertain for a ruler who does not share their traditions and their faith? The Powers ostentatiously claimed to have avoided the possibility of rousing creed jealousies in Albania by fixing their choice on a Protestant Prince. They have well-nigh brought the country to the verge of anarchy by this much-haunted device. The Prince remains in splendid isolation, unable to command the esteem and confidence of the people. He cannot catch the national imagination or inspire popular enthusiasm. A strong, magnetic personality, racy of the Albanian soil or which, at any rate, can appeal to the intimate sympathies of the race, can alone become a strong, rallying symbol of Albanian sovereignty and unite the people for the purposes of common national life. The demand of the Moslem Albanians for Moslem rule is the genuine national cry of Albania. Her difficulties will not end till this demand is satisfied. The demand may be suppressed by the weight of an international force that may be sent to vindicate the authority of the Concert, but it would be the barest hypocrisy to claim afterwards that Europe strove disinterestedly to preserve the Albanian nationality from destruction and give it a chance for independent life.

A fortnight ago we had complained of the sad lack of humour in our erstwhile bright contemporary, *Punch*, when it hoped to raise a laugh

Prestige or Purse?

out of the following:—"Oil has been discovered in Somaliland, and it is rumoured that the Government is at last about to realise that its obligations to our friendlies demand a forward move against the Mullah". We had characterised this as part of the merest commonplaces of the East. And now for the fulfilment of the *Punch* prophecy and the proof of our contrition. On April 23rd in the House of Commons Mr. Fell asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies "what steps were being taken to do away with the unsatisfactory position which prevailed at Berbera and in British Somaliland; if he was aware our friendly native tribes were being harried by the Mad Mullah incessantly and our troops penned in at Berbera; and that the whole position was detrimental to the prestige and position of this country with the whole of East Africa". Who can doubt after this the "friendliness" of our "friendly native tribes" or the madness of the "Mad Mullah"? Do not our friendlies get harried just when we get a fresh access of altruism, and does not the Somali Mullah show distinct signs of being *non compos mentis* in harrying them and reminding us of our prestige and position in the whole of East Africa just at the moment when we have struck oil? Mr. Fell is quite right in asking Mr. Harcourt "if he intends to do nothing

"but wait for the death of the Mad Mullah". In the compelling interests of eugenics—our latest deity—we must wait no longer but kill the madcap, thus preventing his propagation of other Mullahs equally "Mad". Mr. Fell and the *Punch* humourist must both be happy at the reply of Mr. Harcourt that "we are taking immediate action". A "friendly" in need is a friend indeed.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at the 51st anniversary dinner of the Newspaper Press Fund, posed a number of searching questions as to the value and utility of the press in public life. He said

The Utility of the Press.

that there were a number of problems in connection with the relation of the press and the public upon which it would be tempting to enlarge. Some of them, in his opinion, might form fitting questions in an examination paper for the Civil Service or for posts of distinction in the Universities. "For instance" he said, "this, I think would be a very interesting inquiry: 'Which institution would a democratic country more readily dispense with, its Parliament or its Press? Or, again—and this is a less drastic suggestion—would the world be better off or worse off if for a limited time, say for a fortnight or perhaps for a month, there was a complete and universal suppression of newspapers? Or, if I may put another problem, there is the wider question which must sometimes present itself to every reflective mind. Does the press of the world on the whole do more good or harm? I am far from suggesting that upon anyone of these issues, if they were submitted to what is now a fashionable and favourite form of suggested submission—what is called a referendum—you would carry with you of the total votes polled a large and a working majority. The only thing I should stipulate would be that the votes should be taken by ballot.' If a democratic country found itself forced to choose between its Parliament and its Press, its choice would be determined by the issues of a free fight between the journalist and the demagogue. Opinions would naturally differ as to which of the two protagonists is the stronger, but there is some force in the contention of those who hold that the demagogue is a pampered creature of the press and would shrink to a little measure if he were deprived of newspaper 'puffs'. No one would dispute the fact that the press has grown to be an immense power in the lives of modern democracies, though it is not easy to determine how far it is a power for good. Life of high-pressure has deprived the busy industrial democracy of to-day of all leisure to think for itself. The press has become its thinking organ and provides it with ready made opinions as the outfitter's establishments provide it with ready made clothes. The press caters, so to speak, for the intellectual hunger of democracy. It manufactures views and distributes them on wholesale principle. Its commercial basis allows room for the growth of much that is evil. This is a part of the price that the existing organisation of democratic society has to pay. Whether there is a possibility of the growth of a new process for the wholesome, unadulterated creation of views and opinions and their easy distribution, it is for the future to discover. As things are, the suspension of the press for a fortnight or a month, even if it might make life easier and freer in the end, would starve the mind of the democracy and even demagogues would find their occupations gone.

The first number of the *Sikh Review*, a monthly started from Delhi with a view to promote Sikh interests, holds promise of an interesting future, and a good deal of care and energy seem to have gone to its production. The publishers have set before themselves an ambitious programme, but there is no reason why they should not work their way to some measure of success if they have enlisted the support of the enlightened members of their community and conduct the periodical on proper lines. The Sikh community, though small in numbers, is not lacking in strength and cohesion. It has recently shown considerable energy in the field of education. New schools are being started in different Sikh centres in the Punjab, movements for the education of women and social reform are beginning to yield tangible results and the future holds bright prospects for this sturdy community. With the liberal help and patronage that the Sikh educational movement and other interests have been uniformly receiving from Government, the Sikhs are already well able to hold their own amongst the different communities of the Punjab. There has, however, been a tendency, much more pronounced of late, amongst the Sikh communal patriots to urge their sectarian claims without due regard to the interests of other classes of the people.

In the language question, for instance, they have come to take an attitude that is hardly reasonable. They want to introduce Panjabi as the language of the courts in the Punjab and the medium of instruction in public schools. The claim is obviously extravagant. Apart from the bewildering variety and the extreme literary poverty of the primitive dialect known as Panjabi, it should be remembered that the large majority of the people of the Punjab desire to retain Urdu as the official and literary language of the province; and it is manifestly absurd to think that the whims of a small minority should be allowed to prevail at the expense of the important interests of a great majority. The *Sikh Review* places the advocacy of Panjabi in the forefront of its programme. We are afraid this will only add to existing racial bitterness without promoting the true interests of the Sikhs themselves. A couple of articles in the *Review*, in "which peculiarly" violent attacks have been made on Aurangzeb, the Great Moghal and the "Great Turkish (Moghul) Empire," hardly breathe the spirit of unity and peace that, according to the publishers, has been the inspiration of their undertaking. They not only offend against the ordinary canons of literary taste, but also bristle with flagrant historical inaccuracies and misstatements. The Moslem rule is described as "the rule of tyranny and injustice." The Moghal Dynasty is spoken of as "the tyrannous Moghul" and so forth. Aurangzeb is said to have starved his father to death. All this passion and violence and garbled history are indulged in to vindicate the purity and grandeur of Gurm Tegh Bahadur. We have no wish to say a word against the Guru and his political activities. But we put it to the educated Sikhs themselves: How would they treat a man who, under the cloak of religion, is found engaged in seducing people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign? Gurm Tegh Bahadur, as a political revolutionary, was no more than a rebel and a seditionist and it is a wonder to us that Aurangzeb gave this man, so dangerous to the peace and security of a part of his Empire, such latitude and inflicted punishment on him only after he had tried all other peaceful means to dissuade him from his unlawful courses. Our Sikh enthusiasts perhaps know the fate that would be in store for a man who flouts the authority of the King-Emperor in India to-day, who tampers with the loyalty of his army and sows disaffection among his subjects. It is only fair to admit that Aurangzeb, whose name is occasionally sought to be blackened by politicians who sometimes create history, could have made short work of the militant sect that at the instigation its leaders was becoming openly mutinous and laying waste the country side. But he chose to be tolerant and forgiving. And the reward that he gets for his tolerance from the latest exponent of Sikh interests is a shower of invective and abuse.



Verse.

To Poesy.

Not fadeless garlands of Pierian flowers
As, for Apollo's brows, the Muses twine
By sacred streams, whose living waters shine
'Mid charmed groves and amaranthine bowers;
Nor yet such blossoms as, in bounteous showers,
Fall from the Muses' spotless hands divine
Upon the Poet when, like maddening wine,
Love's ecstasy his ravished soul o'erpowers,
'Tis mine, O Heaven-born, at thy feet to lay;
But withering leaves and fading flowers that grow
In dust and heat along Life's common way;
Mixed with the trailing weeds that keep them low.
Such as they are, thy fostering bounty may
Bid them, perchance, with some faint beauty blow.

NIZAMAT JANG.

The Comrade.

The New Leaders of India.

WE endeavoured to show in the three previous articles under the general heading "Young India", how certain influences peculiar to Indian conditions affect the development of the Young Indian's personality from the cradle to early manhood. We sketched in brief outline his home environment, his school atmosphere and the life he lives in the college. It would be tolerably clear even from these fragmentary sketches that the development of the character and mind of the young educated Indian is a very unsatisfactory process, and in the majority of cases he enters life after his inner race has been run. How to save India's youths from a sort of intellectual paralysis and their optimism from an irretrievable loss of vitality and zest, is a problem with which we do not propose to deal at present. The ultimate solution of it would seem to be in the direction of a thorough reform of the methods and system of education now in vogue in this country. Most of the intellectual and moral puzzles of the Young Indian arise from the unsettled state of Indian society. Western thought and culture have let loose vast destructive forces and old social values and standards are in conflict with the new. The younger generation has to face all the muddle of a duality in social doctrines, and the burden of picking and choosing the essentials for a complete social reconstruction is not a light one. What is called a period of transition is a very painful and trying process—it is the travail of a new birth. Those that happen to be born within this period are mostly the helpless instruments of a remorseless process of change—they are thoroughly used up for the ends of the future. They do not know whither they are drifting, they have to bear the burden and become the sacrifice.

It would not, however, do to console ourselves with the comfortable theory that the process would work itself out some day without any meddling on our part. The will of man is the most effective force in human things. It can bend, change or create circumstances and environment. And the trained, organised will and intelligence of a community are never needed so much as when it is passing through a period of transition. Efforts that are being made in India to-day to organise public will and intelligence are not yielding very satisfactory results. The defect lies in the type of education which is producing the new generation of educated Indians, whose intellectual confidence has, in most cases, been shattered in the process, whose character is not equal to the task, whose efforts are half-hearted and whose purposes are dim and fleeting. The only remedy is the organisation of a thoroughly national system of education controlled mainly by the people themselves. This is by far the greatest need of modern India. Political and social activities would be comparatively barren of good results as long as this root-problem of Indian social reconstruction remains unsolved. In spite of the havoc wrought by the existing system of education, there are enough men in the ranks of the educated classes who are intellectually virile and have a clear conception of the problems of Young India, its doubts and fears, its mute tragedy, of the smouldering embers of its faith and aspiration. Their gaze is clear, but their purpose is not yet set. They preach abundantly and even with a note of passionate protest. But they hesitate to act. This is the one serious failing of Young India.

The progress of modern education in India, though not very rapid, has been considerable. It has been of a sufficiently long duration to judge it by its fruits. The rate of educational advance has varied amongst the different communities, and the position of the Moslem community is the most backward in this respect. But the general growth of education has reached a fair level even in the backward communities and all the progressive movements in India are being mostly inspired and controlled by men who have received modern intellectual training. It would not, therefore, be out of place to attempt an estimate of the new leaders of thought and action who have come to preside over the destinies of the Indian people.

The diversity of religious creeds in India has naturally created a diversity of outlook in the people. Their ideals, history, traditions, racial characteristics and temperaments display a great variety and have brought into existence different needs, which are in some respects mutually irreconcilable. The Hindu's conception of the past and his outlook about the future are not identical with those of the Mussalman. In spite, however, of the vast racial, historical, and cultural differences that divide the various communities of India, the great social problems that confront them all are in essence the same. All alike have to bring themselves into harmony with the new conditions of things, to recast their respective social systems in the light of a new set of ideals which the modern civilisation has evolved. The needs of the various communities may vary in degree and may require different methods of treatment, but they are identical in origin. The main tasks of the Hindu and the Moslem re-

formers depend for their execution on similar qualities of character and mind. The social problem of both the communities is one of adaptation. The leaders of the new movements, be they Hindus or Mussalmans, alike need trained intelligence, strength of purpose and powers of organisation. They alike should have a perfect grasp of their past efforts and ideals, a thorough familiarity with the efforts and ideals of the West, a capacity to choose and judge, and a bold initiative. They are alike subject to similar political conditions and certain other broad influences from which they cannot tear themselves away.

The Young educated Indians, who have entered life and begun to take responsible part in the affairs of the country, are hampered by limitations of similar character, irrespective of race and creed. The obscure stresses and conflicts of the period of transition have stamped themselves on their characters and minds. Most of them have been irremediably mangled in personality and are condemned to bear the affliction of a dull sense of failure at their ineffectual lives. The few that have emerged from the process of "education" with comparatively sound hearts and minds, lack courage and capacity for sustained endeavour. Irresoluteness, indecision, readiness to temporise, nervous fears to face consequences and lack of courage to take risks are the besetting failings of Young India. These are weaknesses of character, that has never passed through the bracing rigours of action. The Young Indian is mostly a giant in theoretical speculation. He shrinks from coming into grip with circumstances. He would never try to bend them to his will as long as he can help it. It is not, therefore, surprising that he often grows into a merciless critic of things in general, idealising about impossibilities and shielding himself from the little, necessary, aggressive things which constantly thrust themselves on his attention and which in their cumulative effect have the utmost bearing on the welfare of the people. His love of delivering theoretical judgements explains his dislike of all practical efforts. In fact, both are the symptoms of the same malady.

Nothing tantalises the young educated Indian so much as the old type of communal leaders. His dislike of their ways amounts almost to derisive contempt. The feeling has grown much more pronounced among the younger generation of educated Mussalmans. Yet little effort has been made by the impatient young enthusiasts to come forward and set an example to the old "despots" of how things should be done. They shrink from accepting responsibility in any direction. Their capacity to suffer abuses is phenomenal. They let things go on, and while they keep on a running fire of angry criticism at a distance, they would not move a finger to put a stop to the senseless muddle. They seem to think as if it were no concern of theirs. It seldom occurs to them that the affairs of the world have to go on, that mere grumbling has never set human affairs right, and that if they do not take active part in the direction of the affairs of their community and country others more active and self-reliant than they must needs control and direct them. What right have they in such a case to complain of the follies and errors of those, who, whatever their limitations, have certainly much greater self-reliance and sense of duty than their more pretensions critics? The young educated Mussalman is often heard to complain of the way in which his community conducts its politics. He calls it a silly game in which men, with private axes to grind, are playing at obsolete "policies" with antiquated methods. Why does he not come out to the front with his better methods and better policy? He speaks with scorn of his community's educational conferences. If he thinks he has enough capacity to make these activities fruitful, why does he hold back like a guilty thing from showing his hand? He thinks little good has come out of the Moslem educational movement for women. Why does he not try to rescue the movement from collapse and put more life and vigour into it? There are scores of other matters about which he is dissatisfied and never loses a safe occasion to denounce those whom he considers to be generally responsible for the ills of the community. But his communal patriotism stops short at destructive criticism. He does not care to move an inch from his attitude of critical negation towards some practical genuine effort for positive achievement. He looks on at absurdities, errors and even corrosive evils with passive resignation. He has enough sense to see that things are bad. Has he no sense to realise that they might become infinitely worse? And does he think that they can be made better by dint of aspiration? His attitude is dangerous, for it is producing a depressing atmosphere in which the faith of the masses in the efficacy of ameliorative effort and action is beginning to be undermined. He is producing an intellectual and moral fog, in which things of vital moment seem to be indistinct and vague. Of what use it is to talk of progress and reform when one has lost discernment, when one can not distinguish the white from the black, when one has no courage to face difficulties in doing what is right. Things may go on as they are, when all that is has to be. It is

equally useless to talk of absurdity, error and evil when there is no positive passion for truth to crush absurdity and expose error and no moral wrath to uproot evil. It is not surely from such a temporising, half-hearted race that men of heroic stature would arise to redress the woes of the Mussalmans. Men of resolute purpose and clear vision are needed who are ready to act, to suffer and to achieve.

The Press Act and Proselytization.

In the course of the now famous judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our Pamphlet Case his lordship had said: "I recognise the force of the argument that the Act (the Press Act) 'is now being applied to a purpose never intended'". But Sir Lawrence perhaps forgot that intentions, like everything else in a hot climate, expand enormously. Although the Hon. the House Member was the author of the new Contempt of Court Bill and was therefore extremely careful of the respect due to a judgment of three of the seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court, he nevertheless pointed out to the learned Chief Justice that he had misinterpreted Government's intentions in passing the Press Bill of one of his predecessors into law. But unless the Hon. Member accepts our theory of expansion in relation to intentions, he would find it difficult to justify the application of the Press Act to the two religious papers of the Mussalmans in the Punjab, the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*.

Let us first take the case of *Ahl-i-Hadees*. Last year the "Newal Kishore Press" of Lahore published three small volumes of a book or tract in Urdu entitled *Isbat-i-kaffara* (Proof of Atonement.) Its author was Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of a Church belonging to the Christian sect of the Church of England. On the cover it is indicated that the publication was a rejoinder to objections raised against the Christian doctrine of Atonement. The preface makes this still more clear and we learn therein that a Mufti Sadiq Saheb, who was a Christian for a time, once more became a Mussalman, and as such delivered a lecture on the doctrine of Atonement when Khwaja Kamal-ud-din took the chair. The author says that he had asked the Khwaja Saheb's permission to question the lecturer at the end of the lecture which was withheld "on account of the obstinacy and bigotry of members of the Ahmadi sect," and he was thus prevented from making a rejoinder then and there. Sometime after this the Mufti, who had lectured, published a book called *Kaffara* (Atonement.) The three volumes of Rev. Howell's book, *Isbat-i-Kaffara*, are, we are here informed, a rejoinder to the lecture and the book of Mufti Sadiq Saheb. As regards the Christian doctrine of Atonement, we need say nothing as it is too well known, and we do not think any one would accuse us of injustice to Rev. Howell if we said that it is rather difficult for anyone to discover a new argument to prove this doctrine. But the way in which the old arguments can be presented are innumerable, and whatever merit Rev. Howell could claim could only lie in the presentation of his case. We have no desire to set up as a controversialist or even a judge of such polemics, but we cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Howell's methods are certainly not Christ-like, even if they are Christian. We do not know how Christianity is benefited by referring to the Prophet of Islam as having in his heart "the seed of sin which is called the Devil's part", which was repeatedly taken out by the Archangel Gabriel and equally repeatedly grew again. Is the doctrine of Atonement likely to be proved to the satisfaction of a rationalist by saying that Mohamed "frequently remained in subjection to Satan and Sorcery"? What relevancy has the following in a discussion about that Christian doctrine:—"Notwithstanding 'Gabriel's endeavours to remove it by repeated washings, the blackness of (Mohamed's) heart, which was the seed or spermatozoa of 'sin or the Devil's part, could not be removed; or perhaps Mohamed 'used to blacken his heart by not guarding it and repeatedly committing sins.' Or take this as a sample of the Reverend gentleman's style of argument: 'Mohamed was caught in the vapour of 'Holl . . . In the battle of Uhud Mohamed had a tooth 'knocked off besides receiving other wounds. All this was visited upon 'Mohamed on account of his sins with which he was loaded till his death'. Turning from the Prophet to his faith and to his followers we get the following:—"The Mussalmans and their divines who committed the crimes of adultery and theft, did so according to the 'desire of Mohamed and behind the screen of 'There is no god 'but God (the first part of the Moslem formula of faith). . . Through 'this (Islamic) teaching, not only did the number of Moslem prostitutes increase in this world, but Paradise also was filled with scores 'and ghilman and became a quarter full of brothels.' Take another sample—"It is the Mohamedan formula of faith which not only encourages a sinner to sin, but is also acting as a digestive pill to assist

"him in the digestion of sins. And encouraging people to sin beyond 'measure (sic), in practice, thanks to the Mohamedan formula of 'faith, not only are the brothels and the bazars of the towns filled 'with Moslem women who repeat the formula of the faith, but the 'gaols have also been filled'".

It has been said that there is never a controversy about religion but religion is a loser. For our part, we cannot ignore the necessity of religious controversies, and missionary religions cannot avoid them. But the history of the preaching of Islam offers unshakeable evidence for the belief that the example of lives well lived and the few words whispered earnestly at moments when the soul expands and yearns for truth and communion with another soul, are far more effective than all the religious controversies in the world in winning true converts. Possibly Rev. Thomas Howell's scheme of conversion is quite different and he relies upon vituperation of this kind for giving him the converts he seeks. Obviously it does not matter to him a bit whether his proselytising methods wound the religious feelings of the Mussalmans or not. But it is too much to expect that the people whose religious feelings are wounded would remain wholly indifferent to Rev. Howell's vituperation. "Tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" supplies an obvious method of securing satisfaction; but the infuriated Mussalman is to a great extent denied this opportunity of easing his feelings. The Christian theologian can denounce the Quran as a fabrication, and a fraud; but the Mussalman, although he may allege interpolations in the Biblical text, is prevented by his own religious belief from denying the Divine origin of the Christian scriptures. Similarly, a Christian may call the Prophet of Islam an imposter and an evil person; but a Mussalman's religion imposes upon him respect for the personality and character of Jesus Christ as a Messenger of God. Obviously, therefore, if a Moslem theologian, no matter how incensed, offers a reply to Christian abuse of the Moslem Scriptures and the Moslem Prophet, he can only denounce certain Christian doctrines which he regards as the creation of later glossators of the Bible and Jesus Christ's claim to divinity put forward not by him but by a large majority of his followers. It is only within these limits that Christ or Christianity can be criticised by Mussalmans. This must be clearly understood, for on this hang the cases both of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*, both of which wrote their peccant articles as rejoinders to Rev. Howell's book on Atonement. To take the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees*. This paper, which is an important religious organ of the Moslem sect of "the people of the Tradition," understood the Christian doctrine of Atonement, to be as follows:—

Our Christian friends believe that sin is divided into two kinds—original and sin against the law. They define natural sin in this way: Because man is the son of Adam, who committed sin, every son of Adam is sinful by nature. And the sin against law they define thus: that disobedience to Divine law in sin. By these two suppositious definitions they conclude that Jesus was not the Son of Adam, because he was borne only of woman and that consequently he was the Son of God. Moreover, as he did nothing against the law, he was sinless and can, therefore, atone for the sins of all mankind.

The *Ahl-i-Hadees* had attacked the first part of the Christian argument in a previous article on "Jesus of the Gospel" in which it had sought to prove from the Christian Scriptures themselves that Jesus Christ was the offspring of the union of a man and a woman, and can, therefore, be no more devoid of "original sin" than any other person born of such union according to the Christian doctrine of Original Sin. In the article which drew upon it the wrath of the Punjab Government not a word is said even remotely suggesting that the writer believes Christ to be a sinner, and all that he has permitted himself to do with reference to the first part of the argument is to quote these three facts from the Bible:

I know it is so of a truth: but how shall man be just with God?—Job ix, 2.

For there is not a just man upon earth, that doth good and sinneth not.—Ecclesiastes, vii, 20.

If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.—I John i, 8.

We are not here concerned with the merits of the controversy; but can any one say that the method of controversy adopted by the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is not in glaring contrast with that chosen by the Christian Pastor? It is not for a Mussalman to abuse Jesus Christ, but he can argue that those who infer from the circumstances of his birth his freedom from sin and from that the doctrine of Atonement do so by ignoring passages contradicting these claims which the Bible itself contains. This is indicated by the title of the article itself: "Atonement in the Bible: Was Jesus of the Gospel Sinless?" (*the italics are ours*.) He then goes on:

If for the sake of argument, we suppose that he was born without father, that in no way proves the point of our Christian brethren, because it is written in Job xiv, 4: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one;" xv, 14: "What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous?"

The writer also argues that "woman is more sinful than man, because she did not sin herself alone, but induced Adam to sin,"

and once more quotes the Bible: "And Adam was not deceived; but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." (I Timothy ii, 14.)

So much for the argument about Original Sin, and what is there here which is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian 'population of the Province', as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab thinks, or 'wantonly scurrilous and offensive', as the Secretary of State is compelled to describe?"

Let us now see whether the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadees* has done anything more reprehensible in dealing with Christ's sinfulness or sinlessness according to the law. Once more we must bear in mind that the writer is not dealing with Jesus as the Mussalmans know and venerate, but with "the Jesus of the gospel". What he does is to quote texts from the gospels and, whether one agrees with his interpretation or not, it cannot be denied that the texts can be interpreted in a manner which do not do justice to so great and holy a personality. The well-known text in Mathews: "I come not to send peace but a sword" etc, can easily bear an interpretation wholly different from that which Christians accept, and we have no doubt that if an Indian patriot used such expressions to-day the police would have something to say to him and the authorities of our colleges would certainly hold up the man who boasted that he had come "to set a man against his father" to public opprobrium in the interests of discipline. Take again Christ's abuse of the Pharisees and Scribes as "an evil and adulterous generation" and a "generation of vipers". We know what the Pharisees and the Scribes were like in the days of Christ; but have we no Pharisees Scribes among us who can count on the support of officialdom when "Young hot-heads" call them by names not half as abusive? Again, Christ accused the Prophets who had preceded him of being "thieves and robbers". The writer quotes other passages and offers a running criticism of unequal merit, and finally cites Mathew xix, 17 "And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There 'is none good but one—that is God". So much for "Jesus of the Gospel". But what of Jesus as the writer believes him to be. Does he consider him to be a disturber of peace and a man given to abuse of others, an ungrateful son or a brother without affection, the author of vain prophecies and a teacher of dissembling, fond of loving women who were not related to him, and of wine drinking as, according to him, the texts cited by him suggest? Let us give the reply in his own words. He concludes the peccant article with the following:— "In short according to the decision of the Old and the New Testaments 'Jesus was sinful by 'erigion', and according to law. If he was 'sinful he cannot atone for the sins of others, according to the Christian teachings. So Jesus can in no way carry away the sins of all 'Christians. Christian friends, give up this unbecoming and fanciful 'idea of Atonement and believe in the Holy Book 'which in a few but portentous words calls Jesus son of 'Mary' illustrious in this world and the world to come.' And this, if you please, is 'calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province'. This, of all things, is 'wantonly scurrilous and offensive'! The Christian population of the Province would be brought into contempt for their unchristian conduct rather than by their belief even in the doctrine of Atonement. But is there no Moslem population in the Punjab and did it never occur to the highly sensitive Government of the Punjab that it could be brought into contempt by being alleged to be the followers of one whose black heart could not be cleansed even by the repeated washings of an Archangel? The Punjab Government has, to our knowledge, taken no notice of the Christian Pastor of the Church of England who attributed the loss of a tooth by the Prophet of Islam and other injuries sustained in the battle of Uhud to the sins of which he bore the load throughout his life and for which he was caught with vapours of Hell; but it at once becomes alive to the far reaching results of the imputation—and that too pointed out merely to prove the absurdity of such inferences from the Bible itself—that Jesus died young and was crucified because he was rude to "the mother who kept awake for nights "that he might sleep, who many a time went without meals "that he might eat and bore trouble that he might rest in comfort." Does not the Bible say; "Honour thy father and mother that thy days "may be long," and does not Mathew tell us that "Jesus said unto "her, Woman, what have I to do with you?" Is not the argument at least as good as that which accounted for the loss of a tooth by Mohamed in the battle of Jehad? It is true that perhaps neither one nor the other would give the rival missionaries a single convert; but is Sir Michael O'Dwyer so little occupied with the ordinary duties of administration that he must teach missionaries how to convert as well as teach journalists how to conduct newspapers in his vast leisure? Again, even the prestige of Piccadilly has to be maintained at the cost of ten thousand rupees in cash and a large printing press to a writer of poignant prose, but is not the honour of their women at least as dear to the Mussalmans of the Punjab and has no law yet been framed and enacted to deal with a foul-mouthed "trafficker in souls" who ascribes the overcrowding of Punjab brothels and bazars to the Moslem

women's belief in the formula: "There is no god but God and Mohamed is His Prophet"! The *Zamindar* shall not even publish the statistics of divorces in England, because that would bring the purest Anglo-Indian maid and matron into contempt; but Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of the Church of England could not possibly bring the Mussalmans into greater contempt than the world already feels for them by reason of their yearning for a Heaven of lechery and worse.

This is no new case, for we have had all the documents concerned with us for a full six months. But we awaited the result of the appeals of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and in the last resort the reply of the Secretary of State to a question in Parliament. Both are now before us and they need more than a little comment. To the prayer of the publisher of the paper, the well-known Molvi Sanaullah of Amritsar, the Government of the Punjab deigned to reply after three months of deliberation and cogitation that Sir Michael O'Dwyer saw no reason to reconsider his orders regarding the security. Once more he petitioned His Honour to reconsider his decision and pointed out that in his case it was not only he who was required to deposit a security of Rs 2,000, as a publisher, but that the keeper of the Press also where the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is printed has been required to deposit Rs 1,000, which amount, too, the publisher has had to provide. This, as he states, is against the practice of the Punjab Government; but evidently His Honour does not believe in the doubtful virtue of consistency, and after another month's deliberation and cogitation expressed his regret that he cannot accept the publisher's representation.

That, however, is nothing. The paper has furnished the "good conduct" money and may lose it any day so long as the Press Act remains on the Statute Book in its present form. But the reply of the Under-Secretary of State to Mr. Morrell adds insult to injury. "The Secretary of State has read the articles and 'can only describe them as wantonly scurrilous and offensive.'" What shall one say to this but say he can only describe the reply as an unmitigated misstatement. We know our England and our Englishmen with their wonderful equipment for learning Oriental languages and their still more wonderful linguistic aptitude. And we know our Secretary of State also. He is incapable of being able to read the articles in question as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab of writing them. What he has probably read is the English composition of a Secretariat hireling who can translate:

اوخان برانداژ چين كچه توادهر جي

as "O, destroyer of the garden root and branch" and who can summarise a long and learned thesis on the possibility of Virgin Mary being a hermaphrodite in a few words as filthy and disgusting as the wretch himself. And that is how India is to be ruled by the "man on the spot" and retained "on the floor of the House of Commons!"



An Appeal.

We have received the following appeal from Canada from Mr. Sunder Singh:—

"As there is a lot of misunderstanding about our movement and the position of the Hindus in Canada, I give below some idea of my labours since coming to this country. I came to Canada in the year 1909 with the idea of making my way like an immigrant from any other country. I got the fever of get-rich-quick type as it was in the very air which I breathed.

"But owing to the grace of the All-loving One I reverted to the teaching of my father which was:—

From the Unreal lead us to the Real.

From Darkness lead us unto Light.

"Speaking about myself is repugnant to me, but I find that I have to write of these things so that my friends and helpers may know exactly where I stand.

"Since coming to Canada I found the position of my countrymen uncertain and pitiable in the extreme. With one or two exceptions they had practically nobody to help them in their time of need. Therefore I volunteered for this service and for the last four years have kept at it since. I spent my time and whatever money I could get for the advancement of this cause. The people of Canada know me as three years ago my countrymen deputed me and three other friends to interview the Dominion Government at Ottawa regarding the admission of the families of my countrymen. I have stuck to this mission of service through good reports and evil reports and through thick and thin, knowing it to be a service to God and humanity. Sometimes it seemed that even the mother earth beneath my feet gave way, but this much I know and am fully certain of that God has been kind to me and my mission.

"Over three and a half years ago when everything was dark and I was laid up on account of a very serious illness due to overwork and mental strain, kind friends to whom I can never repay for what they have done for my cause, took up the case on our behalf. With their help and active co-operation an English paper called *The Aryan* was launched. I never solicited for contributions, for verily did I believe that God will see to the needs of his people. In fact many a time I have refused financial aid offered to me for the cause even in this country.

"The *Aryan* was kept going for more than a year letting the public know of our trials, shortcomings and successes. Two years ago the thought came to me to go ahead with the scheme of a printing press of our own which had been dormant in my head for a long time. Up to now this mission of mine had been practically a one-man-crusade against heavy odds. I know very well that I had a sympathiser here and a friend there, but the idea of having a press to print a paper both in English and Punjabi was astounding. It needed an organised effort. However, God opened the way and one of my countrymen believed in me and my mission. He came forward as a volunteer. The two of us had not much of capital to speak of but we had a far more precious thing than money and that was faith in God and man. (Some other time when I have more space at my disposal I will describe to my readers our sorrows and trials.

"We did not know very much about printing. But the plan had to be put through anyhow. New helpers and offers of money for our mission came and finally this paper, *The Sansar*, saw the light of day in May of last year. The hardship and privations which we underwent were as nothing compared to our joy, when we found that a great pillar of our cause, viz. a printing press, was in running order.

"But since this was done I found that there were rocks ahead. The forces of darkness which were watching all the time gained a fresh impetus. Although I fully believe that they are just an illusion (*maya*), but still this ignorance had to be contended with. These friends tried to scatter our mission to the four winds, but up to now the Lord God has sustained us by his abounding mercy and grace.

"The present time is a critical juncture in the history of our mission. We find that although averse to ask for contributions from our friends to carry on this mission, we are compelled to seek financial help from them. Therefore we appeal to you for your help and co-operation in our work of education and uplifting of our countrymen in Canada and thus bring about a higher and better understanding between the Orient and the Occident.

For this purpose we need immediately about \$2,000 (Two Thousand dollars) or about six thousand rupees to meet the demands of our present building and plant. There is a mortgage on our building which has only two months to run and has to be paid at the end of that time. This debt is hampering us in our action and it is to free ourselves of this and enlarge our field of activity that we make this urgent appeal. This sum of two thousand dollars will give us the needed scope for further service and usefulness. We on our part have given our services both in energy and time gratuitously in the past and are prepared to do so in the future. Therefore we give all our sympathisers and friends an opportunity to aid us by subscriptions or inducing others to help us in our just case.

Knowing your sympathy and interest in all movements for the uplift of humanity, allow us to appeal to you for help in bringing about the dawn of a great day when the Brotherhood of Man will not only be a theory but something more tangible.

Please send your contributions in aid of this mission to Dr. Sunder Singh, 630 Speed Ave, Victoria, B.C. Canada.



Sanitation in India.

(Concluded from our last.)

MALARIA.

18. It remains to consider the results of research as applied to the chief tropical diseases, always remembering that they are liable to revision or modification in the light of further investigation and discoveries. The most important tropical disease is malaria. After allowance has been made for the tendency to attribute to fewer deaths from other causes, malaria stands out as universally prevalent in India and in many tracts, is a scourge far greater than either plague or cholera. It maims as well as kills and causes more sickness, misery and death than any other single disease. Measures for the prevention of malaria aim at breaking the cycle of infection in two ways, (a) by attacks on the parasites

in man, and (b) by the destruction of mosquitoes. To the former class belong the different systems of quinine prophylaxis and treatment; and to the latter, all those measures which aim at abolishing mosquito breeding grounds. Both methods have been successful in other countries and both have been tried extensively in India.

19. The Government of India have arranged classes for instruction in practical malaria work twice a year. The course is so planned that each member of the class takes an actual part in the preparation of a malaria survey which will eventually be the basis of a practical scheme of malaria prevention. Already 155 medical officers in civil and military employ have passed through the classes. It is hoped before long to spread a large number of trained and active workers over the whole of India.

The Lucknow Sanitary Conference recommended that a malariologist and engineer should be deputed to Italy to study the methods of "colmate" and "bonificazione" under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association, and it is hoped to arrange for their deputation. The effect of silt deposit on the malaria conditions of deltaic areas in India is also receiving attention; and interesting experiments are being conducted by the Government of Bengal at Berhampur. Experiments in clearing jungle and undergrowth will shortly be undertaken.

PLAGUE.

20. The Plague Research Commission, which was constituted in 1905 and is still continuing its investigations, has thrown much light on the etiology and epidemiology of the disease. The chief conclusions that have been reached so far may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) In India, where the pneumonic form of the disease is relatively rare, plague is essentially a disease communicable to man and a few of the lower animals, an epidemic amongst men is directly dependent upon an epizootic amongst rats.
- (2) Plague spreads from rat to rat and from rat to man through the agency of the rat flea.
- (3) The plague bacillus under natural conditions does not long retain its vitality outside the body of the rat, the rat flea, or man.
- (4) Plague has a definite seasonal prevalence, generally constant for any given place, but varying in different parts of India; investigation shows that the plague season coincides with the season of maximum prevalence of rat fleas.
- (5) Infection is carried from place to place only over very short distance by the spontaneous movements of rats: in other cases, infection is carried either (a) by the agency of man or personal effects acting as a means of transport for infected fleas, (b) by means of merchandise grain, chiefly which may contain rats as well as fleas. It is not yet established which of these two agencies is the more important, but recent work, both in India and the Far East, has emphasised the importance of grain as a vehicle for the transmission of infection.
- (6) In comparatively few places in India does plague infection survive the adverse conditions of the non-epidemic season: such places are usually either (a) large towns or (b) places which have been infected late in the epidemic season.
- (7) In places which have suffered from repeated and severe epidemics of plague, the rats have become less susceptible to plague than are the rats in places which have remained plague-free or have suffered but slightly.

21. These conclusions have been arrived at after much careful painstaking research and constitute a great advance on the knowledge of plague, which was available when, in 1896, it first appeared in Bombay. They point, apparently, to a simple solution of the plague problem—no rats no plague. But this solution is not attainable unless the population concerned is convinced of the danger of living in close association with the rat and is ready to co-operate in its extermination. Unfortunately, attempts at rat destruction by trapping or poison frequently meet with active opposition. Experience in India suggests that owing to the excessive fecundity of the animals, general rat destruction, even when applied to extensive areas, gives only a temporary reduction of rat infestation and has a limited sphere of usefulness as an anti-plague measure.

22. In one direction, however, well directed efforts at rat destruction may prove useful. In each epidemic a number of places are infected late in the season and in certain of these plague survives the non-epidemic period only to break out in a virulent form when the conditions of spread again become more favourable. These localities are potential foci of extensive infection. It would seem important to concentrate the energies of the plague preventive staff on them in well organised schemes of rat destruction carried out during the quiescent period before the commencement of the next epidemic season.

23. Much can be done, indirectly, to reduce the number of rats in towns and villages, by diminishing their food supply. In any

place the number of rats is in proportion to the quantity of food which they can obtain. Efficient scavenging and the protection of food-stuffs from the depredations of rats are important from this point of view. The markets, grain stores, and shops, in most parts of India, are so placed and constructed as to give food and shelter to large numbers of rats. Experiments are being carried out with a view to discovering the best practical means of disinfecting grain stores and godowns. It is not practicable at present to remove grain markets and godowns outside towns, to prevent them from being used as dwellings for men, to insist on solid masonry buildings, or to prohibit the stabling of horses and cattle in the precincts of dwelling houses. But these measures and the storage of grain in bulk instead of in bags may, with the progress of education, hereafter enter the zone of practicability. The exclusion of rats from houses is important. In several provinces experiments with different types of so-called rat-proof houses have been made with varying degrees of success. The results suggest that no form of house could remain rat-free for long in India owing to the habits of the people. Even were this not the case it would obviously be impracticable, for financial reasons, to render dwelling houses in the towns and villages of India rat-proof on anything like a large scale. On the other hand, the individual can protect himself by providing his house with masonry floors and walls and windows enough to give ample light and air to every room and by preventing accumulations of rubbish amongst which rats can build their nests. The rat requires shelter for breeding, is mainly nocturnal in its habits and prefers darkness to light.

24. Three other measures remain to be considered—evacuation, disinfection and inoculation. The evacuation of all houses in large towns, on the occurrence of rat mortality therein or human plague cases in adjacent dwellings, is rarely possible, but in villages and parts of smaller towns it is a valuable means of checking an epidemic of plague. Disinfection to be efficacious should be directed against the rat and the rat-flea. It is of little value when it leaves both untouched. The practical objections to compulsory inoculations with anti-plague vaccine on a large scale continue; but the safety and efficiency of inoculation as a personal preventive measure against infection has been abundantly proved, and in certain areas the prejudice against it appears to be diminishing. The Government of India desire that every facility should be afforded to any one wishing to obtain this protection for himself or his family and they commend to local Governments the employment of carefully selected private practitioners to this end.

CHOLERA.

25. Cholera is now much less prevalent than formerly, but frequently occasion severe epidemics and still remains a constant cause of mortality. Epidemics have in several recent cases been traced to pilgrims returning from places of religious pilgrimage, at which there had been no recognised outbreak of the disease. In 1912, Major Greig was deputed to make a special investigation of the whole subject. That investigation, which still continues, has added to knowledge regarding the propagation of cholera and has established the fact that not only cholera convalescents, but also healthy persons who have been in contact with cholera cases, can act as "carriers" of the disease. It has also been shown that the germs of the disease can be recovered from a patient's dejecta kept under natural conditions for a variable but frequently considerable period, and that flies may play an important part in the dissemination of infection. These observations, while in no way opposed to previous knowledge that cholera is a water-borne disease, accentuate the importance of careful and thorough conservancy.

INFANT MORTALITY.

26. No summary of public health is complete without a reference to infant mortality. In 1911, of 4,752,152 male children and 4,457,551 females born in India, 1,016,823 males and 873,677 females died. In other words, about one-fifth of the children born died within the first year of their life. It is difficult to arrive at the actual causes of this high rate of mortality. The figures at the disposal of Government are often of doubtful accuracy, and the comparison of figures from different localities is frequently fallacious. On a broad view of the causes of infant mortality may thus be summarised: (1) malaria operating both directly on the infant and indirectly through the mother; (2) diseases due to insanitary surroundings and exposure to infection especially through the medium of flies; (3) diseases due to ignorance on the part of the mother with regard to the feeding and care of the infant; (4) accidents of child birth and diseases attendant thereon. For (3) and (4) the custom of early marriage and the primitive and insanitary methods of midwifery are largely responsible. The latter lead directly to the death of the infant from tetanus and other diseases, and indirectly increase the infant mortality by depriving children of their natural nourishment either through the death of the mother or the failure of her milk as the result of sepsis. Deficiency in the supply of cow's milk has been proved to be a predominant cause of infant mortality in India; but the question

of improving both the quality and the quantity of the milk-supply without increasing its cost is engaging earnest attention (*vide*, paragraph 42).

It is hoped that the instruction of mothers and midwives will engage the attention of all medical women practising in India and especially interest the women's medical service which has recently been established. In some of the large cities in India, notably Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, nurse health visitors have been appointed by municipalities to visit the people in their homes and assist and instruct mothers in the elementary principles of hygiene. In Bombay, an interesting experiment has been started by Dr. Turner in the form of lectures to the midwives. Another is likely to be made under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association in Delhi, where it is proposed to detail two trained nurses for work as health visitors.

VITAL STATISTICS.

27. The course of sanitary reform is much impeded by the want of complete and accurate vital statistics. Without them it is difficult to gauge the effects of sanitary measures or to convince people of their efficacy. The difficulties in the way of improving the reporting and recording agency especially in rural areas are great; but systematic checking and supervision of returns should yield good results. Dispensary returns and voluntary notification by private medical practitioners are useful as checks but are only partial in their scope. A comprehensive scheme for the improvement of general reporting is required. The Government of India invite the attention of local Governments to the importance of the subject.

28. The Government of India recognise that differences in local conditions preclude the issue of any general instructions but they commend the following propositions for consideration:—

- (a) The reporting of vital occurrences should not be left exclusively to the municipal staff; reporting by the head of the household also should be insisted on. The two reports would then be available to check one another.
- (b) The actual registration should be done not as an extra duty but by special registrars who should, if possible, possess a medical qualification. In the case of deaths, inquiries regarding the symptoms of the deceased could then be made from the person reporting and some check on the diagnosis of the cause of death could be obtained. Many people are attended during their last illness by unqualified persons or die without medical attendance.
- (c) The registrar should be required to verify at least 10 per cent. of the reported births and deaths and this verification should, as far as possible, include all particulars such as cause, date, age, sex, place, etc.
- (d) The health officer should be in charge of the vital statistics in the town and should be responsible for supervising and checking the work.
- (e) Experiments might be made in obtaining accurate registration in typical areas by means of a special staff which would also be employed in healing the sick.

SANITARY SURVEYS.

29. Concurrently with attention to the registration of vital statistics the Government of India commend to local Governments the importance of surveys on board lines. Something has been done in this direction and valuable reports have been drawn up, giving the real health conditions of towns and particular localities and indicating the existence of any special sickness or mortality and the definite causes underlying them. The Government of India desire that systematic working plans should be drawn up where this had not already been with a view to mapping out the sanitary conditions of all the more important towns and localities in which sickness or mortality is above normal. This will occupy years of steady preparation; but as deputy sanitary commissioners are relieved of much of the routine work which at present they have to perform they should be able to carry this undertaking to a successful issue. The preparation of drainage surveys in towns in advance of needs obviates waste in the long run. In the absence of such surveys, work is often commenced in a haphazard way without due consideration of a scheme as a whole.

URBAN SANITATION.

30. Urban sanitation has, as already observed, received much attention of late years. It falls generally under four heads, *viz.*, conservancy, water-supply, drainage, and town-planning with improvement of housing and the relief of congested areas. In the forefront of these stands conservancy.

CONSERVANCY.

31. The importance of efficient scavenging with speedy and complete removal of all night-soil and rubbish from the vicinity of habitations and its satisfactory disposal can scarcely be exaggerated. Yet probably no department of public health work is more neglected in many Indian towns. The strict rules of the caste

system have for centuries relegated everything connected with this work to the outcast, and the people, as a rule, evince little if any interest in the conservancy even of their own houses. To this neglect must be attributed the plague of flies which at certain seasons is experienced in every Indian town. Apart from the discomfort which they cause flies are known to be the disseminators of many diseases, including cholera, enteric fever, tuberculosis, dysentery and diarrhoea and are largely responsible for the heavy mortality amongst infants. The all-India sanitary conferences at Madras and Lucknow drew prominent attention to the danger to health caused by the presence of these noxious insects, and the results of the recent "anti-fly" campaign at Delhi suggest that a large reduction in the number of flies is by no means an impossible task.

32. Whether incineration or shallow trenching of either of these methods of conservancy combined with water carriage is the best in any particular case will depend very largely on local conditions and customs. With the extension of drainage and sewerage systems, water carriage of all night-soil, with ultimate disposal on sewage farms, should give the best result. In the majority of towns, however, it will be long before this is generally practicable and the choice rests between incineration and trenching. Of the two methods, incineration is safer and on this account, if conditions permit, is preferable. Trenching is often thought to be more economical; but the profits obtainable from the trenching or pitting of night-soil and sale of the pondrette disappear, or are largely reduced, when the expense of carriage and supervision is taken into account. The material consideration in all cases is that the removal and disposal should be prompt. As education spreads and the number of health officers and sanitary inspectors increases, improved results may be anticipated.

WATER SUPPLY.

33. Few subjects have received more attention of late than the provision of a piped supply of filtered water in towns. Complete figures are not available but sums amounting to at least Rs. 3,51,58,267 (£2,313,886) have been spent during the last 20 years on completed schemes. Projects costing Rs. 1,40,03,438 (£938,562) are under construction and projects costing Rs. 1,14,44,750 (762,983) have been prepared and sanctioned. These figures are exclusive of the expenditure in the presidency towns and Rangoon.

34. The demand for piped and filtered water-supply grows, and is likely to grow more rapidly in future. While recognising the need for treating the question with due regard to local conditions, the Government of India offer the following general observations:—

- (a) When piped water supplies were first introduced, in the face of opposition, it was necessary that the charges should be made as low as possible. That stage has now been passed, and there appears no good reason why water-supplies should not be conducted on a business footing and the water charged for like any other commodity. An interesting discussion on the financing of water-supplies was introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Curtis of the Madras sanitary conference.
- (b) On the whole, the provision of piped filtered water in towns has not been followed by that reduction in water-borne disease which might have been expected. This is probably due in most cases to the large number of wells, both public and private, which still remain in use. The closure of many of these wells is much to be desired, but the owners are unlikely to consent to this so long as the piped supply is intermittent and is drawn off hot or unpleasantly warm during the summer. In any case the substitution of a constant for an intermittent supply will shortly have to be considered as pipes get older and in suction declares itself. The warmth of the water is more difficult to deal with, but much might be done by burying pipes deeper in the ground and carrying house pipes inside instead of outside houses.
- (c) Excessive wastage is common and causes not only an unnecessary burden on the municipality but frequently also a defective supply in the higher portions of the distribution. The employment of a regular waste-detection staff has in most cases been found to make for economy and efficiency.

DRAINAGE.

35. Drainage schemes, on modern lines, are the basis of all sanitary improvement in urban areas. The demand for them is scarcely less than that for piped water and is steadily on the increase. As in the case of water-supply complete figures are not available but the known expenditure during the last twenty years has been considerable and is now rapidly increasing. The expenditure on completed works outside the presidency towns and Rangoon during that period amounted to Rs. 97,65,049 (£651,008) whereas the

cost of the works under construction is estimated at Rs. 1,54,20,502 (£1,028,083). In the beginning precedence over drainage was given to piped water-supply but experience has demonstrated the advantage of introducing both concurrently. Without drainage there is no means of carrying off the surplus water and without piped water-supply it is difficult to flush the drains properly.

38. When drainage schemes on modern lines were first started in this country there seems to have been a bias against the use of sewers and, wherever possible, open drains were adopted. Experience has shown that the preference for the open drain, and the fear that sewer would give excessive trouble, were not well-founded. On the contrary, much of the advantage of a drainage system is lost if only open drains are used, as the old system of hand-carriage latrines has to be continued. Moreover, economy in establishment is possible only in the case of a sewerage system.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

39. The Government of India desire to invite the attention of local Government to the importance of providing adequate facilities for the isolation of cases of epidemic diseases. The isolation of individuals suffering from infectious diseases is often desirable and sometimes necessary, and it would seem desirable to have in every important municipality a small well-built segregation hospital in charge of a qualified medical practitioner, who might be one of the medical registrars for vital statistics.

A revised set of regulations under the Indian Ports Act for the prevention of the spread of infectious and contagious diseases is under consideration.

ADULTERATION OF FOOD AND DRUGS.

40. The adulteration of food and drugs is common and has an important bearing on public health. Provisions for dealing with adulteration of food-stuffs exist in most municipal enactments in India, but these are confined to municipal areas and are restricted in their operation. Bombay and the United Provinces have special laws dealing with the question. The Government of India have recently inquired from local Governments as to the desirability of legislation, imperial or provincial, on the subject. The question is not free from difficulty, as, besides the necessity of fixing standards, a competent staff of analysts and inspectors is necessary, and for any real success the co-operation of the people is required.

ADULTERATION OF MILK.

41. The adulteration of milk is almost universal in Indian bazaars and a large proportion of the milk consumed is contaminated. In most cities, the milk-supply is in the hands of men ignorant of the elements of sanitation and addicted to uncleanly practices. Moreover, the milk when stored and in transit to market is liable to contamination in several ways. On the other hand, the price of milk is already very high and the problem of improving the purity without increasing the price to such an extent as to cause hardship to the poorer classes is a difficult one.

The Lucknow sanitary conference recommended that the development of the dairy industry and the organisation of the transport and sale of milk should ordinarily precede measures of sanitary restriction; and that there should be mutual help and co-operation between sanitarians, milk dealers and the agricultural department. That department is already considering how to develop a profitable dairy animal, a measure largely dependent on suitable and regular feeding. While local authorities should clearly insist on cleanliness in the conditions under which cattle are milked and dairy produce is manufactured, stored, or transported in towns, the removal of cattle so far as possible to cheap, healthy and natural surroundings outside cities is a measure greatly to be commended. The establishment of co-operative dairy farms in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and elsewhere has so far been attended with success and should be encouraged. Attempts might well be made to induce *gwalas* to organise milk production outside cities and its transport to market on co-operative principles. These methods prove successful, it may be possible without raising the price to bring the milk-supply under necessary sanitary control. The Government of India commend the whole question to the early attention of local Governments. With regard to milk standards, conditions in India differ from those in Europe, and chemical standards should be fixed by persons possessing adequate local knowledge and experience, and with due regard to local conditions.

TOWN-PLANNING AND RELIEF OF CONGESTED AREAS.

42. While much has been done to provide drainage and pure water in large cities, there can be little hope of improving their sanitary condition permanently until measures are taken to relieve congested areas and to provide broader streets and buildings more open to sun and air. The constitution in 1898 of the Improvement Trust in Bombay marked a notable step

in advance. By the end of 1912-1913, the Bombay Trust had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 488 lakhs (£3,253,333) towards schemes aggregating Rs. 802 lakhs (£5,346,666). Broad roads have been driven through the heart of the city, slum areas have been abolished; and dwelling provided for the accommodation of the poorer classes. The Calcutta Improvement Trust constituted in 1911 is now developing similar schemes for the improvement and development of Calcutta. Funds for these great projects have been provided mainly from local taxation and municipal contributions, supplemented in the case of each city by an imperial grant of Rs. 50 lakhs (£333,333) and, in the case of Calcutta, by a recurring grant of Rs. 1½ lakhs (£10,000) for 60 years. In other provinces, similar works have been carried out on a smaller scale in the larger towns, notably in the United Provinces and at Lucknow.

There has been, as already stated, an increasing desire on the part of the well-to-do in cities to escape from their present insanitary surroundings and to obtain houses in more open positions outside city limits. In India, as in England, municipalities are confronted by the difficulty of obtaining land for town extensions except at prohibitive cost. The multiplicity of small owners in this country, and the impossibility of persuading them to co-operate, render any considered and comprehensive plan of town extension impossible in the absence of some controlling and co-ordinating authority armed with powers of compulsion. In their letter of 26th July 1912, the Government of India indicated their opinion that where land on the outskirts of a town was mainly agricultural and could be acquired cheaply *en bloc*, the local body would probably be well advised to purchase it outright.

43. Such a policy, however, will, for financial reasons, often be impossible on a large scale. Where the cost of acquisition is prohibitive, control may be preferable to acquisition and in their circular letter of the 26th July 1912 the Government of India drew attention to the features of a scheme under discussion in the Bombay Presidency which has now been incorporated in a Town Planning Bill. The principal feature of this scheme is that the cost is apportioned and recovered from the various persons and interests concerned in the shape of a development contribution calculated in proportion to the increased value which is estimated to accrue to each plot on the completion of the scheme, the tax that can be levied from any one owner being limited, as in England, to one-half of the betterment estimated to accrue. The local body remains liable for any excess cost not covered by the tax. Such a scheme involves taking powers to pool and redistribute small holdings in a form suitable for building purposes. It has the advantage of reducing capital outlay while securing for public purposes a share in the profits of the transaction. The Government of India have also invited an examination of the provisions of municipal acts for dealing with insanitary areas and have inquired whether the limitations contained in the English Housing Acts on excessive compensation in areas, which, after due inquiry, have been declared insanitary, might not be introduced in India. The first step towards improvement is to fix a standard of light and ventilation suitable to local conditions; the next is to ensure that adequate building regulations providing for this standard are introduced by all municipal bodies and that a competent executive staff is appointed with full powers to carry them out. The whole question will be reviewed when the replies of local Governments have been received.

RURAL SANITATION.

44. The difficulties which surround rural sanitation in India are well-known and persistent. Contaminated sites, polluted water-supply, badly constructed and insanitary dwellings, the habits and prejudices of the people raise obstacles to progress which in most provinces are still well-nigh insuperable. The Government of India have informed local Governments that they are at liberty to expend a portion of the imperial grants for urban sanitation on rural sanitation, provided practical schemes for this purpose are forthcoming; but they have postponed special imperial grants for this purpose until such schemes are more generally advanced. They fully appreciate the enormous importance of rural sanitation in a country which is mainly agricultural. Past experience and present conditions, however, indicate that the subject is still one for experiment on lines conceived to attract the co-operation of the people. Without their cordial help no sanitary staff could effectually deal with the village sanitation of the two hundred and twenty millions who inhabit rural areas in British India. The danger of employing low-paid and imperfectly trained subordinates in a matter so closely affecting village-life is now generally recognized and should never be out of mind.

NEED FOR EDUCATION.

45. The diffusion of sound education will, however, remain the most potent and penetrating instrument of sanitation among a population which still views it for the most part with hostility, or unconcern. The claims of hygiene as part of their educational policy were recognized by the Government of India in their educational resolution of the 21st February 1913. It may be hoped that before many years have passed educational institutions will have become missions of

sanitation in their own vicinity and beyond. Meanwhile, some simple knowledge of the more common infectious diseases may with advantage be diffused. The difficulties are considerable and systematic organisation is required. The India branch of the St. John Ambulance Association has offered its valuable assistance. In several provinces pictorial leaflets are distributed and simple lantern lectures and demonstrations are given at fairs and other large gatherings, while in Bombay popular lectures to teachers, students and others have been organised by Major Glen Liston. The Indian Research Fund Association has decided to establish a central bureau where lanterns and lantern slides, pictures, and skeleton lectures can be stocked for issue on loan. Much may be done by utilising the services of municipal health officers and medical subordinates attached to travelling dispensaries and by enlisting the sympathies and active help of medical women, private medical practitioners, and private philanthropic agencies and persons. Sanitation must begin at home and as the Hon'ble Sir Pardee Lums and Colonel Firth, the former on the civil, the latter on the military side, have pointed out, there will never be any real advance in domestic or personal hygiene until the women of the country realise its advantages and necessity. The encouragement of medical women to preach the gospel of health inside the zenana and to organise *purdah* parties for simple lantern demonstration lectures and the employment of nurse visitors as in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, are to be commended. Periodical local conferences and publications similar to the recently issued by the Bombay Government entitled "Some recent sanitary developments in the Bombay Presidency" are very useful and keep the question of sanitation before the public mind. Other methods for preparing people to combat preventable disease and premature mortality may suggest themselves. There is room for many workers in the sanitary field. The Governor-General in Council appeals with confidence to all who have interest in the well-being of India to join with him and the local Governments in a sustained endeavour to give effect to His Imperial Majesty's most gracious wish that the homes of his Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health.



The Ulster Plot.

MR. CHURCHILL'S REPLY TO CHARGES.

REPLYING in the House of Commons on the 28th April to Mr. Anstey Chamberlain's speech in moving the Opposition resolution demanding a full inquiry into the Ulster plot, Mr. Churchill, who was received with loud Ministerial cheers, said:—This is a vote of censure and a demand for a judicial inquiry. In all the circumstances I venture to say it is the most audacious vote of censure (Ministerial cheers) and the most impudent demand from an Opposition (loud Ministerial cheers) for a judicial inquiry to which our records can provide a parallel. The first maxim of English jurisprudence is that complainants should come into court with clean hands. (Ministerial cheers.) Here we get Sir E. Carson and Captain Craig fresh from their gun-running exploit (loud Ministerial cheers and Opposition interruptions, and cries of "We don't tell lies about it.")

Mr. Churchill was unable to proceed in the uproar. Ministerialists shouted across to members of the Opposition, and Sir E. Carson leaning forward in his seat, appeared to be shouting across the table to Mr. Churchill.

A Ministerialist: Order, Carson. Behave like a king. (Loud laughter.)

Sir E. Carson: You behave like a cad.

Mr. MacCallum Scott (L. Glasgow, Bridgeton,) (rising amid general uproar): Mr. Speaker, I desire on a point of order to call your attention to the conduct of the right hon. gentleman, the member for Dublin University, who has been shouting across the floor of the House to members on this side that they are cads. (Derisive Opposition laughter.)

The Speaker: It is a most improper expression, I do not know whether the hon. member was one of those who were shouting offensive expressions (Opposition cheers), but he will not deny that several of his colleagues did. I hope the right hon. gentleman will not repeat the observation, but under the circumstances I do not propose to call upon him to withdraw it. (Opposition cheers.)

Sir Edward Carson: May I say, Sir, that I listened patiently through all these discussions as I always do and it is only when I am taunted from the other side of the House that I use these expressions. If I have said anything disorderly I regret it, but I shall not be taunted from the other side without asserting myself. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. Churchill: I am quite entitled to review the curious position occupied by the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues in coming here fresh from their exploits in Ireland to demand a

judicial inquiry into the conduct of those responsible for the maintenance of law and order. (Ministerial cheers.) The right hon. gentleman who has just sat down made a very long speech which was altogether out of date (Ministerial laughter and cheers.) He began by admitting this. He said, "I have not to deal with subsequent facts." Subsequent facts he clearly sees are fatal to the motion. (Ministerial cheers.) But are we quite sure they are subsequent facts. (Ministerial cheers.) It is very convenient, no doubt, to represent that after the revelations of the fiendish plot it was necessary for the law abiding people of Ulster to obtain weapons to protect themselves from such horrible machinations (Ministerial laughter), and that what took place at Larne and other places on Friday night last was the answer to the events which are now under discussion. I do not think that this is the case at all. (Ministerial cheers.) On the 18th February—a month before we had made those preparations to protect our depôts—the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) speaking at the Cannon Street Hotel said: "They were daily entering into commitments of thousands of pounds and he himself in the last few days—it was no harm to confess it—the right hon. gentleman has always been perfectly frank—"

Mr. Rawlinson (U. Cambridge University): He has always told the truth.

Mr. Churchill: It is quite out of the hon. gentleman's power to insult me. He himself—it was not harm to confess it (went on Mr. Churchill continuing his quotation)—had authorised an expenditure of at least sixty to eighty thousand pounds toward their defence if it became immediately necessary.

CONSIGNMENTS OF ARMS.

I think it is quite clear that the large consignments of arms which have lately been landed in such a lawless fashion were part of the policy which the right hon. gentleman was carrying out before the Government even embarked on its military precautions. (Ministerial cheers.) A great many hard words are used about us. Mr. Chamberlain used the expression "criminal" in regard to us, and his supporters in the Press have used extraordinary language. But we can support these accusations with composure. We have not broken the law, and we are not engaged in breaking the law. (Ministerial cheers.) Anyone who is familiar with the law knows perfectly well that there are half a dozen statutes, some of them of the gravest character, which are being openly flouted and defied at the present time by hon. members who sit opposite us and by their followers in Ireland, and that they are being flouted and defied with the full connivance and approval of the Opposition leaders. (Ministerial cheers.) So that what we are now witnessing in this House is uncommonly like a vote of censure by the criminal classes upon the police. (Loud Ministerial laughter.)

A Unionist Member: You have not arrested the criminals.

Mr. Churchill: Oh, is that the complaint? It is that we have been too lenient? If so, that is the only accusation I am not prepared to answer. (Ministerial laughter and cheers.) I should like the House to notice that in 2 Vic., Chapter 3, the offense of using force to induce the King to change his councils or to try to intimidate or overawe either or both Houses of Parliament is placed on a level with two of the vilest crimes, namely, endeavouring to subvert the Throne of this country or to bring in a foreign enemy. (Ministerial cheers.) We have to face every day the revilings of your ferocious Press. (Ministerial laughter.) But your condemnation is contained in the statutes and the laws of the British Realm, in Acts of Parliament which have for generations and centuries been respected and enforced by the people of these Islands, and which are indeed the necessary and indispensable foundation of order by government and civilised society. (Ministerial cheers.)

Language far stronger, far crueller, than any which your most partisan speaker or your most patriotic editor—(Ministerial laughter)—has been able to introduce into speech or leading article is found on the grave and severe pages of the English Statute-book. In these circumstances we can afford to retain our composure. (Ministerial cheers.)

POSITION OF CONSERVATIVES.

But what is the position of the Conservative party in regard to events which are taking place in Ireland? The Conservative party—the party of the comfortable and the wealthy, the party of those who have most to gain by the continuance of the existing social system—here they are committed to naked revolution—(Ministerial cheers)—committed to a policy of armed violence, to the utter defiance of lawfully constituted authority—committed to tampering with the discipline of the Army and the Navy—(Ministerial cheers)—committed to obstructing the highway and the telegraphs and to overpowering the police, the coastguard, and the Customs officials—committed to smuggling in arms by moonlight—committed to tyrannical seizure of ships and to the unlawful imprisonment of the King's servants. The Conservative party as a whole are committed to that. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

The right hon. gentleman the member for Walton (Mr. F. E. Smith) has left us in no doubt about that. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Junior Imperial League, he said: "Sir Edward Carson has taken no steps and he will take no steps, however extreme they may be, for which we shall not make ourselves responsible here as representing a majority of the English constituencies." That is their position, and while the newspapers are chuckling with nervous glee as each sorry event is recorded, while they are hurriedly collecting information as if it were news from Mexico or some other disturbed area, and bringing out special editions with the utmost satisfaction—all the time this is going on, let me point out to the Conservative party and those associated with them that there is in this country a great democracy—(cheers and counter cheers)—millions of whom are forced to live their lives under conditions which leave them stripped of all but the barest necessities, who are repeatedly urged to be patient under their misfortunes, and to wait year after year and Parliament after Parliament until in the due workings of the Constitution some satisfaction is given to their clamant needs. All the time this great audience is watching—(Ministerial cheers),—and is learning from you, from those who have hitherto called themselves the party of law and order, how much they care for law and how much they value order if it stands in the way of anything they like. (Ministerial cheers.)

THE PREMIER'S OFFER.

If I am to go back in this controversy I would like to begin at what I must consider the turning point in the Home Rule discussion—I mean the rejection of the Prime Minister's offer of the 9th March. It was necessary to Mr. Chamberlain's argument that he should make out that there had been no rejection. But he quoted with approval the expression "hypocritical sham" which had been applied to the Prime Minister's proposal. He said: "The Government had made an advance, and we recognised it." How did they recognise it? The very next day Sir Edward Carson wrote: "It is clear to my mind that so far as our preparations are concerned the pronouncement of the Government, if anything, necessitates a still more forward movement." That is what Mr. Chamberlain describes as the Government making an advance and the Conservative party recognising it. (Laughter.) I cannot understand why when that pronouncement was made by the Prime Minister the spokesmen of the party opposite could not have said: "Although this is not what we require, it constitutes the greatest step forward towards a settlement that has ever been made." Had that language been used I venture to think the threads would not have been severed which have been interrupted. The Government made the greatest offer it was in their power to make, and it was summarily and incontinently rejected. What were the results of that act? It was perfectly clear that there was no possibility of settlement so long as one party in the House believed that it had only got to go on bullying the other and in the end the other would be incapable of taking an effective steps to maintain its authority.

While one party in a dispute is prepared to go to all extremes, and it is its firm belief that the other will in no circumstances take the necessary action to defend its rights and discharge its duties, there is no possibility of any effective parley between them. (Ministerial cheers.) From the moment that the declaration of the Prime Minister was made, there was no more question of the coercion of Ulster by the Government. Six years must intervene before the question of the inclusion of Ulster needed to arise again.

COERCION OF ULSTER.

There was no question of coercing Ulster. The question was of our preventing Ulster from coercing us. (Ministerial cheers.) In the differences which remained in regard to Ulster, taken by themselves, there was no foothold of foundation for civil war. It is clear that those who were preparing civil war had other purposes besides Ulster in their mind. (Ministerial cheers.) They were preparing to defeat the general policy of Home Rule, and they were preparing to subvert the regular system of parliamentary government in this country. Whatever sympathy we may have for Ulster, there is no room for concession or weakness in face of a challenge of that kind. (Ministerial cheers.) If parliamentary government is exposed to challenge in this country we are bound to take up the challenge and fight it out to the very end. (Renewed cheers.) Nothing would be more disastrous than that hon. gentlemen opposite should suppose that they and their Ulster friends are the only people in this country who are prepared to risk their lives. (Ministerial cheers.) The supreme issue lies here, but the actual events are taking place on the Irish stage.

What was the situation in Ireland the second week in March? There was an Orange army, strong and efficient, no doubt. No one can do more justice to it than has been done to it by its own friends. (Ministerial laughter.) Scattered about Ulster were the scanty police and Military forces of the Crown, and depôts of arms and ammunition of great consequence to the growing illegal military force. We had, of course, police and military reports accumulated over a long period of time; we had the advice of general officers, and we had many other sources of information as to what was proceeding. We had Sir Edward Carson's statement as to the large sums of money spent on arms and ammunition.

MILITARY PRECAUTIONS.

We had therefore to survey the whole military situation in Ireland with all its possibilities, actual and contingent. That survey comprised three separate spheres. First of all there was the question of the battle squadron with attendant ships which it was decided in the Cabinet on the 11th March should be stationed upon the west coast of Scotland with view to being at hand should intervention in Irish disorders become necessary or desirable. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition counter cheers.) I have never attempted to conceal the fact. Will any one say it was an improper or improvident proceeding on the part of the Government. That is entirely separate from the second sphere of our inquiry that relating to the defence of the military depôts.

Mr. Chamberlain has spent a great deal of time in trying to make mystery, obscurity and difficulty out of what is perfectly clear and plain. Those large stores ranged from thirty to eighty-five tons of small arm ammunition scattered about in entirely unprotected positions. They had as guards very small bodies of infantry, largely recruits and old soldiers, and those men were in some cases almost equally divided between Protestants and Catholics. There was every possibility of these stores being a temptation, either to a serious movement by responsible people or to being the prey of some spontaneous and irresponsible movement. Then there were three batteries of field artillery at Dundalk, and although the Orange army has since replenished its rifles and ammunition, it is believed to be deficient in field artillery; the military authorities pointed out to us that that artillery, weakly guarded, was the most dangerously exposed part of our dispositions. We therefore moved two battalions of troops to reinforce those various points, and we also sent General Macready to Belfast in order that he might concert and co-ordinate measures by which the scattered police and military on the spot might combine in the event of a general hostile movement being taken against them by the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) and his army. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.)

The only use of ships in connection with this movement was which the scattered police and military on the spot might combine the event of a general hostile movement being taken against them by the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) and his army. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.)

The only use of ships in connection with this movement was that two scouts were used to carry two companies to Carrickfergus in order not to rail them through Belfast, which it was thought might lead to trouble. That is the whole of the movements authorised by the Cabinet or by any member of the Cabinet. Does anyone say, in view of the desperate steps now taken to obtain arms by the Orange leaders, that the measure that we then proposed, which I have unfolded to the House, was inappropriate or premature or unnecessary in any respect? (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

STUDY OF CONTINGENCIES.

Now I come to the third subject in our general survey of the military position in Ireland. We made a free and confidential survey with our military advisers, including the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, into the general situation, actual and prospective, not only in Ulster, but in Ireland as a whole. It is a recognised process of all military departments to study effectively all contingencies, however improbable, that may be reasonably apprehended. In this case an element of greater reality was imparted into our consideration by the fact that these small definite movements had been authorised and were going to take place, and that the General charged with them believed that they might easily entail far larger and far graver consequences. We did not accept his view, and the event has proved that we were right in the judgment and measures we took of the whole situation. Sir A. Paget was also right to be over-cautious.

I am not going into details of confidential discussions which we held with Sir A. Paget and other Generals, nor am I going to give plans and movements which would have been appropriate to a situation which has not yet arisen, which probably will never arise, but which, nevertheless, may arise. I think it is a very cool request—(Ministerial cheers)—on the part of gentlemen engaged

in planning military operations against the organised Government of the State, and in arming, as they tell us, 100,000 men with rifles and ammunition to shoot down the King's servants. (Ministerial cheers.) I think it is a very cool request to ask to be informed what, in each of these particular eventualities are the precise military or police measures which will be adopted against them. (Ministerial cheers.)

Of course, my responsibilities are limited, but I am anxious to take the fullest responsibility for everything I have said or done either publicly or confidentially in this matter, but, broadly speaking, the contingencies we considered were these:—

First of all an armed attack upon our small depôts or on the forces marching to protect them, including the guns at Dundalk.

Secondly, we considered the measures which would be appropriate and necessary if the Provisional Government were set up in Belfast either consequent upon these small movements we were making or at a later period.

We considered that under two heads—whether that Government would be set up bloodlessly or whether it was set up after the murder of a number of police and others. (Ministerial cheers.) No movements of any kind were authorised other than those I have described, but in view of the fact that Sir A. Paget thought that grave events might follow from these movements, we gave him to understand that large reinforcements would be sent him if these contingencies arose, and he left with the confidence that even if the most extreme and improbable contingencies arose he would be properly supported by the Government, as he has been and will, if necessary, be supported. (Ministerial cheers.)

DUTY OF THE EXECUTIVE.

Does anybody dispute the propriety of that? If British troops marching on the King's highway were shot down and slain by rebel rifles if the guns at Dundalk had been attacked before they could have been covered by infantry, if the 85 tons of ammunition at Carrickfergus had been assailed, it would be the absolute duty of the Executive Government with every man or gun they could command. (Ministerial cheers and counter Opposition cheers.)

It would be the duty of the military department to be fully prepared to execute any orders they might receive from the Government, and so far as I am concerned, I wish to make it perfectly plain that if British troops are attacked and fired on and loss of life occur to them, I would take every measure within my power that I have authority for to secure that the persons making that attack shall receive the most condign chastisement—(Ministerial cheers)—at the time and are afterwards proceeded against with the full rigor of the law. (Renewed Ministerial cheers and counter Opposition cheers.)

RESORT TO FORCE.

Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that these things could never have happened—they did not happen; they never could happen. Then in that case nothing could happen on our part either. The use of force rests with them. It does not rest with us. They are the masters of the situation in that respect.

We shall not use force till force is first used against the representatives of law and order. We shall in no circumstances use more legal force than is necessary to maintain or restore order.

Best, therefore, they take life first their lives will not in any circumstances be in danger. But if they do, we are bound to use all the forces at our disposal, and to take all necessary measures to secure the vindication of the law and the repression of disorder. (Ministerial cheers.)

From that there is absolutely no escape. Whatever mistakes hon. gentlemen opposite may make, do not let them imagine that they are dealing with a Government or with individuals who will flinch from doing their duty in that respect. (Ministerial cheers.) The Government have an absolute right, if they choose, at any time to make movements far in excess of those that have been made. We have a perfect right at any time we think fit to put 40,000 or 50,000 men in Ulster, to begin the arrest of leaders, the seizure of arms, and the general prevention of drilling. (Ministerial cheers.) We have always rejected the idea of such measures, and we do not consider, and have not at any time considered, that they would be wise or appropriate in the circumstances with which we had so far to deal. I am very anxious indeed that no words should come from me or from any member of the Government which would seem to admit for a moment that we limit our rights to dispose of His Majesty's forces in the King's Dominions in any way we choose to maintain law and order. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition counter cheers.)

Mr. A. Chamberlain has accused us of having wished to seize strategic points. A pretty pass we have come to when we are told that British troops may not march about within the United Kingdom. (Ministerial cheers.) I did not believe at the time that, these definite precautionary measures would provoke an outbreak nor did they. (Hear, hear.) The movement of troops by sea in order to avoid going through Belfast was only part of careful measures we took to prevent it being possible to bring armed opposition to bear upon these small bodies or small movements while they were actually in process of taking place.

TALK OF CIVIL WAR.

All this talk of civil war has come from the party opposite. For the last two years we have been forced to threats of civil war.

What do they mean by civil war? Do they think it would be a war in which only one side would take part—all dazzling exploits and brilliant gun-running on the side of rebellion and nothing but fiendish plots on the side of the Government? (Opposition cheers.)

Do they really suppose they will be conducting a campaign against the Government and the Crown in the field and at the same time asking the Government and Ministers awkward questions about their military operations? (Ministerial cheers.) A sense of humour ought at least to have saved them from that. (Laughter.)

I do not believe that rebellion or civil war will come. I wish to make it perfectly clear—that if rebellion comes we shall put it down (Ministerial cheers)—and that if it comes to civil war we shall do our best to conquer in that war. But there will be neither rebellion nor civil war unless it is the making of the Opposition. (Ministerial cheers.)

Reference has been made to my Bradford speech, to which I adhere strictly. I said that if Ulster sought peace and fair play she could find it, that if she extended the hand of friendship it would be grasped by Liberals and her Nationalist countrymen in all good faith and good will. But if there was no wish for peace, and if the Government and Parliament of this great country were to be exposed to menace and sinister influences of a revolution, then we should go forward and put it down. (Ministerial cheers.) I say so still.

DESIRE FOR A SETTLEMENT.

I will venture to ask the House once more at this moment in our difficulties to consider whether we are going. I ask the House to consider whether we ought not to try to find even at this period to make some final effort to reach a better solution. Apart from the dangers which exist at home, let us look at the consequences abroad. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. Hunt (U., Ludlow): Who brought it about? (Ministerial cries of "You.")

Mr. Churchill: Anxiety is caused in every friendly country by the belief that for the time being Great Britain cannot act. The high mission of the country is thought to be in abeyance, and the balance of Europe appears for the time to be deranged. Of course, foreign countries never really understand us. They do not know that at the touch of external difficulties or menace all these affairs of internal controversy would disappear and we should be brought into line.

Why cannot men form some new basis of co-operation in vital things? Sir E. Carson is running great risks in strife. Why not run some risk for peace. The key is in his hands. Any day some event may happen which will condemn us all to a continuance of this struggle and shatter perhaps irretrievably the greatness of our country. Let the right hon. gentlemen consider whether he will not run some risk for peace. In spite of the partisanship of our politics and conflicting party interests, peace with honour is not beyond the reach of all. Tomorrow it may be gone for ever.

I am going to run some little risk upon my own account in what I am going to say. Why cannot Sir E. Carson say boldly, "Give me the amendments to the Home Rule Bill; I ask for to safeguard the dignity and interests of Protestant Ulster, and in return I will use all my influence and good will to make Ireland an integral unit in the Federal system." (Ministerial cheers.) If the right hon. gentleman used language of that kind in a spirit of sincerity it would go far to transform the political situation, and I firmly believe that procession of hideous and hateful moves and counter-moves which we are forced to discuss, and that hateful avenue down which we have looked too long, would give place to a bright prospect which would bring honour and not discredit to all concerned, and would save these islands from the evils for which our children will hold us accountable. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Albania.

London, May 26.

Italy urgently desires the despatch of an international force to Durazzo, France and Russia are acquiescent. Austria-Hungary does not oppose the idea. Great Britain, on the otherhand, is disinclined to it and has not replied to the suggestion. Germany likewise has not answered.

London, May 27.

The International force at Skutari being insufficient, a proposal has since been made to send an International expedition to Albania. The Powers forming the Triple Entente appear, however, unwilling.

Rome, May 27.

In the Chamber yesterday, Marquis Di San Giuliano, dealing with the situation in Albania, said that other countries at the outset of their independence had overcome greater difficulties. He hoped Albania would do the same. The insurrection was partly social, partly agrarian and partly democratic. It was also the outcome of Musulman fears of predominance of a Christian minority. Essad Pasha had undertaken not to return to Albania without the permission of the Powers. The Marquis added that he had had an active exchange of views with Count Berchtold on the situation, which had inspired mutual confidence and loyalty. The results were agreed on the necessity for consolidating Albania and the authority

of the Prince. Previous decisions with regard to Epirus could not be modified. They would do the utmost to assent to the despatch of an international force to Durazzo from Skutari.

Greece.

Washington, May 29.

The Secretary for the Navy has submitted to the Naval Committee of the Senate a proposal to sell for original cost the battleships 'Idaho' and 'Mississippi' to a foreign Power, understood to be Greece. Mr. Daniels made a speech, in which he said that the vessels were only useful for harbour defence and the proceeds of their sale would almost suffice for the construction of an additional dreadnought.

Anglo-Italian Relations.

London, May 27.

Marquis Di San Giuliano, in a long statement regarding Anglo-Italian relations in Eastern Mediterranean, dwelt on the extremely cordial and loyal attitude of Great Britain in the matter of railways in Asia. He explained the details of an agreement whereby Italians obtain railway concessions southwards of the Smyrna-Aidin line, and the British, northward thereof.

Egypt.

London, May 27.

Lord Kitchener's report on the condition of Egypt has been issued. He refers to the complete tranquility of the past year and anticipates years of uninterrupted progress and development. He has every confidence in the commonsense of Egyptians and hopes that representatives in the New Assembly have learned the lesson that noisy extremists and outside political influences must be eliminated in the interests of the improvement of the masses and the progress of the country.

Referring to sanitary conditions in Egypt Lord Kitchener points out that the people no longer object to isolation for infectious diseases. Notification is now general and concealment is an exception. Returning pilgrims now come voluntarily for medical examination. Plague is now well under control and appears to be yielding to steady campaign against it. Lord Kitchener suggests that an elementary primer on Hygiene be used as a text-book in all village schools. The old soldiers of the Egyptian Army, says His Lordship, would probably make suitable sanitary inspectors. In view of high infant mortality maternity schools have been established and midwives trained under qualified English matrons. There is a growing demand for cotton seed from Government which is being distributed to cultivators.

Anglo-Persian Agreement.

London, May 26.

A Blue-Book gives the details of the Anglo-Persian Oil Agreement. The Admiralty memorandum in the Book indicates the importance of providing fuel for the Navy, which it says, is absolutely necessary to secure full efficiency of the Navy. The memorandum points out that it is, therefore, important to secure the maintenance of at least one large British Oil Company, having independent control and considerable supplies and bound to Government by financial and contractual obligations. The prices

at which oil itself has been obtained has been kept secret, the supply contract being regarded as confidential in the interests of the public.

The Report of the Committee of experts, presided over by Rear-Admiral Sir E. J. W. Slade, strongly favours Government action. It remarks on the influence of the Anglo-Persian Company which, it says, has increased with the general tranquility of the district. The Committee points out, however, that it would be wrong to assume that there would never be a relapse in the event of an outbreak of lawlessness among the tribes. The situation would present certain difficulties which, though serious, would not be insurmountable.

Technical Scholarships.

Simla, May 27.

The Government of India have this year sanctioned the award of ten State Technical Scholarships to the following candidates for a course of training in Europe in the subjects noted against each:—(1) Mr. D. M. Analsadvala, Sizing and Weaving; (2) Mr. P. R. Udawadia, Architecture and building construction. He will undergo a training for two years in India and then proceed to Europe for a half-year to complete his training; (3) Mr. Upendra Nath Banerji, Mechanical Engineering; (4) O. D'Souza, Electrical Engineering; (5) Mr. Bashir-ud-din Ahmad, Municipal and Sanitary Engineering; (6) Mr. Arjan Das, Textile Industry; (7) Mr. W. Sorby, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering; (8) Mr. Baidai Sartan Bhargava, Mining; (9) Mr. Kasi Nath Saikui, Paper Pulp Industry; (10) Mr. Abdul Gaffoor Khan, Electrical Engineering.

China.

London, May 28.

Vicomte James Bryce was the principal guest at dinner of the Central Asian Society last night. He gave his impressions of his recent travels. He said that Siberia was being steadily settled and that within thirty or forty years its population would probably have quadrupled itself. There was never a stranger thing in the world's history than the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty without a voice or arm being lifted in its support. To say that it had been replaced by a Republic in an effective sense was farcical. Yuan-Shih Kai might keep going as long as he had money to pay his troops, but who would come after him if the Central Government collapsed? They might see China broken up into separate Principalities as she was two thousand years ago. This would mean great bloodshed and dislocation of trade; and the Powers should support the Central Government as affording the best chance of future peace.

South Africa.

Johannesburg, May 29.

In an interview with Ruter's representative, Mr. Polak said that the Bill amending the South African Immigration Act dealt with the two main causes of the passive resistance, namely the three-pound tax and the marriage question. He had received a telegram from Mr. Gandhi stating that it appeared to be satisfactory. In order however to comply with the requirements of the Passive Resisters, Mr. Polak said it would be necessary to get assurances from the Government that the Immigration Act would be more sympathetically administered and that due regard would be paid to vested interests in the application of gold and licensing laws. Mr. Polak further pointed out that the acceptance of the present Bill with every measure of thankfulness did not mean the abrogation of a general claim for a civil equality in South Africa. The remaining two points, namely the right of South African-born Indians to enter the Cape and the declaration on the entrance into Orange Free State Mr. Polak described, as small matters of administration.

Indian Council Bill

London, May 28.

The Indian Council Bill has been printed. It provides that the number of members of the Council shall not be less than seven and not more than ten. When a vacancy in the Council has to be filled the appointee must domiciled in India, unless at least two of the existing members of the Council were at the time of their appointment domiciled in India, unless at least six of the existing members were when appointed domiciled in India or had served or resided in India for at least ten years and had not ceased to serve or reside for more than five years before their appointment. The appointee to fill the vacancy must either be domiciled in India or have so served or resided. The appointment of the Indian member shall be made from a list of persons eligible chosen by non-official members of the Legislative Councils. He will receive a salary of £1,200 with yearly allowance of £600. The Bill empowers the Secretary of State to appoint one financial expert as member of the Council on special terms. The Bill contains provision whereby the signature of the Secretary of State to an order or communication to India or an order in the United Kingdom relating to

Government of India may be dispensed with. It empowers the Secretary of State to make rules for the transaction of business under various restrictions.

Allahabad, May 29.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables:—The India Council Bill is quite short. Most of the changes have been foreshadowed in the speeches of Lord Crewe and Mr. Montagu. Addition is made to salaries bringing them to £1,200. The Indian members appointed shall in future have allowance of £600. Before appointing the financial expert on special terms the Secretary of State must record in a minute to Parliament, the terms and special reasons for the appointment. Orders sent to or made in relation to the Government of India shall not necessarily be signed by the Secretary of State when the Secretary of State in Council otherwise directs. The Rules by the Secretary of State affecting the powers to be given to the Committee or the necessity of submitting certain matters to the Council must be laid before the Parliament subject to the annulment by His Majesty in Council on a petition of either House within thirty days.

Simla, May 29.

Information which has reached Simla shows that the following are amongst the effects of the India Council Bill just introduced into the British Parliament. The pay of the members of the Council is restored to the figure at which it stood prior to 1907, viz., twelve hundred pounds annually each except for (1) the two Indian members who are now to be a permanent feature of the Council and who will get eighteen hundred pounds annually each, and (2) the financial member who may be engaged on special terms. The maximum strength of the Council is reduced from fourteen members to ten (which is the number now existing) and this number which has hitherto been the minimum will be liable to a possible reduction hereafter to seven which is the new minimum. There will not, however, be altogether a corresponding reduction in the number of members with Indian experience, the new minimum number for such members being now fixed at six against old minimum which varied between six and eight. The two Indian members will in future be selected by the Secretary of State from candidates elected by the non-official members of the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils in India but the precise rules for these elections have not yet been disclosed. It is also not yet known what powers, if any, of disposing of business will accompany the arrangement provided by the Bill whereby the authority to sign certain despatches may be delegated by the Secretary of State to the Committee of the Council. The extra payment to the two Indian members is of the nature of an away-from-home allowance and is on the principle whereby Europeans in India received more pay than Indians alongside them.

London, May 29.

An explanatory memorandum to India Council Bill points out that with a simpler procedure much unimportant work now occupying time of standing committees and Council would be disposed of by Secretary of State with assistance of individual members of committees to be specially nominated by him when required. Bill provides for simplification of business procedure and enable Secretary of State in Council to make rules to modify procedure prescribed in Act of 1858. Requirement of weekly meetings of Council is dispensed with and quorum has been reduced. Opportunity has been taken to enlarge in a way which experience has shown to be desirable the category of cases which may be dealt with by Secretary of State in his "secret" department without informing or consulting Council.

London, May 29.

Lord Crewe's Council Bill rejects the demand of the National Congress for a Council of nine, three being Indians elected by local legislatures. The substituted Council will have ten members, and only two Indians. These will be nominated by the Secretary of State from a panel of forty persons, chosen by non-official members of the legislatures. The Bill also extends powers to the Secretary of State to send to India secret orders without consulting the Council.—*Statesman*.

London, June 1.

The *Times* to-day publishes an article on the provisions of the new Council of India Bill by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, one of the delegates from the Indian National Congress. Mr. Jinnah describes the Bill as being most disappointing. There can be no doubt that what appears at first blush to be some sort of principle of election is to all practical purposes illusory. Large numbers of electors will be creatures of the official class and not representatives of the people. Mr. Jinnah postpones criticism of the remaining clauses pending explanation. He does not think, however, that it is desired to create a portfolio system.

Simla, June 1.

Further particulars now received of the India Council Bill introduced into Parliament by Lord Crewe last Monday show that

the method of election by Legislative Councils in India for nominees from whom occupants of the two seats reserved for Indian members are to be selected will be governed by Rules to be made by the Secretary of State in Council. The new scale of pay, already announced, will apply to members appointed after the passing of the Bill.

The Bill empowers the Secretary of State to fix dates for meetings of the Council, thus replacing the present arrangement under which meetings are held weekly. In future, three members will form a quorum. The Bill also extends section 27 of the Act of 1858 regarding secret orders so as to cover questions gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India, her interests abroad or peace or security of any part of the Empire. They will enable the Secretary of State, to act in grave political matters without referring them to his Council.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, May 27.

The decision as to whether or not the passengers of "Komagata Maru" shall be deported or not cannot be reached for several days. An attempt was made last night on part of the Hindus of Vancouver to get to the vessel and take off some of those on board. This was frustrated by the vigilance of the Immigration authorities. The watch afloat has now been doubled.

Fearing weakening on the part of the authorities in Ottawa the Vancouver Board of Trade has sent a memorial to the Government demanding the exclusion of all Indian immigrants. Gurdit Singh continues in the belief that all opposition to landing comes from the cheap labour element.

Ottawa, May 28.

In the Dominion House of Commons yesterday, Government was interrogated as regards the action to be taken in the case of the Hindus, detained at Victoria on the "Komagata Maru". The Premier replied that twenty had been admitted on the ground that they were returning to Canada and several excluded as the result of physical tests. Regarding others, law and regulations would be enforced. Asked whether if an application was made for "Habeas Corpus", Government would rest its case on the ground that the Courts had no jurisdiction, Mr. Borden answered that if such an application was made Government would resist it through Counsel.

Gurdit Singh had asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission definitely to settle the rights of Hindus generally. This might be granted by Government.

Vancouver, May 29.

Hindus have offered one hundred thousand sterling in cash and property as bail for passengers by the "Komagata Maru" if the latter are allowed to land pending the decision of courts. The fight will be carried to the Privy Council. The decision of the latter has already upheld the right of the Dominion to exclude aliens; but it is not certain whether the Dominion has the right to exclude, by an order in Council British subjects who fulfill the requirements of Immigration Laws.

Victoria, May 31.

An enquiry presided over by the Immigration Superintendent will open here to-morrow to investigate the claims of the passenger on the "Komagata Maru."

The Indians will be represented by a lawyer and Gurdit Singh will meet all charter obligations to enable the "Komagata Maru" to remain, pending legal decision.

Ottawa, June 2.

Replying to a question in the Dominion House of Commons, Mr. Roche, Minister of the Interior, said that ninety of the ship-load of Hindus at Victoria had been rejected as medically unfit, and thirteen had been allowed to enter the country as being persons who had returned to Canada.

Mr. Oliver, ex-Minister of the Interior, said that the Hindus had thrown out a challenge which should be met half-way.

Mr. Roche replied that he hoped that the present law was sufficient to prevent the entry of undesirables. If it was not the law would be amended.

Mr. Borden stated that he regretted that the Hindus had made this attempt, in view of the fact that the order prohibiting the entry of artisans into British Columbia did not discriminate against Hindus in particular.

Replying to a question, he announced that the Government would, if necessary, submit the section of the Immigration Act which prevents the interference of courts with the order of the Minister of the Interior.

Victoria, June 1.

No deportations of Hindus have yet been ordered.



Our London Letter.

London, May 15.

THE GRIMSBY BY-ELECTION.

The result of the by-election in Grimsby has undoubtedly proved very satisfactory to the Government. It is true that Mr. Tickler,

the Unionist candidate, is returned; but he is returned by a majority more than 400 fewer than that which the Unionist candidate received at the previous election. It will not serve any useful purpose to over-state the significance of this fact; but it will be admitted in all quarters that it certainly shows no reaction against the Liberal policy. No effort had been spared to bring the menace of "civil war" before the electorate and Sir Edward Carson and his faithful galloper, Mr. F. E. Smith, had beaten the Ulster drum with all their incomparable fervour. The result of all this has been a substantial fall in the Tory majority. The Opposition may draw whatever comfort they can, but the country is not likely to overlook the real meaning of this by-election.

THE FINAL STAGES.

The House of Commons on Tuesday was called upon to accept a closure resolution dealing with the Home Rule Bill, the Welsh Bill and the Plural Voting Bill, all of which have passed their second reading more than once and the first two Bills three times. Mr. Asquith took the opportunity of explaining the course the Government proposes to adopt. The Plural Voting Bill, which has another year to run, requires no special treatment. As to the Welsh Bill, it is not known authoritatively whether the House of Lords mean to give it a second reading or to amend it in Committee. If they amend it, the amendments can be considered on the return of the Bill to the Commons, and there is no need to have a suggestion stage in the Commons. This explanation, obvious enough, disposes of the legend circulated once more by Mr. Balfour that under the Parliament Act no Bill can be amended. It can be amended, as the *Daily News* says, in precisely the way that any other Bill can be—by the consent of both Houses. The only difference is that the initiative in amending must be taken in the Lords; and as the Government can make its suggestions there as well as the Opposition, that difference is only formal. The case of the Home Rule Bill is different from those of the other two measures. It has been officially announced by the leaders of the Opposition—and Mr. Bonar Law repeated it on Tuesday—that the Home Rule Bill will be rejected by the Lords on the second reading. Under those circumstances a suggestion stage in the Commons with a debate upon it would be a waste of time. The Government, therefore, will send the Bill up to the Lords before Whitsun, and it will become law under the operation of the Parliament Act a month afterwards.

It might be thought that, having decided upon this, there was no more for the Government to do. That is not Mr. Asquith's view. The Government will, shortly after the Home Rule Bill has gone up to the Lords, introduce an amending Bill in the Commons, in which it will set out the concessions it means to make. The reason offered by Mr. Asquith for this course is that it will give a prolonged term for discussion and for the arrangement of a settlement by consent. The Opposition want to have it on record that they are unalterably opposed to Home Rule in any shape or form. They are to be given the opportunity of putting that on record by voting steadily to the end against the Home Rule Bill. On the other hand, they know that Home Rule in one shape or other must come, but they want it to appear that they are consenting not to Home Rule, but to a device for averting "civil war." Hence an amending Bill. Well, it may be prudent to do rather unusual things in order to save the face of the Opposition, and even Liberals who have no special desire to help Mr. Bonar Law and his colleagues out of their embarrassments, will make no objection to this device. But, these formalities apart, the central question is, what is to be in the Amending Bill, and what chance has this of acceptance by the leaders of the Opposition? One may assume after Mr. Lloyd George's speech on Tuesday that the original draft of the Amending Bill will embody the concessions outlined on the occasion of the second reading, but Mr. Asquith talks of subsequent "concerted discussion, not perhaps on the floor of the House, though ultimately on the floor." That can hardly mean anything else than further concessions. Whether these concessions are acceptable to Liberal Home Rulers will depend upon their character; but it is clear that such a mode of procedure has the grave disadvantage of putting upon the Government once again the onus of further advance and of setting it upon a road which may easily prove dangerous.

Mr. Bonar Law's reply on Tuesday showed what it means. He told Mr. Asquith that he sees no reason whatsoever to share the hope that the Amending Bill will bring peace, and he added that "the only conversations which are of interest or which could serve any useful purpose are conversations between the Prime Minister and Mr. Redmond." In other words, no suggestion, no advance is to be made by the Opposition. If there is to be "peace" it will come only because Home Rulers, who have already made such grave concessions, are to make still further concessions, and that in Mr. Law's vocabulary means the perpetual exclusion of Ulster (even of such parts of Ulster as desire to come under a Home Rule Parliament) and the permanent mutilation and division of Ireland. It is not surprising that Mr. Redmond finds such a prospect disturbing and holds himself and his party free to act as they think fit should anything of the kind happen. We must assume that the Government rejects forthwith Mr. Law's notion of a compromise, in which

all the sacrifices come from one party and all the gains are made by the other. In the direction of exclusion Liberalism has already gone to the very limits of concessions, and the most promising line of settlement is elsewhere. If the Irish leaders come together with a sole thought of what is best for Ireland, that line will be found.

CHANCELLOR IN A SCENE

During the debate on Tuesday, when it was rumoured that "Balfour was up", members streamed in through the swing doors to hear a speech, not excited, not in terms very violent, but quietly, remorselessly destructive of peace. "Cheated" was the word applied to the loss of the suggestion stage. What was this Amending Bill? Nobody knew. Drop these "subterranean manoeuvres"—produce the Bill—before Home Rule passes—that the House may vote while retaining its "self respect." What had Mr. Hogge advocated? A shorter veto under the Parliament Act as a "settlement of Ireland". "Rather an infelicitous phrase," remarked Mr. Balfour, meaning "the horrors of civil war and the destruction of life and property".

"You would have had no guns", said Mr. Hogge. And despite Mr. Balfour's answering sarcasms there was force in the remark.

The vital part of the speech was Mr. Balfour's triumphant claim that the prospect of the Amending Bill indicated that Home Rule passed under the Parliament Act was defective—wrong—that the Government had admitted it.

That was the sentence that led to the great scene with Mr. Lloyd George. He took the line that all sides want peace, but that Mr. Balfour's "mischievous criticism"—his taunting claim that every concession was an admission of "defect" in Home Rule and the Parliament Act—made conciliation difficult.

As the reasoning proceeded, Mr. Balfour became extraordinarily restive. He tried at first to put a different construction on his argument. But Mr. Lloyd George was not having that. With a stroke of inspiration, he turned to Sir Edward Carson and declared that he was certain that Sir Edward would not treat the overtures in that spirit.

Sir Edward Carson rose slowly. "All I understood my right hon. friend to say was that the Amending Bill should be produced before the Home Rule Bill receives a second reading"—this was his answer.

"A very clever advocate," replied the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "He covers up the tracks"—(interruption)—"well but let me finish my sentence."

Mr. Balfour was again on his feet, very much perturbed—perturbed by the truth. "If you amend your Bill," said he in effect, "you admit that in relation to particular circumstances it can be improved; I don't want to rub it in."

"No, no." Protested the Liberals, and Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the amendments would be concessions—sacrifices—for the sake of peace. "The right hon. gentleman's argument," he cried, "is the way to promote civil war."

A roar of protest prevented further utterance. What Mr. Balfour kept saying could not be heard amid the din, but his shoulders swung forward again and again as he shouted—for shouting it was—his exclamation.

The speaker rose; spoke mildly to the Opposition; explained that they had misunderstood Mr. Lloyd George; he had not accused Mr. Balfour of promoting civil war, but had only urged that certain arguments were calculated to promote civil war.

"Exactly so, Mr. Speaker," said the Chancellor, adding that, of course, he would never have suggested that Mr. Balfour deliberately tried to give cause for bloodshed. But how did it help peace when every offer was "jeered at"?

Mr. Balfour was again at the table—moved beyond his wont—indeed, speaking with great difficulty. "An unfortunate remark of mine," said he with seeming humility. "I withdraw it—(a murmur of sympathy)—and substitute for it not that the amendments will show defects, but that they will add perfections to the Home Rule Bill."

A hurricane of delighted cheering broke from the Tories, and from this point onwards it was fighting all the way. When Mr. Lloyd George said that Lord Robert Cecil's speech was "unusually offensive", Lord Winterton, amid the chorus of oburgation, got in the remark: "There spoke the expert."

When Mr. Lloyd George denied that the Prime Minister had given a pledge to allow a suggestion stage, a Tory said to his friends: "What matter? He'd break it if he could."

As for secret conclaves, what about meetings at Lansdowne House? "They are angry because these Bills are leaving for the Statute Book," he concluded, and when Lord Robert Cecil asked: "What's your anger about?" the Chancellor not only claimed that he was "cheery and optimistic"—he looked it.

ANOTHER SCENE: THE SPEAKER'S REBUKE TO EARL WINTERTON.

The past week has been full of lively scenes in the House. The speaker's position has been a most unenviable one, though it is admitted on all hands that Mr. Lowther is fully retaining his reputation for the extraordinary manner in which he has, since his election to the chair, preserved peace and order amongst hon. members, particularly at a time when party feelings run very high and when the least provocation creates intense excitement and wild party passion in the

ranks of the Opposition. The following incident, which occurred on Wednesday, is typical of the series of scenes that the House has been witnessing of late.

The Marquiss of Tullibardine asked the Prime Minister whether the late Secretary for War was still attending committees at the War Office and was still dealing with Army matters; and whether he was still a member of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. Asquith.—The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. As regards the latter part, the late Secretary of State for War is still summoned to meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The Marquiss of Tullibardine.—I ask the right hon. gentleman if he considers it a sound principle that an ex-Cabinet Minister who has lost the confidence of the Cabinet (cries of "Order") should still be summoned to meetings of the Imperial Defence Committee and should still serve on committees which concern the department which he has just quitted.

Mr. Asquith.—My right hon. friend has not lost the confidence of the Cabinet. (Cheers.)

The Marquiss of Tullibardine.—If he has not lost the confidence of the Cabinet, why is he not in office?

The Speaker.—That is going a long way from the question on the paper.

There were loud cheers and interruptions and cries of "Order" from both sides at this point and, amid the uproar, Earl Winterton was heard shouting to the Ministerialists below the gangway: "Order yourself." To this a member retorted, "Order yourself a drink."

Before the noise had ceased, the speaker called on Sir O. Kinloch-Cooke to put the next question, when Earl Winterton, rising amid renewed cries from the Ministerialists, was understood to say: "There are to be no more supplementary questions."

The Speaker.—I ask the noble lord not to attempt to keep order. That responsibility, I am sorry to say, is placed upon me, and I must ask the noble lord not to interfere. If I require his services I will invite them. (Cheers.)

Earl Winterton.—May I in justice be allowed to say that I was going to ask what I thought was a proper question and was not aware of any order preventing me from doing so. Several hon. gentlemen opposite shouted loudly "Order" before you had said anything.

The Speaker.—I beg the noble lord's pardon. I had already called on Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke and he had risen to put his question.

Earl Winterton.—Why I replied to hon. gentlemen opposite was that I was under the impression that you kept order and not they. (Cries of "Order.")

THE TIMES AND A NEW BOGEY: "AMERICANIZATION" OF CANADA.

The *Times* has created a new bogey. It is Canada this time. Its Toronto correspondent, in a long letter, warns the British public, in the usual solemn style of the *Times*, of the approaching danger in Canada, if England would not "look out" in time. "They," the letter proceeds, "can have no natural loyalty to Great Britain, no enthusiasm for the British Empire, no inherited conception of British ideals. Even now the French and foreign elements nearly balance the population of British origin. The French are passive loyalists and devoted Canadians, but they are not generally favourable to closer political co-operation with the mother country. During the war in South Africa the attitude of the French Canadians closely resembled that of the Irish Nationalists. . . .

Who doubts that any movement to establish a Canadian Republic would have support in Quebec? . . . So many English-speaking Americans who have come to Canada continue to subscribe for American journals. Moreover, a multitude of Canadians read, perhaps by preference, sporting papers, weekly journals, and magazines from the neighbouring country. All the Canadian daily newspapers give columns of space to reports of games in the American Baseball Leagues, and there is an international league which embraces Toronto and Montreal. . . . The cable news services are designed primarily for American consumption. This has been conclusively demonstrated in all the recent dispatches covering the struggle between British Liberals and British Unionists over Home Rule for Ireland, describing conditions in Ulster, and estimating the state of feeling in Great Britain. . . . A portion of one Press begins to ascribe all social and political evils in Great Britain to 'the landlords' and 'the aristocracy.' Letters from special correspondents come to Canadian journals aflame with contempt, if not with hatred, for lords and dukes. We have writers aping and demagogues mouthing Lloyd-George, and boldly challenging the foundations of many honoured and venerable British institutions. Is there only concern for 'autonomy' behind the desperate resistance to naval co-operation with Great Britain?

Canada and the United States have common traditions and common institutions, a common language and a common faith. . . . Into the Dominion pour multitudes who will quickly develop a Canadian patriotism. What attitude will they take towards Great Britain and the Empire? What will be the ultimate effect of the Lloyd George teaching on 'Democracy' in Canada? At the moment it is not wholesome. It may become dangerously

divisive and destructive. One catches a new note now and again. As yet we are all passive Imperialists. But there are elements in Canada to which an appeal against Imperialism can be made and who know no "mother country." Do British statesmen and British journalists fully understand the Canadian aspect of the Imperial problem, and how vitally careless handling would affect the whole structure and future of the Empire?"

The *Times*, under the heading, "A warning from Canada," writes a leading article on this subject, in the course of which it expresses a hope that "statesmen in the mother country, and indeed all those who are capable of thinking seriously about the future of the Empire, will take its warning to heart." "As time goes on," says the article, "are all things working, as they should, for a British Canada in the future, or for an American . . . In the United States, no doubt, there is still the old belief that Canada must some day, and by her own will, be 'annexed' . . . and one Canadian correspondent warns us gravely that the prevailing tendencies are towards what may be generally called 'Americanization.'" "It is time," concludes the article, "for practical people at home to 'wake up' and to get to business."

Your readers will, no doubt, realise for themselves the comparative resemblance which this latest bogey of the *Times* bears to its "Indian peril." It is plain that the strong conservative instincts of the writer are responsible for this most recent humbug. It is a great pity that noble lords in England are being ridiculed by the Canadian Press! It is very sad to think that Mr. Lloyd George's policy of social reform in this country is finding an echo in the Dominion! It is heart-rending to know that the Canadian people are rapidly losing all respect and admiration for the great and ancient aristocratic families of the United Kingdom! It is indeed abominable to realise that democracy is gaining ground in that part of the Empire! It is not very comforting to be told that Home Rule for Ireland is most popular in that great self-governing colony of the Crown! Surely these considerations are sufficient to warrant the *Times* to seriously warn its readers of the approaching danger in Canada! If Canada is going in more for American sports, American films, American journals and American pastimes, what could possibly prevent it from being gradually "absorbed" into the American Republic? The entire line of arguments and the whole discussion of the situation, as produced by the *Times*, are grotesque to the extreme degree. If anything could possibly succeed in shaking the loyalty of the Canadians, it would be the writings of irresponsible journalists, such as the Canadian correspondent of this journal. In fact, no greater libel on the devotion of the people of Canada to the Crown could be possibly imagined. The *Times* is ever busy creating "perils" in various parts of the Empire and the only consolation one could derive under the circumstances is the fact that thinking men and women of this country are not happily now-a-days much influenced by the opinions expressed in its columns. The successive bogeys of the *Times* have been repeatedly exposed in India and elsewhere and it is certain that its latest alarm in connection with the Dominion will prove as false as its numerous predecessors.

INDIAN DELEGATES IN LONDON.

The Indian National Congress delegates, who arrived in London on Sunday last, had a prolonged interview with Lord Crewe on Monday at the India Office. Sir William Waddeburn was also present. They have already visited the House of Commons, where they met the Indian Parliamentary Committee, with whom they discussed the various questions relating to the proposed changes in the India Council.

NEW ANGLO-INDIAN JOURNAL IN LONDON.

A New Anglo-Indian Journal, the *Indiaman*, a weekly "link" with India, has made its first appearance to-day. In it are incorporated both the "Overland Mail" and the "Homeward Mail" established in 1858.

In a leading article it says:—"We believe that under providence the destinies of Great Britain and India are interwoven, and that the bond cannot be broken without results disastrous to India, shameful to Great Britain, and intolerable to the civilized world. But we hold strongly that the bond is the bond of brotherhood and comradeship, and one great object is to make the Indians and the people of the United Kingdom and Great Britain think the best and make the best of one another. We shall avoid the alarmist note, and shall not talk of the "Indian peril". The only peril lies in ignorance and misunderstanding."

The *Indiaman* contains "notes of the week," special articles on the designs of New Delhi, general and provincial Indian news, shipping intelligence, etc. It is obviously too early yet to be able to judge as to how far the *Indiaman* will carry out the spirit of its bond of "brotherhood and comradeship," when dealing with grave Indian matters. Its future career will be followed with no little interest.

TETE TETE



AFTER the deplorable events of last July and August that had occurred at Cawnpore we must be pardoned for exhibiting more than the ordinary amount of interest in the careers of Messrs. Sim and Tyler. The Cawnpore Municipality has recently been in financial straits, and in spite of our sympathy for that body we could not but heave a sigh of relief for the assurance thus indirectly conveyed that Mr. Sim would no longer be able to afford the luxury of pulling down Cawnpore mosques in order to build pavements on "Sanitary" roads. Mr. Tyler had, however, hugged obscurity after having appropriated all the limelight for several months last year, but he has once more appeared before the footlights in the old rôle of the "Protector of Municipal Chairmen".

Mr. Tyler Again.

On the 27th May a point of law of some importance was decided by Mr. Justice Piggott at the Allahabad High Court in the case of one Nathi Mal. Mr. Howard appeared for Nathi Mal and the Assistant Government Advocate represented the Crown. Counsel for Nathi Mal in opening the case remarked that in all his experience he had never come across a case in which the provisions of a section had been so distorted to meet the wishes of a Magistrate. The facts were that proceedings against Nathi Mal were before Mr. Williamson, Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, for an offence under Section 411 of the Indian Penal Code. During the progress of the trial an application to the High Court had been made by Nathi Mal asking for the transfer of his case to some other Magistrate as the applicant did not expect a fair and impartial trial in the court of Mr. Williamson. The High Court rejected the application. Subsequently, on Nathi Mal being called on by the Joint Magistrate for a list of his witnesses, a list was filed, but certain of the witnesses by an order of the Magistrate were not summoned. Against this order of refusal to summon the witnesses an application was made to the High Court which was admitted but not earnestly contested, for by the date it came on for hearing Mr. Williamson had been transferred from Joint Magistrate to Chairman of the Municipal Board, Cawnpore. The case then came before Mr. Johnson who had succeeded Mr. Williamson as Joint Magistrate. Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate of Cawnpore, who could not be supposed to be ignorant of the loss of prestige involved in the transfer of a case from a member of the Premier Service, whether by order or by accident, at this stage purported to act under Section 528 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and passed an order transferring the case for trial to—Mr. Williamson!

THIS was the order which came before Mr. Justice Piggott for disposal.

It was submitted by counsel that the Chairman of the Municipality not exercising any magisterial powers was not a Magistrate within the meaning of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and, secondly, that a Chairman of the Municipality was certainly not "subordinate" to the District Magistrate. The Assistant Government Advocate, evidently possessing a child-like confidence in the superiority of a Collector above all else on God's earth, contended that Mr. Williamson, having been invested under Section 12 of the Code of Criminal Procedure with first class powers, was not divested of the said powers by the transfer, to the post of Chairman. His lordship in disposing of the application remarked: "The District Magistrate in Cawnpore has, for certain reasons given, transferred the criminal case pending in the court of 'Mr. Johnson, Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, for trial to Mr. Williamson, Chairman of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore. I

"have no doubt that when Mr. Williamson was gazetted to the office of the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipal Board and took charge of that office, he was thereby divested of his territorial jurisdiction as Magistrate of the first class attached to the Cawnpore district. Even if it be conceded for purposes of argument that Mr. Williamson continued to be a Magistrate while holding the office of the Chairman of the Municipal Board, I am quite clear that he is not a Magistrate subordinate to the District Magistrate of Cawnpore. The order complained of is not sustainable. It is hereby set aside." So Mr. Tyler thinks that the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality is not only the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality but also a first class Magistrate. Once a Magistrate always a Magistrate, and we daresay Mr. Tyler would have serious objection to giving up the powers of a District Magistrate, including the authority to order the shooting down of little children and old men, if he was gazetted an Opium Agent or Excise Commissioner. *O, sanctas simplicitas!* We wonder whether a transfer across the Styx would matter at all either, and whether the Assistant Government Advocate would not like to have trials by the graveside of Civilians gazetted during their lifetime as Magistrates. Mr. Howard who seemed to have been so shocked at the distortion of a section of the Criminal Procedure Code to suit the wishes of Mr. Tyler evidently knows neither Mr. Tyler nor the elasticity of the various sections of the various Codes in Cawnpore. That, however, is another story. What concerns us here is the fact that a judge of the High Court of Allahabad has tried to teach Mr. Tyler that there is a High Court even in the United Provinces and that it can overrule the wild vagaries of some District Magistrates that pass by the name of judgments and judicial orders. May he prove an apt pupil, or take an early pension.

NAWAB MOHAMED ISHAQ KHAN SAHEB, the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem University Association, writes to us an appreciative letter about our remarks in a recent issue about the Association and the forthcoming elections for its membership and we cordially acknowledge it with thanks.

The Moslem University Association.

He, however, wishes to point out that his appeal for enrolment in the different constituencies have not been limited to the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* only, as we had seemed to suggest. While hoping that his appeals published in the *Gazette* would be reproduced by other journals *suo motu*, the Nawab Sahab tells us that he also thought it advisable to take the precaution of sending extracts from the *Gazette* to more than a hundred Moslem papers with a request to reproduce them, and we find that most of these papers complied with his request. Recently a note was circulated by the Nawab Sahab reminding these papers about the final date for the enrolment of names and inviting people belonging to the various classes of the community to have themselves enrolled by that date. Nay, more. The Nawab Sahab sent numerous letters individually to Graduates, Zamindars and Tax-payers personally known to him and to others interested in the movement. But what was the result? By the end of May, 10 Zamindars, 5 Tax-payers and 6 Graduates had enrolled themselves! It is true that the Press has 15 names to its credit, but it must be remembered that there is no enrolment or annual fee for the Press as there is in the case of the other three constituencies. If all those who have had their names enrolled voted for themselves, the 10 Zamindars would just fill the seats allotted to them, but the Tax-payers would still have half the seats vacant. As for the Graduates, their absorbing interest in the Moslem University is evidenced by the fact that even after the election of every constituent on the register, there will be nearly three times as many seats left unoccupied! If this is not disgraceful we do not know what to call it. Are there no more than 6 Moslem Graduates in all India who have any desire to manage the affairs of a Trust created for the establishment of the Moslem University which has an income of over a lakh of rupees? Is Rs. 15 such a prohibitive figure that no more than 6 Moslem Graduates in all India can afford to pay it as the price of a great privilege? At any rate, if nobody else comes forward to claim privileges that are going abegging, we would urge the Old Boys of the College who own even a bigha of land or pay even rupees as income-tax or who have graduated at least five years ago to send in Rs. 15 each for enrolment as member of as many of the three constituencies as they can. And there is no reason why such Old Boys as have already been elected by the Trustees or the Conference or their own Association should not enroll themselves and secure the right of electing others. Some Old Boys are already enlisting themselves and we hope no less than a hundred Old Boys would enlist as Zamindars and Tax-payers and that two or three hundred would enlist as Graduates. As regards the final date for enrolment, the Nawab Sahab would have been fully justified in refusing to extend the period once more, specially as even after our appeal in the *Comrade* of the 23rd May

no marked improvement is noticeable. But the Nawab Sahab is prepared to extend the period by a month and the final date for enrolment will now be the 15th of July. It is impossible to extend the time beyond this date for the Ramzan will then be upon us and as the College would be closed for the long vacation earlier than usual the staff of the Honorary Secretary will not be available for work in connection with the elections. There is thus still more than a month before us all and we trust it will not be wasted like the last eleven months.

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اى زفٲٲ ٲى ٲبر در هر به باشى زٲٲ باش

Will the Honorary Secretary kindly furnish us with the names of persons enrolled on each register up to date and send us the weekly additions also every Wednesday so that we could publish them in our weekly issues for general information? As regards the representation of the Press, we submit that journals and not individual editors should be elected. Editors are professional men and may cease to be editors or even journalists at any time after their election. We hope this suggestion will be accepted.

MR. SHAUKAT ALI, Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh Old Boys' Association writes to us:—"I would be extremely obliged if you would kindly allow me to appeal to the Old Boys to take up Aligarh and other communal work seriously in hand. The Moslem University Association must be brought into existence as early as possible. The Trustees, the Mohomedan Educational Conference and the Old Boys have already elected their representatives. The Moslem graduates, the zamindars, the tax-payers and the Press have to fill in the vacancies allotted to them respectively. I am informed that owing to various causes, which have been distracting the attention of our people, very few names have been registered in the graduates' and the zamindars' guilds. According to the rules such Aligarh Old Boys as are graduates of 'five years' standing and send in Rs. 15 at once to the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem University Association, would be eligible for election and have a vote. So far only 6 names have been registered for 20 vacancies. The zamindars also can get enrolled by the payment of Rs. 15 only. Ten names have been registered for 10 vacancies. We have no desire to pack the Moslem University Association with the Aligarh Boys, in fact we would be glad to give others a chance; but if they are not forthcoming, the Old Aligarh graduates and Old Boy zamindars should gladly come forward. We are not ashamed of the part the old Aligarhians have taken in communal affairs and I think the general Moslem public has often gratefully acknowledged our services. Our college and its students have won a warm corner for themselves in the hearts of the Mussalmans and never did our community love Aligarh more than it does at the present time. Now, we must devote our time to work for the development of our University. I appeal to all the Old Boys to take this work up in right earnest. They have to build up Aligarh and they must do it. They should help us also (1) in increasing the membership of the Old Boys' Association. (The College needs greater financial aid and we ought to contribute our share to it), (2) in clearing up arrears due from them, and (3) in the building of the upper storey of the 'Old Boys' Lodge, so that in future, we may be free to place all our income at the disposal of the College. We Old Boys must wake up now."

The London correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing about the annual meeting of the Sailors' Home, "Chilling Silence". at which Lord Ampthill was re-elected chairman for another year, says that the Rev. J. P. Haythornwaite, late Principal of St. John's College, Agra, dwelt on the besetting sin of Englishmen, "which he described as racial arrogance". The correspondent accuses the Rev. Haythornwaite of "questionable taste" on this account. He declares that the annual meeting of an institution "maintained by the gifts of English people for the succour and comfort of a humble class of Asiatics was scarcely appropriate for a discussion of the vexed question of the admission of Indians to European clubs". He is consoled to think, however, that "the speech was received in chilling silence." Evidently the correspondent is of opinion that the Asiatic Sailors' Home is not a fit place in which to talk about the improvement of social intercourse between Indians and Englishmen. He would rather expect the speakers to lecture the "humble class of Asiatics" on the duty of gratitude and on the bountifulness of European charity. If the Rev. Haythornwaite had talked the usual, comforting platitudes about the White Man's burden and praised the sweet urbanity of temper and large humility of Englishmen in India, the correspondent would have thought differently of his sense and taste. But he chose to say exactly what he felt to be the truth. His critic, however, seems to have no stomach for such unsavoury things. Subjects going to the roots of the problems which may have a decisive bearing on the relations between India and England are evidently becoming, like religion, mere matters of taste—at least

among a class of Englishmen of which the London correspondent of the *Times of India* is the type. Racial arrogance expresses itself in various forms. But it finds its most characteristic expression in "chilling silence".

We regret the Bengal Government has so far done little to allay the growing excitement among the Mussalmans of Calcutta in regard to the fate of several mosques and burial places involved in the Kidderpore Docks Extension Scheme.

Mosques and Burial Places.

The Mosque Defence Committee in Calcutta had decided sometime ago to send a deputation to H. E. the Governor with a view to lay before him the facts of the case. It appears, however, that Lord Carmichael has declined to receive the deputation saying that he is fully aware of the facts and of the requirements of the Moslem law on the subject and that the proposed deputation would serve no useful purpose. If Lord Carmichael is aware of the Islamic law in relation to mosques and burial places, we are at a loss to understand why he is keeping the Mussalmans in acute suspense. The Islamic law in this respect is most emphatic and well-defined and can admit of no ambiguity. It lays down that no mosque or burial ground shall be demolished or turned to other uses. We are really surprised that this simple and direct injunction is not clearly grasped by some English officials in India and, even after certain recent sad experiences, it has yet to be fully realised that any violation of the law amounts to a grave sacrilege in the eyes of Mussalmans and deeply wounds their religious feelings. We have yet strong hopes that a sympathetic and level-headed Governor like Lord Carmichael will allow the Mussalmans to represent their case to him and he would take action accordingly. He cannot be unaware of the manifestations of the growing excitement in Calcutta and other places, and we have every reason to think that he will do all he can to remove the genuine and deep-seated grievance of the Calcutta Mussalmans. Our warnings were not heeded at Cawnpore. May they be heeded at Calcutta and a second tragedy of errors avoided.

We reproduce elsewhere an article "On toleration and the Turk" from the *Nation* purporting to be a review of Mr. Sydney Whitman's book, "Turkish Memories", recently published in London.

"On Toleration and the Turk."

The *Nation* disposes of the whole of the book as the work of a partial historian, but selects one conclusion of the author as a thesis on which it elaborates a long-drawn argument. This conclusion is stated to be that "the persecutions and massacres of the Armenians were in no sense religious, that fanaticism played no part in them, and that they were a purely political reprisal for the outrages and seditious propaganda of Armenian revolutionaries." The *Nation* accepts the accuracy of this observation "so far as it goes." It says that "Islam has never earned Gibbon's censure on the early Church; it has never defended absurdities by cruelties." It admits that the Bulgarian "atrocities" and the Armenian "massacres" would have never taken place had there been no Bulgarian insurrections and Armenian secret revolutionary societies. Still, however, it is prepared to believe that "Armenians and Bulgarians were exposed to the intermittent sufferings and humiliations which provoked insurrection only because they were Christians, and at any time they might have escaped all danger by becoming Moslems." Even if this were true, it only serves to emphasize the secular nature of the task confronting Turkish statesmen who have had to administer a vast Empire comprising diverse races, some of which never concealed their "nationalist aspirations." Even if an empire is based on conquest it has to be maintained intact—at least from the point of view of the conqueror. We are not concerned with the ethics of nationalist aspirations, but we know full well that no statesmen of Germany, France and England—to take the most advanced countries of modern Europe—would for a moment tolerate separatist and exclusive "aspirations" within their respective empires. If the Turk crushed spasmodic revolts within his dominions "to secure the outworks of his empire", he only practiced the most approved doctrine of modern Imperialist statecraft. As regards toleration, the *Nation* thinks that it has long since ceased to be the ideal of civilised men. It is an attitude of contempt in the strict sense of the word. "It represented in European history a half-way house, and a middle term between persecution and full civil equality." That may be true. It only means, then, that religious conscience has become a mere irrelevance in the organisation of modern States. It will not be very wrong to say that the idea of "full civil equality" has sprung from the "toleration" of unbelief. But the important question is whether full civil liberty exists in any empire of modern Europe. As an ideal it is as beautiful and inspiring as any Utopian conception, but has it been actually achieved in practice in any part of the world? The truth is that Europe has travelled from the generous toleration of positive belief to a peculiarly secular intolerance propped up by unbelief and based on pseudo-scientific theories and half-truths about distinctive cultures, racial types and social characteristics. Whether this implies an advance on the earlier ideal many may find sufficient reasons to doubt. And would the *Nation* tell us where we are? At the half-way house still?

The Comrade.

The Press Act and Proselytization.

II.—THE CASE OF THE "BADR."

LAST week we dealt with the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* which has had to deposit under the Press Act two securities amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 3,000 for replying in a fair and far more courteous manner to the foul vituperation of Rev. Thomas Howell, a Pastor of the Church of England, against Islam, its Prophet and his followers. To-day we discuss the still more deplorable case of the *Badr*. This paper was required to furnish the security of Rs. 3,000 for venturing to publish under the heading: "The Birth of the Messiah," a rejoinder to the same Church dignitary, as well as to some Moslem publications containing the view that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph the Carpenter. The *Badr* failed to furnish such a security and in consequence had to cease publication after a career of eleven years.

As we have shown in the previous article, the Christian doctrine of Atonement is based on the Christian belief that all descendants of Adam inherit the "original sin," but that Jesus Christ was sinless because he was not the son of man, but only born of woman. The *Badr* in its issue of 30th October, 1913, controverted this belief on grounds similar to those of the *Ahl-i-Hadees*. In the first place, said the *Badr*, nobody can be considered sinful or sinless on account of his birth but only on account of his own actions. Had it been otherwise, Adam should have been the most sinless person. In the second place, the "original sin" was not Adam's but that of Eve, and if the Christian theory be accepted, the seed of sin is chiefly in woman, and he who is born of woman alone would have more inclination to sin. The writer then cites the text from the Book of Job from which the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadees* had also sought assistance. In the third place, says he, "it is not a sign of perfection but of the weakness and frailty of human condition to be born of woman alone. It is possible that if His Holiness (*Hazrat*) 'the Messiah (On whom be Blessings and Peace) did not marry throughout his life, it may have been due to some such cause." He concludes that "at any rate, to have been without a father was no 'ground of any kind of superiority for the Messiah (himself), but 'this fact was an indication that there had not remained among the 'Jews a single man so worthy that the bringer of the good tidings of 'the Last of the Prophets could be called his son." And the writer tacks on to this view the indirect praise of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Sahib of Qadian, the founder of the sect of which the *Badr* was an organ, and believed by his followers to be the "Second Messiah," that "in the same manner the Second Messiah did not deign to be 'called the spiritual son of anyone by becoming the disciple of some 'hereditary preceptor."

That is all that the *Badr* itself wrote on the subject of Jesus Christ, and we defy the Secretary of State to point out a syllable in all this that can even remotely suggest the description of "wantonly scurrilous and offensive" which he has felt compelled to apply to it. But we shall probably be told that the issue of the *Badr* which drew upon that journal the wrath of the Punjab Government contained something more than the editorial views which we have reproduced with the utmost fidelity. Yes, it did contain something more than these editorial views, for, as we have stated at the very outset, this journal had not only to reply to Rev. Thomas Howell on the doctrine of Atonement but also to some Mohamedan writers on the subject of the birth of Christ, notably to a Maulvi Mohamed Sa'eed author of a book called the "*Sa'adat-i-Maryamiyyah*", who had sought to prove that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph the Carpenter in the ordinary course of nature. The writer in the *Badr* says: "The 'second aspect of the birth of the Messiah is that to which the 'Naturalists' (Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his school of Moslem rationalists 'are called by that name) object that such a thing is opposed to the 'Laws of Nature. Haji Hafiz Mohamed Ahsan had caused to be 'published in the periodical called *An-Najm* a rejoinder to this based 'on science and we reproduce the following extracts from it for the 'benefit of the public."

Let us examine the *Badr's* reprint from the *Najm*, which we may however, explain had already been published elsewhere before it appeared even in the *Najm* of Lucknow in 1912. The writer condemns, on the one hand, the attitude of those who consider it "infidelity" to ask why and wherefore even about such religious beliefs and about such stories in their religious books as reason cannot accept and who yet never fail to sneer at and abuse the beliefs of others; and, on the other hand, deploras a *soi disant* civilization which is every day diminishing respect for religion, and increasing the pride of people in their limited individual reason. However, he arrives at the eminently sane conclusion that the time is past when people could accept a doctrine which was capable of discussion and proof without subjecting it to a searching inquiry or when they could find an easy deliverance by calling the critic an Infidel. He then proceeds to declare that Islam is capable of explaining every doctrine and

belief in a rational manner, though it is enough to satisfy a Mussalman that to the God in Whom he believes everything is possible. He takes up the Moslem belief in the Immaculate Conception which, he says, is the subject of much criticism, although Christians share it with Mussalmans except for the belief in the Godhead of Christ and in the Trinity. He points out that the Jews did not believe in the purity of Mary, and that it was owing to such doubts that Christ's mission was practically a failure during his lifetime, but that, owing to the fact that belief in miracles and in the suspension of the Laws of Nature was common in those days, the world finally came to acquiesce in the Immaculate Conception as a miracle. Nevertheless, this belief, says the writer, was buttressed by a number of conditions and doctrines so mysterious and puzzling that it became a veritable labyrinth from which there was no apparent exit, and consequently among the scientists of to-day there is a very large body of men "who agree with the Jews in their disbelief in the 'greatness and glory of the holy leader of the Christian faith (Jesus 'Christ)'. He then tells us that even some Mussalmans have been cast in doubt by the dictum of the Quran that "You shall not find any change in the arrangements of Allah", and in order to escape this objection have accepted "that the Lady (*Hazrat*) Mary was married to 'Joseph the Carpenter and the Lord (*Janab*) Messiah was in reality 'the son of Joseph'. He is not satisfied with this makeshift and says: "In my capacity as a Mussalman I pen the 'ideas that have occurred to me about the birth of the 'Messiah (Peace be upon him) in order to refute the objections of 'scientists, and I trust that my explanations will be right, and that 'not only will my co-religionist Moslem brethren look upon this 'with appreciative eyes, but that the church-frequenting Christian 'monks and divines will hail this with cordial enthusiasm." Little could he guess, indeed, that instead of being hailed with cordial enthusiasm by cloistered monks and church-frequenting divines, it would rouse the wrath of the Punjab Government several years after its first publication, that on its being published a third time it would cost the publisher a deposit of Rs. 3,000, and, on his failure to furnish it, the complete cessation of his journal, and that a Minister of His Majesty the King-Emperor in far-off London would tell a venturesome questioner that the Secretary of State could only describe this defence of the Immaculate Conception as "wantonly scurrilous and offensive." It was certainly not confined to the days of Burn that "the schemes of mice and men gang aft agley."

We have a great mind to translate the whole of the thesis and brave the wrath of Government, but the space at our disposal will not permit us to do so. We shall therefore explain here the nature of the arguments advanced and the hypothesis set up by the writer. He tells us, what is only too true, that reproduction in animals is of two kinds. For as biologists know, reproduction is either asexual or sexual. In asexual reproduction, such as in the case of some common worms, no sexual congress takes place, and if the whole body is cut into pieces, each portion may grow into a new organism. Sexual reproduction is the production of a new organism from a cell (called *zygote*) resulting from the conjugation of two gametes or sexual cells derived from the specialized reproductive tissue of the parent or parents. In asexual reproduction by spore formation, the spore proliferates without the aid of another spore; in true sexual reproduction the gametes may be regarded as special kinds of spores which appear in two forms, the egg-cell, ovum or female gamete not proceeding to proliferate into a new organism until it has been stimulated by partial or complete fusion with the other form, the spermatozoon or male gamete. From a perusal of his thesis it does not appear that the writer is well versed and quite up-to-date in his biology, but it suffices to know that he bases his arguments on what knowledge he possesses of biology. While accepting the view that for reproduction of the human species, unlike the asexual reproduction of the *Kechua* and the *Birbahoti*, and the wasp (as he believes), the sexual congress of the male and the female is necessary, he instances the unproductive brown eggs of the domestic fowl to prove that in certain animals the reproductive material or germ-plasm shows the capacity of combining the functions and indications of both male and female gametes, even though it may be imperfect. He then quotes from a work of Hakim Arkani (*Mufarrah-il-Quloob*) that the reproductive material of some females combines the properties of both kinds of reproductive tissues, but respectfully rejects this opinion as open to the objection that it may have been designed to be a provision for the explanation of the Immaculate Conception. He regards this as all the more unacceptable because it is opposed to the teaching of modern science. This is perhaps the theory of Parthenogenesis or the production of the new organism from the female gamete without previous conjugation with the male gamete which Aristotle recognised as occurring in the bee which produced drones. According to the accepted biological view, parthenogenesis remains doubtful even in the case of the bee and other insects in which parthenogenetic development results in the production of males. At any rate, the writer argues at some length against the reproductive tissues of the female containing both the male and female sexual cells capable of fertility by conjugation.

Having rejected this theory, he deals with what zoologists call Animal Teratology, a department of morphological science treating of deviations from the normal development of the embryo, and gives instances of monstrosities from the common dwarf to the double

monsters to be seen in the glass-cases of museums. Hermaphroditism, too, is a form of monstrosity with which only biologists may now have to deal; but it was at one time believed to be possible in the human species and, among others, Moslem doctors of law have exercised much ingenuity in dealing with such possibilities. Now the primary distinction of sex resides in the *essential* organs of reproduction. An organism that contains the germinal tissue producing sexual cells known as spermatozoa is a male; an organism containing the tissue which produces ova is known as female. One producing both ova and spermatozoa is a hermaphrodite. Associated with the presence of the primary reproductive organs there may be a large number of other characters, and attempts have been made to classify them as secondary and tertiary sexual characters. In the primary sexual characters all that is *essential* is the power of producing ova or spermatozoa, and the possession of all else, such as sexual ducts and reservoirs, intromittent and copulatory organs, and organs associated with oviposition, gestation, parturition and nutrition of the immature young in any stage, is only *auxiliary*. Differences between the sexes in size, shape, appearance, ornamentation, armament, colour and coloration, voice, and instincts and habits not directly associated with the reproductive processes are among the secondary sexual characters. Hermaphroditism is the condition in which gonads producing ova and gonads producing spermatozoa are contained in the same individual. The term hermaphroditism, however, has been applied frequently to cases of a different kind, in which there is no evidence of *essential* sexual organs being affected, the appearances relating wholly to the *auxiliary* primary or the *secondary* sexual characters. It is most probable that such conditions differ entirely from true hermaphroditism. With regard to the auxiliary primary organs, and especially the genital ducts and external organs of sex, in a majority of cases, as in vertebrates in which hermaphroditism is rare, the embryonic or youthful condition is undifferentiated, and so to say, contains the initial material which may be elaborated by specialization in one direction or the other, by the proliferation of certain portions and the suppression of others, into the structures characteristic of the male or the female. Sometimes growth takes place without normal differentiation, sometimes the specialization in one direction lags, with the result that a dubious appearance arises. Subsequent dissection, or the approach of maturity, however, makes it plain that the dubious was superficial and that the gonad of only one sex was present. Among mammals, including man, every normal male retains relics of the female side of the undifferentiated condition of the accessory sexual organs, whilst every normal female contains similar if less well-marked relics of the male condition. Apparent hermaphroditism depending on a dubious condition of the secondary sexual characters is equally widespread in possible occurrence. Among insects which have been much studied, such as the butterflies and moths, many curious conditions have been described; sometimes the pattern and colour of the upper and under sides, sometimes of different parts of the same wing, sometimes of different wings, present the characters of different sexes. Among birds and mammals, the secondary sexual characters of one sex, such as size, pattern or colour, weapons or habits, may appear in animals with the gonads of the other sex, in every degree of development, reaching to an apparently complete reversal. In many cases, these abnormal occurrences are associated with arrest of the functional activity of the primary organs of sex, by disease, accident, or decay, and the failure of the necessary stimulus would certainly serve to explain cases where the apparent reversal is no more than the suppression of a specialization in one direction.

The writer in the *Najm* whose article the *Badr* has reproduced discusses both apparent and true hermaphrodites in the human species and cites a reference in a commentary on *Siraji* by this late Maulana Abdul Halim of Farangi Mahal to a well known person who retained the functional activity of both sexes, and also refers to books of Mohamedan law in which in the chapter devoted to "*Khunsa-i-mushakkka*," the existence of such persons is discussed in detail. We shall not enter here into the details of the writer's biological arguments, and it is enough for our purpose to state that he believes in the possibility of true hermaphroditism in which the *essential* reproductive organs of both sexes, that is, gonads producing both ova and spermatozoa, may be found in one and the same individual, with the *auxiliary* primary organ of only one sex, that is either only the sexual duct and reservoir, or the intromittent and copulatory organ may be found. After this, the writer refers to the familiar natural way in which the reproductive tissues sometimes discharge the germ-plasm without sexual congress. He then states his theory that Mary was a true hermaphrodite, having the *essential* primary sexual character of both the sexes, while possessing the *auxiliary* primary sexual character of only the female sex, and builds up a hypothesis about the birth of Jesus Christ with the assistance of certain fairly natural conjectures about Mary's state of feelings which would account for the secretion of germ-plasm from both the male and the female reproductive tissues and the conjugation of the two gametes resulting in a *zygote* or fertilised egg-cell. We would like to repeat that the writer very clearly states that while Mary possessed both the male and female reproductive tissues, and was thus a true hermaphrodite, she was to all outward appearances like any other woman, there being nothing of the dubious which characterises the pseudo-hermaphrodite to which we have referred in such great detail. He

seeks, and to our mind obtains, considerable textual support in the Chapter of the Quran entitled "The Family of Imran", in which the dedication of the child in the womb to the service of God by its mother, the birth of a girl instead of the expected boy, and yet the fulfilment of her vow by Mary's mother are described, and in the midst of the prayer of Mary's mother just after her declaration that she had brought forth only a girl are introduced in parenthesis the significant words: "And God knows best what she had brought forth".

We are not here concerned with the scientific value of the writer's hypothesis, but we have no hesitation in saying, that so far as decency and decorum are concerned there is nothing in the whole thesis in which any but the most prurient person could discover anything vile or vulgar. Even when giving expression to his conjectures about the state of Mary's feeling which led to the Immaculate Conception, he has been careful enough to say that their existence is by no means hostile to purity. "Continence and chastity," says the writer, "do not mean the absence of natural demands on the human heart but to achieve control over such desires is chastity" and continence, and this alone is the definition of a chaste and continent person; for if, as in the case of angels, there was no trace of human desires and passions in the body (of chaste and continent persons), there would have been no ground for distinction "from mankind in general."

This, in the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province", and it is this which the Secretary of State "can only describe as wantonly scurrilous and offensive." We do not know whether Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Marquess of Crewe have heard the name of a person who lived in Western Europe in the 12th century and was known as St. Bernard. If so, they perhaps also know that he had explicitly raised the question of the Immaculate Conception. A feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin had already begun to be celebrated in some Churches of the West. St. Bernard blames the canons of the metropolitan church of Lyons for instituting such a festival without the permission of the Holy See. In doing so, he takes occasion to repudiate altogether the view that the Conception of Mary was sinless. He writes: "How can there be absence of sin where there is concupiscence (*libido*)?" and—stronger expressions follow! We know that in St. Bernard's time Christendom possessed a varied and extremely effective machinery for the suppression of unwelcome opinions and the chastisement of those that held them. But even the Holy See had not invented a Press Act such as ours wherewith to gag and to punish, and the spirit of Pope Pius IX., the author of the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, must be fretting and fuming because the great Pope had not enacted a law like ours, with the addition of a clause giving retrospective effect to its provisions, so that there could have been left no record of the views of St. Bernard after 1854 when he promulgated the famous Bull making a belief in the Immaculate Conception, part of the Catholic faith. But so long as these views of St. Bernard are on record, it ill beseems any one calling himself a Christian to object to the words of a Mussalman believing in the Immaculate Conception, and taking such great pains to establish it on a biological basis, on the absurd ground that to regard Mary as a human being, with human desires and passions but chaste withal and continent, would bring into contempt the Christian population of the Punjab.

Last week we had stated that the Secretary of State's claim that he had read the articles concerned was an unmitigated misstatement, for we regarded him to be as incapable of reading the articles as Sir Michael O'Dwyer of writing them. We had, however, guessed that he must have read the words of a Secretariat hireling entrusted with the task of translating extracts from Urdu newspapers. In the case of the *Ab-i-Hader* this was only a conjecture, but in the case of the *Badr* we speak with the assurance of certainty. It seems that shocked at the treatment meted out to his paper, the publisher of the *Badr* applied to the authorities for a copy of the translation on which his fate had been decided, suspecting that this bolt from the blue must have been flung at the instance of the Secretariat hireling who translated the article. Government must now be ruing its unusual candour in furnishing to the publisher of the *Badr* a copy of what it calls the "Abstract Translation" of the peccant articles. Well, we have a copy of this "Abstract Translation" before us, and we possess few documents of as great a value as that copy for the purpose of showing how Government decisions of great consequence to the people are sometimes arrived at. What fearful wildfowl an "Abstract Translation" can be will be understood when we state that, whereas the article in the *Badr* occupies more than fifteen columns, the "Abstract Translation" occupies no more than a page and a half of foolscap size in manuscript. The sting of the scorpion lies in its tail, and the rascality of the author of the "Abstract Translation" lies in the last five lines of his handiwork. If Lord Crewe will permit us the temporary use of his words, we shall describe this portion of the "Abstract Translation," as wantonly scurrilous and offensive. We have debated within ourselves for long whether we should reproduce it in these columns, but have been driven to the conclusion that it would be impossible to do so without defiling our columns and disgusting our readers. Evidently the distinction between a true hermaphrodite, without any dubiety in the outward appearance of a female, and a monstrosity with the auxiliary primary characters of both the sexes fully developed, was too fine a discrimination for one of so

coarse a texture as the author of the "Abstract Translation," and our readers can well imagine how disgusting and offensive such a person can make the description of the process of the fusion of male and female gametes into a zygote in spite of the writer's clear assertion that it was without sexual congress. If it is not sheer incompetence,—and we think it is not—then it is the result of a deliberate plan to involve the organ of a religious sect of the Mussalmans in trouble, and consequently the scoundrel deserves exemplary punishment. We challenge the Punjab Government and the Secretary of State to place both the articles and the "Abstract Translation" before any of the three Mussalman Councillors, who know Urdu as well as English—the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, the Hon. Nawab Shamsul Huda or Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Saheb, and to ask him whether the latter is not the most monstrous travesty of the former. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not far to go if he consults the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, and we hope the use of such prominent individuals will not be confined to their being the auxiliaries of Mr. Tollinton in administering warnings to peccant journalists. If Government fail to do this they would publish to the world at large their want of courage in retracing a rash step or rectifying an error of judgment. But even if they did, would it not be manifest to everybody that it is impossible to entrust such extensive powers as the Press Act confers even to the much praised local governments without at least giving to an independent judicial tribunal an effective control and extensive powers of revision. It is as clear to us as the noon-day sun that the Punjab Government and the Secretary of State have both been made the dupes of some petty clerk in the Punjab Secretariat; but it is a strange commentary on the British methods of governance that even after a question in the House of Commons on the subject, the authorities have either not been able to discover their mistake or have not the courage to acknowledge it. If neither of these alternatives are correct, then we must believe that so long as a writer uses the phrase Immaculate Conception and characterizes it a Miracle, the Christian population of the Punjab is safe, and the writer is as worthy as Pope Pius IX.—and worthier, let it be said, than St. Bernard!—but the moment he begins to talk in terms of biology and calls the same thing parthenogenesis or hermaphroditism, Hey Presto! Lo and behold! the Christian population of the Punjab is forthwith brought into contempt and the writer becomes a wantonly scurrilous offender! At this rate, before long the mention of an isosceles triangle or a trigonometrical logarithm would bring maidenly blushes to the cheeks of seasoned Simla ladies, and the Press Act would be used effectively against all those who are guilty of wanton scurrility and offensiveness in publishing meteorological reports during the forthcoming monsoon.

The Moslem League and Discipline.

ONLY a few years ago, complaints were not uncommonly heard that the All-India Moslem League was a sort of close corporation which had little direct touch with the currents of popular opinion in the Moslem community. A few even went so far as to describe it as a reactionary body dominated by men of fluid faiths and nimble views, who periodically met to register the decrees of Indian Government and otherwise made use of the organisation as a counterblast to the Indian National Congress. Certain recent events, however, have proved definitely that these complaints were, in the main, groundless. The All-India Moslem League had come to birth at a time when political consciousness among Mussalmans was limited to a small number of individuals who were men of unusual capacity and foresight and had adequate knowledge of public affairs. They had realised the significance of the changes that were slowly but visibly coming over the methods of Indian governance and felt the supreme need of organised political action. They took the initiative and in collaboration with men of weight and influence in the community laid down the framework of an all-India organisation for the purpose. This was the most practicable course open to them under the circumstances. To seek for a democratic basis for the organisation at the time would have been obviously futile. Moslem democracy in the political sense was not yet vocal or alive. The needs of the situation could best be met by the creation of an organisation, representative of the best elements in the community, which would serve the dual functions of educating the general body of the people as well as of safeguarding their interests. The All-India Moslem League was consequently established with these objects in view. Its constitution was designed on as wide a basis as the circumstances could allow, and the scope of its work was naturally confined within the limits of the actual needs of the situation. Soon after the establishment of the League with its provincial and district branches, constitutional and administrative readjustments of far-reaching importance began to take shape in India, which, among other things, helped to rouse the political consciousness of the general Moslem community. The Moslem League proved to be an organised political force of immense value in those anxious times, and its utility both as an organ of representative Moslem opinion and as an instrument of popular education stood the test wonderfully. Within the first few years of its existence it succeeded in defining the Moslem political position, set forth a definite programme of work before the community and offered a common platform to the educated Mussalmans who were vegetating in narrow individual grooves and were pining for larger fields to employ their leisure and talents in the service of their community and country. The political instincts of the Moslem democracy, which had

been lying dormant for years, became alive with amazing rapidity and vigour. They found expression in vague but eager desires, some of which outstripped the cautious aspirations embodied in the early creed of the League. The impatient idealism of the new political awakening yearned for lustier cries than the League had yet been able to provide. The League was, therefore, roundly denounced as a lethargic body that moved with exasperating slowness within a limited orbit of its own and lived in severe isolation from the mass of the community that was pulsating with new thoughts and desires.

In the meantime, there began to happen a series of events of unparalleled magnitude, both in India and abroad, which have left an ineffaceable mark on Moslem thought and feeling. The experiences and trials of the community within the last three years have been the bitterest and most searching in its modern history. They shook its deepest and most cherished instincts to their very foundations. The shock of surprise, of betrayal, of disillusionment was felt by every class of Mussalmans with equal intensity. In the sacred intimacy of common grief they discovered anew their Islamic unity and the path that lies before them—a path that is beset with difficulties and perils of various kinds. It is a matter of remarkable significance that the All-India Moslem League has successfully borne the strain of a period of the utmost excitement and self-questioning through which Mussalmans have passed. The movement that it embodied was sound and vital at the core, and it is more vital and alive to-day than ever it was before. It has gained enormous access of popular strength, and is fully responsive to the needs of the people. The old complaint about the League being a reactionary body has ceased to be heard. The creed of the League has been recast to suit the charged political conditions, and it has now become a thoroughly reliable and powerful organ of Moslem public opinion. Indeed, the promptitude with which it has shaped itself to meet to the popular forces has alarmed a few of the old-fashioned men in the Moslem community, some of whom are obsessed by the craven fear lest they should soon find their old occupations gone. They accuse the League of having been bitten with revolutionary ideas, and this is perhaps the surest testimony to the fact that the Moslem political organisation has now become thoroughly communal. It was a right instinct that led H. H. the Aga Khan to observe on a memorable occasion that a permanent President of the League had become an anachronism in view of the growing political consciousness of the Moslem democracy. Much yet remains to be done to make the League an efficient instrument of the will of the community, but there can be no question that it enjoys the greatest measure of public confidence to-day and is the most representative organisation of its kind in this country.

We have been forced to make these observations at some length because the position that the League has recently come to hold in relation to communal work is not yet fully secure from the wily attacks of a species of its critics who were wont, not long ago, to trade on the confidence and goodwill of the Moslem community. Mussalmans need not be reminded of the commonplace that the utility, efficiency and prestige of all organised political work depend on the degree of solidarity, public spirit and disciplined energy displayed by the workers. The future success of the Moslem League rests on three obvious postulates. It should be the most reliable exponent of Moslem public opinion; it should command the devoted services of the ablest men in the community; it should be efficiently organised. Now, those who watched the proceedings of the last annual session of the League at Agra are perfectly aware that the League is becoming popular in the real sense, that it has now behind it the daily increasing support of Moslem democracy. It is also manifest that it now commands the services of some of the most energetic and able workers among Mussalmans. What it still lacks is efficient organisation. The utility of the political work done by the League will not attain to its full proportions as long as its machinery remains imperfect. The central organisation should have well-defined relations with the provincial and district organisations affiliated to it, and while allowing perfect freedom of initiative and action to all its branches in matters of local concern, it should exercise efficient control in all things relating to the general policy and principles of which it is the sole authoritative exponent. Its views and decisions represent the judgment of the entire Moslem community in India, and it should not tolerate any tampering with its authority by persons who are carrying on a purely personal propaganda under questionable disguises often at the instance of others who are as hostile to Moslem as to other Indian aspirations. It should enforce discipline with some rigour at this stage if it wants to make its future work useful and effective.

The existing lack of efficient organisation and discipline in the All-India Moslem League is due to various causes. The main cause has arisen from the fact that the League has only recently had to restate its policy and purpose in obedience to popular wishes. The amplification of its creed less than two years ago led to some conflict of opinion, which, however, never became serious or acute. The new programme satisfied an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans and the feeble voice of dissent was soon hushed in the general acclamation of the people. It is a remarkable fact that hardly a defection has taken place from the ranks of the League since it publicly declared the new formula of its faith. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that

there is a practical unanimity among the constituents of the League about the ideals that it has in view. The situation, however, furnished a few of the self-seeking among its ranks with a new handle to serve their own personal ends. They fear to go out of the League lest they should sink into obscurity and be utterly wiped out of public life. "Assenting with civil leer" they have elected to remain in. They are shrewd enough to perceive that they will have ample opportunities within the fold of the League to create "scenes" and situations which they know how to turn to profitable account. It is this timorous breed of "leaders" who are surreptitiously using every means to undermine discipline and weaken the authority of the League. The time has now come that the League, in the interests of its own efficiency, should deal drastically with all cases in which its decisions have been flouted or its basic principles set at naught. A few cases of this character have just acquired some notoriety and it is necessary to unmask their true features to public notice.

The Hon. Mr. Mohamed Shafi, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial League, got his executive committee some days ago to "place on record its emphatic protest" in the shape of a huge resolution, and lost no time in having it published in the Press. The "protest" relates to the "appointment, by the Indian League, independently and over the heads of the various provincial leagues, of committees" for the purpose of raising the Moslem National Fund, the establishment of which was decided upon by the All-India Moslem League at its Agra session. Mr. Shafi's committee "considers it absolutely necessary that the work to be done in this connection in the various provinces should be left to the provincial leagues alone." Mr. Shafi himself in his letter forwarding his committee's resolution to the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, says: "The appointment, by the central body, of these 'provincial committees over the heads of the various provincial leagues was so obviously opposed to axiomatic principles on which alone an All-India organisation can be smoothly worked and constituted such a slight on the provincial leagues themselves that I considered it my duty to place your letter before the executive committee of the Punjab Moslem League at its meeting held on 'Sunday the 19th instant (May)'. Now, it would be interesting to recall the circumstances relating to the appointment of the committees for the collection of the Moslem National Fund. As we have said, it was unanimously resolved at a meeting of the All-India Moslem League at Agra to raise a permanent fund for political work. The representatives of all the provincial leagues were present on the occasion including the Hon. Mr. Shafi. The provincial committees were appointed in consultation with the provincial representatives. When the appointment of the Punjab committee was being discussed, Mr. Shafi succeeded almost in creating a scene by refusing to accept Mr. Zafar Ali Khan as a member, with the result that the matter was left to be settled by the Punjab representatives themselves while they were at Agra. Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, Barrister-at-law of Lahore, gave a list to the Hon. Secretary of the All-India Moslem League on the following day, stating that their mutual differences had been settled and the names contained in the list were acceptable to all. But now that the time for practical effort has come and printed lists of the members of the provincial committees have been circulated with a view to get them to work, Mr. Shafi takes up a garrulous attitude and protests against the action of the central League. It is manifest that all the other provincial leagues have accepted the decisions reached at Agra without the least objection. They are neither aware of any violation of "axiomatic principles" nor of the alleged "slight" that is now apparently causing Mr. Shafi some sleepless nights. Mr. Shafi participated fully in the discussion about the appointment of the Punjab committee. He did not talk then of "slight" and "axiomatic principles." His only objection related to the inclusion of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan in the committee as one of its members. He had made a public confession of his peculiarity of character by declaring that he could not work with the Editor of the *Zamindar*, and had gone even so far as to say that the Mussalmans of the "aristocratic" class in the Punjab would be equally unwilling to work with him. The Punjab "aristocrats" present then instantly repudiated this unblushing imputation on their public spirit and sense of duty. The Punjab committee was eventually formed with the knowledge and approval of Mr. Shafi and it never occurred to him till after full five months that its appointment offended against "axiomatic principles" and constituted a "slight" to the *amour propre* of his committee and his league.

Mr. Shafi's tactics would have ranked as consummate exercises in the art of party manœuvring, if only they had some dash of courage behind them. But the fates have cast him in a mould that is not decidedly heroic. During the past few years a series of exasperating situations have sprung upon him, like bolts from the blue, which would have sufficed to disconcert a man of staidier nerve than he. His training as a public man has not proved adequate to the needs of those situations and the spectacle of his slight from position to position in search of some reliable cover has not been altogether edifying. He has talked in turn of his

order, of respect due to constituted authority, of moderation and constructive work, even of political reform, administrative changes and self-government. He has tried every catchword of the hour and tested the value of every straw that has floated past him on the crest of the popular waves. The pathos of his situation is that he is capable of feeling all the Ulsteria of Sir Edward Carson's creation without having the quality of the Last-Ditcher. That is why most of his attempts to create a brief noise about himself have ended in a public laugh at his expense.

One must not, however, ignore the fact that Mr. Shafi controls an executive committee that is obedient to his will. The resolution relating to the Moslem National Fund was passed at a meeting of the committee attended by Mr. Shafi and three other gentlemen who have no pretensions to any weight or influence in public affairs. Mr. Shafi practically rules the roost in the Punjab League, thanks to his success in having so far kept out of the League most of the younger generation of workers whose capacity and independence of character are beyond question. With the general body of the League composed mostly of men of stereotyped views and indifferent intellectual equipments and with a committee mainly packed with his supporters, Mr. Shafi may have his way in recording protests and reeling off grandiloquent "resolutions" by the dozen. But for the sake of his own reputation as a public man he should come down from the fence and define his position. Let him openly come forward and defy the All-India Moslem League if he dares. Let him frankly unbosom himself and tell the Moslem public what he wants. These questionable tactics of his are doing no good either to him or to the community that he claims to serve. The collection of the Moslem National Fund may wait indefinitely; but Mr. Shafi must vent his personal spite against Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, and should in the last resort take shelter behind "axiomatic principles" and imaginay "slights" simply to thwart the progress of an important communal undertaking. His dread of association with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan recalls to our mind another equally amusing episode that dates back to the annual session of the All-India Moslem League at Karachi in 1907. The Punjab Moslem League had not yet come into existence, but Mr. Shafi had already picked up a quarrel with Mr. Fazl-i-Husain about the formation of the provincial branch. The contending parties fought their rival claims with considerable virulence at Karachi and some efforts were made by men from other provinces to induce the Punjab stalwarts to compose their mutual differences and work harmoniously together. But Mr. Shafi and Mr. Shah Din would not yield, and the latter declared that he would not work in an organisation of which Mr. Fazl-i-Husain was also a member. Mr. Shafi's outburst of petty egotism at Agra was evidently inspired by a pardonable desire to imitate the superior manner of his learned cousin. We trust, however, that he is free from the vanity of imagining that he is indispensable. If not, he is under a cruel illusion. At all events, if he thinks he is well-advised in the choice of his tactics and methods of work, he should throw a bold, open challenge to those who differ from him and test his position. If he is sure of his ground, why does he not stump the country with his gospel of salvation and come back to power borne on the shoulders of devoted multitudes? His existing methods of conducting the affairs of the Punjab League cannot obviously be allowed to go on. The League has got to be democratised and made an energetic and disciplined body that would do some real work for the people on approved lines and not exist simply to give weight and prestige to the evolutions of a peculiarly self-conscious and self-complacent individual.

The other case to which we want to make a brief reference relates to the formation of a district Moslem League at Etawah to which some amount of noisy publicity has been given in the papers. The promoters of the new organisation are reported to have declared that they have no faith in the ideal of self-government adopted by the All-India Moslem League and approve in this respect the attitude of the U. P. Provincial League. The Etawah report gives prominence to a certain Mr. Amir Ali. We do not know who this gentleman is, unless he is the paid clerk in the office of the U. P. League. If so, we would like to know what business has this person to go about touring in districts at public expense with a view to bolster up mushroom organisations, which presume to dictate policy and principles to the whole community and its all-India political organ? The principles laid down by the central organisation must be accepted by all its affiliated branches. If any branch does not make a clear declaration to the effect that it approves of the basic creed of the League, it should not be allowed affiliation. The U. P. League, which appears to have become a nest of intrigue and personal wrangles, should be called to account for the opposition which some of its office-bearers have set up against the declared policy of the parent League, and of which they are making a public parade. If the U. P. League refuses to fall into line with the central organisation it should be disaffiliated at once, and a new organisation in perfect harmony with the general will of the community should be created in its place. It is really strange that the Mussalmans of the United Provinces, who form the most educated and progressive portion of the Moslem community, should have such a provincial League masquerading in their name. Sham organisations, run on lines of individual self-interest, cannot be allowed to exist under the wings of the All-India Moslem League. They should either be mended or ended.

CORRESPONDENCE



An Indian House in London.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It gratified me very much to see that my suggestion for an India House in London has been so warmly approved by Mr. Pollak. There could be no more capable and broadminded witness to what is conducive to the defence of Indian interests than Mr. Pollak. For my own part, I am more than ever convinced that it is impossible for Indian opinion to produce any real effect upon the administration of the Empire or upon the leading minds of universal civilisation until India possesses in London—the great meeting place of the world's opinions—a permanent residence and centre for her accredited representatives in the great Metropolis, and for the promotion of the commerce, art and science of the Indian nation. India should, of course, always remain, and must always remain, the seat and origin, as well as the vast arena, for the development of every Indian movement which deserves the name of Indian. There must be, and there can be, no displacing and no undervaluing of the supreme centre of all-Indian patriotism and progress which must always be India herself. In dealing, however, with the plain and real facts that the well-being of the peoples of India largely depends upon the public and governing opinion at London, it is mere childishness and folly to neglect the means of bringing before the multitudinous opinion of London the fundamental necessities of the Indian situation.

To be understood by London you must be known in London; and it is not from occasional paragraphs or superficial correspondence in the *Times* or the *Standard* that the public opinion of England can be adequately informed upon the wants and the wishes of India and the Indian representatives. Even though closely connected with the English people and governing classes, speaking the same language, sharing the same institutions, the whole of the great Dominions attached to England, such as Canada and Australia, have their official residences and Government agencies in London; and it would be impossible for Canada and Australia to obtain proper attention for their requirements if they had not proper centres of their interests off Kingsway and near Westminster.

A stately palace for an All-India Agency, with offices for important departments, with halls and committee rooms for general and private business, with an annexe for artistic and commercial exhibitions, which would promote the material interests of economic India; such an India House is an absolute necessity, and would not only be directly beneficial to India, but would be of the greatest possible use to English public opinion by providing a well-known centre for every kind of useful knowledge and information about the condition of India. All the existing institutions and societies for the benefit of India would naturally gather around India House. In the great reading room there would be the newspapers of India together with all the books which are the most useful sources of information on every subject of the public welfare.

The large number of Indian princes who now visit London, and who are obliged to spend their time in wandering aimlessly around the maze of English festivities and amusements, would here have a centre at which they could repay under Indian conditions the hospitality accorded to them. Here, too, Indian princes and statesmen residents or visitors in London, would be able to bring English friends to become acquainted with the realities of Indian opinion and nationality.

There would, naturally, grow up around such a representative centre of Indian feeling and sentiment the regular habit of having certain times in the year specially devoted to representative meetings of Indian representatives and English friends and supporters of India belonging to all classes and parties in English society. At present the friends of India have literally nowhere, where they can meet authorised representatives, or where they can invite the English public to become acquainted with the requirements of India.

Let me assume for instance that there was an *Indian Week* every year in the month of June, when London is most crowded with the representatives of England, India and all foreign nations besides. Within your great India House you would have authorised and representative exponents of Indian opinion, supported by the numerous men of distinction in English society who at present have no centre of action for the better enlightenment of the English public. Great princes and nobles of India, distinguished politicians and professional men from India would naturally add to the attraction and distinction of the June conferences at India House. The National Congress of India, the All-India Moslem League and similar great organisations would be able to send their deputations and delegates to the public conferences at India House. There is no reason why you should not have a great newspaper containing the best news of India and the world at large, written by distinguished writers, and disseminated not only among Indians but among many hundreds or thousands of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, who at present never see an organ of Indian nationality from one end of the year to the other.

Such an India House would require to be built and maintained with a magnificent dignity worthy of that mighty Empire of three hundreds of millions of people possessing such illustrious princes, such a great and ancient nobility, such professional and commercial classes with the education and the intelligence capable of developing the highest requirements of their great and wonderful country. The ground and the building would not cost less than £100,000. Another sum of £100,000 should form a permanent endowment for the payment of an adequate staff of administrators and officers. There should be trained lecturers capable of presenting the wants of the Indian peoples with learning and eloquence before English audiences. There should be a system of election or nomination in India by which every two years, for instance, representatives of the highest character and ability would be sent from India to represent for a couple of years or more the interests of the various countries of the Indian Motherland. India House would thus be always able to supply the Houses of Lords and Commons with adequate information on every subject of Indian importance. The great popular associations and organisations in England, the trades unions, the commercial organisations, the brotherhoods and leagues of various kinds which are so numerous and influential in England, would all be the object of the solicitude of the Indian representatives in London; and on every great question and great interest of Hindustan thousands of English friends would receive adequate information from the committee at India House. *India House would be the Supreme Insurance Society for Indian interests* spreading the light of truth, refuting falsehoods, and bringing the princes and peoples of India into direct connection with all that is best in English society. Nor should it be forgotten that the representatives of European opinion, the newspapers of France, Germany, etc., would always be able to receive in the most interesting manner the latest news about a great Asiatic country so important politically, commercially, and intellectually to the progressive nations of the world. A quarter of a century ago the great Lord Beaconsfield brought the Indian regiments to Malta in the interests of the common Empire. In the interests of the common Empire as well as of the wonderful Motherland of India, let an INDIA HOUSE arise near Westminster in order to convince even the most superficial and unreflecting that India is great, that India is progressive, that India cherishes her mighty past as well as her mighty future, and that the peoples of England and India would know one another better for their mutual advantage.

Yours faithfully,

May 9, 1914.

F. HUGH O'DONNELL OF O'DONNELL.



A night in the Balkans.

(BY A MEMBER OF THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL MISSION TO TURKEY.)

It was on a cold, wintry night towards the end of January 1913, that I left my tent about 10 p. m. to have a friendly chat with the Kurdish officers encamped at a distance of 2 or 3 miles around us.

Our tents were pitched under the shelter of a hillock, some miles rearward from the headquarters of the General Commanding the Ottoman forces at Chataldja.

Our men had finished their day's work and were now retiring to bed to refresh and prepare themselves for the next day's labour.

The Orient Express, which before the war went as far as Sofia and even beyond, now worked up only to Hademkeui, the Turkish headquarters. The line was intact as far as Saiyakteppeh and the fortifications on the left coast and beyond it had been blown up at numerous places for 50 yards apace, the bridges dynamited and the railway buildings levelled to the ground.

It passed our tents at a distance of nearly 200 yards only and so we could have the latest news both from the front and the Capital. For some days past rumours had been rife that hostilities were to commence again with the Allies and we expected daily to hear at any moment the noise and thunder of the cannonade. Still, however, days wore on and there was no sign that we were on the eve of the resumption of hostilities.

On the day in question the results of our enquiries at the railway station were more conflicting than ever. In the afternoon I happened to go for a stroll on the hillocks near by and heard the quick-fires rattling in the distance. Quickly I stretched myself on the ground and tried to locate the direction whence the firing proceeded. I made out soon that the sound came from the direction of the Kurdish artillery, some of whose officers were known to me. I turned my foot-steps thither and ran as fast as my tight breeches, heavy boots and the condition of the ground permitted.

In my great hurry I had lost my bearings and was only stopped when a Turkish private from a sudden ambush bid me halt. On ascending higher ground I saw that I was in the range of the firing-line. I soon learnt that the artillery men were engaged at gunnery practice. In still greater hurry I had to withdraw and by a circuitous route arrived at the place whence the firing proceeded.

I approached the officers covered both with perspiration and mud—the latter was always more than ankle-deep. I was repaid for my trouble many times over by the hearty welcomes accorded to me by the Kurdish and the Turkish officers. The mechanism and the working of the various guns were explained to me and some additional rounds were fired to illustrate the actual working of the weapons. I was then introduced to some of the junior officers and we repaired to the tent of the Major of the regiment to partake in the usual, tiny cups, of the delicious Turkish coffee.

Our conversation ranged over all sorts of topics and it finally came round to the subject that lay nearest to the hearts of all of us, viz., the war and the chance of the resumption of hostilities.

There were diverse views and conflicting estimates of the future course of events. But all were united in the one eager hope that the Turks might have one more chance of grappling with the enemy, one more opportunity on which they were ready to stake their all. Barring the little difference, that while the young were only too eager to come to instant grip with the enemy, the experienced heads wished to bide their time and wait till the season grew more propitious, there was absolute unanimity about the continuation of the war, and anxiety at the thought that, after all, hostilities might not be resumed. *La guerre, sans doute, la guerre.* When I was leaving the Kurdish camp, as I had to return soon to my duties, however small, and to the party that I belonged to, the officers asked me that evening to dinner and said that perhaps they would be able to impart me some information about the war. My time was not my own. I promised to call again in the evening, but said that I could not be certain about the dinner. After the usual enquiries at the railway station, which had raised our hopes of the war, I found myself, electric-torch in hand, picking my way back to my camp carefully amidst the falling snow and the biting wind of the Balkans. Luck was, however, against me that evening. I missed the footpath by which I had come and which I had carefully noted before along the hard ground of the hillock. It was now covered with snow, and in spite of my best efforts to find out the direction, I strayed helplessly into the head-quarters of an Arab regiment some miles off. I enquired from the soldiers of the Commander's place and was taken to a moderately big tent or *chablar*, as the Turks call it, where a brisk fire gave the place a most comfortable look.

A tough, middle-aged Arab warrior was stretched on a portable sofa and was suffering from fever and headache. I was in a very awkward position. I had thrust myself in a sick man's room and, consistent with politeness, I could not hurriedly depart. I faced the situation as best I could and apologised to the gentleman for my unpardonable intrusion. Think of my dismay at the effect my words produced on him. When I entered the place, he had said *pardonnez moi, monsieur*, but I had stopped his efforts to seat himself by urging that, as he was unwell, he should not worry himself about a mere formality. But hearing my apologies he realised how I was feeling and instantly raised himself in the bed. All my entreaties were drowned in his loud-voiced orders to the soldiers to be quick about the coffee and tea. I felt thankful to my that day's star, notwithstanding the previous misadventure. Soon the tense and unpleasant feeling passed away when he began to chat freely and most good-humoredly.

When I left him he gave me his card and pressed on me an invitation to dinner the next day with him and the officers of his regiment. He gave me, also, a soldier or *Askar*, who accompanied me to the camp of the Kurds, where I guessed the dinner would be over and thought uncomfortably of passing a cold night, with lessened energy, on an empty stomach. I had expected great things at the dinner, especially meat, to which we had been strangers for sometime past, but my blunder had served me well. A night's fast is by no means a severe punishment for careless eyes and a wandering mind.

Reaching the artillery quarters, I was recognised by the men who immediately conveyed information of my arrival to their officers. As I reached the officers' camp I saw a group of them waiting outside in the falling snow. They greeted my appearance with outstretched hands and I was deeply touched by their affection. I, a stranger amongst them, of a different country,

nationality and race, was treated by them as if I were one of their own kiths and kins. The only bond that invited us was Islam and that had removed all distinctions of country, rank and relationship.

They told me that they had not yet dined and were only waiting for me. Men helped me to take off my goloshes, long-boots and my rainproof, while I took a snug seat in a corner near the fire, thinking out the best way for offering my apology. But as I came to know later, my companion, the Arab soldier, had done it in a far better manner than I could have ever done. When questioned as to who he was and to what regiment he belonged, he had given an account of my untimely, nocturnal visit to the sick officer. When they heard of my misadventure all had a good, hearty laugh and I, instead of being the apologisee, was the recipient of a good deal of warm and sincere sympathy.

I enjoyed the dinner as I had never done before and a great zest was added to it by the information that my friends had received their marching orders. With every one in the best of spirits, it was a most pleasant gathering. We dined late and well.

After the dinner, the fragrant Turkish cigarettes and coffee had their round till nearly 3 o'clock in the morning. We talked of the course of the war till the armistice had been arranged and of the course it was likely to take if resumed. The Kurds are primarily a warlike people, and their warlike customs and traditions, that the meanest soldiers in the army is expected to observe, were most interesting for me to learn. Major Zia Bey told us that the Kurds, in times gone by, in hand to hand fight, would bind the lapels of their coats to each other's so that no idea unbecoming a soldier may enter their head and that they may either kill or die in good straight fight. Amongst them it was not accounted creditable to be merely brave, but the palm was given only to the bravest of the braves. A second test of the utility of the Kurdish soldier was the length of time which he could live without any nourishment. The third and the hardest test was his endurance of bad weather and fatigue.

Indeed, it was difficult to realise a poor soldier's lot who had to undergo great privation and hardship and live months after months on coarse bread soaked in water. The only luxury available to him was a little bit of stale cheese, added every now and then.

It was getting late and was high time for the junior officers to depart, for early that morning they had to leave for the front.

We parted, to meet no more and we bade each other affectionate farewell.

Then the Major and I chatted alone for about half an hour. He said that it was the weary waiting before the actual fight that ate into a soldier's heart—months of weary waiting and no sight of the enemy. That was the hardest lot of a soldier. "We depart to-morrow," he said, "we know not whither. But we pray to God that every moment may bring us nearer to the enemy. We have had reverses, suffered humiliations, and the loss of honour. May it please Almighty God to grant us a moment to retrieve our honour and strike in the defence of our country. Death or life, but one moment of the enemy's presence would repay all these months of anxious and weary waiting."

"All rests in His Hand who is the Maker of all."

B.



Ghasita : a Budmash.

III.—The Intercepted Dowry.

In my last story concerning Ghasita and his career of crime, that personage was safely lodged in the house of a friendly Sonar, whose place of business was situated in a back alley of the suburb of Tajgunj—a *mohalla* of average size and chiefly inhabited by persons who derived a living by selling mementoes of the lovely mausoleum whence their abode derives its name, or who were in some way or another connected with the up-keep of the gardens and the marble tomb sacred to the memory of the Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the "Exalted one of the Palace", otherwise known as Arjmand Banu Begum or, in the affectionate familiarity of the populace, as "Taj Bibi", the Lady of one of the most beautiful architectural triumphs in the world. Tajgunj was not a bad place for a fugitive from the Law to seek shelter, as the immediate neighbourhood is broken up by ravines running down to the Jumna, the population of the suburb is small, and a man could lie *perdu* there for sometime without much fear of his hiding place being detected. The Sonar—timorous as are most of that caste—was far from being pleased at the arrival of Ghasita, especially when the

latter coolly informed him of his having murdered a constable the preceding night. But any intention of closing his doors to the Kachi, or betraying his presence in Tajgunj to the Police, was abandoned on Ghasita mentioning sundry transactions in which the Sonar had played an important part; knowledge about which the convict had gained while in the Central Jail. So Manphul made the best of a bad job, and showed his visitor into a tiny back-room, where he could stay in security until the first hue and cry subsided. Owing to his house being close to the *thana* at Tajgunj, the Sonar was frequently called to the aid of the Police in the character of witness to a house-search; to sign as to the correctness of articles found in possession of any person under arrest; or to help in the weighing of gold and silver ornaments recovered from thieves or robbers. He figured on such occasions as a "*mutabar admi*"—a respectable individual, and perhaps was not far below the moral standard of such witnesses to the integrity and upright doings of the subordinate Police. He was, therefore, in a position to hear news about the recent murder and keep Ghasita *au fait* as to the method being adopted to capture him, if suspicion should have attached itself to the Kachi with reference to that deed of blood. It was not many days before a second proclamation might have been noticed on the boards outside the Police station, in which the name of Ghasita figured as prominently as in the former placard announcing his escape from Jail. Some of the people he had met on the night of the murder at Duhuki *para*—shortly previous to that occurrence—had given a fairly accurate description of his looks, and the similarity of the man they described with the personal appearance of the escaped convict was soon observed by an intelligent Sub-Inspector. The reward for the arrest of Ghasita now rose to Rs. 200, a sum which the Sonar would have been delighted to earn had he not stood in great awe of his dangerous lodger. Enforced captivity within the narrow precincts of a small, stuffy *kothri* proved more than the impatient spirit of Ghasita could bear for a lengthy period, so by the time a fortnight had slipped by, he used to sally forth after nightfall and roam among the old ruins that stand as monuments of past greatness along the road leading from Tajgunj to the Agra Fort. There were the crumbling walls of a mansion once tenanted by Todar Mull, that clever Kayasth from Laherpur in Oudh, who acted as Revenue Member to Akhbar and whose general lines of fiscal administration serve still as a basis for the British procedure with regard to the same difficult problem of land valuation and assessment of revenue justly due to Government. There again, one saw the decaying abode of Rajah Jai Singh, noted for his astronomical tastes as well as his being the founder of the modern city of Jaipur, after Amber—that hoary town perched on the barren hill sides was quitted by the Jadon Rajputs for a new capital.

Lack of ready money alone hindered Ghasita from once more taking the road and replenishing his empty girdle at the expense of some rich traveller. Since the Police records must contain a list of all his near relatives, including the family of Kachis in Lohamandi bazar, the idea of his venturing to visit that locality was much too daring to render it probable, so Ghasita felt that it would be perfectly safe to proceed there at night and have a chat with Nasibun, the girl who imagined him as a persecuted hero of romance. Accordingly he put that scheme into practice and experienced no interruption in his stolen interview with that damsel, while she gave him some news likely to prove of considerable value in the near future. Nasibun was employed to sell vegetables at the cantonment station by the merchant who had got a contract for that work from the Railway authorities, and thus spent many hours on the platform, listening to the talk of the railway servants and gleaning odd scraps of information about doings on the line. Among other details, she casually informed Ghasita that a wedding was about to be celebrated in the house of the Indian Assistant Station Master, and that great preparations were in progress for holding this ceremony in grand style. The salary of the bride's father might seem an insignificant sum, yet he had his allotted share—his *hak*—of the unearned increment derived by most of the station staff and divided in accordance with the unwritten law on the subject. The 10th of November had been fixed for the arrival of the bridegroom's party from some place down the line, but the dowry and wedding gifts would be collected in the house where resided the bride with her parents—a set of hideous red brick quarters about fifty yards distant from the railway station itself. Greatly interested by what Nasibun told him, the possibility of breaking into the place in question and carrying off such cash and jewelry as he could lay his hands on, made Ghasita revolve many plans in his mind. From talks with dacoit leaders in jail he had learnt that in the majority of instances their capture had been effected by treachery on the part of some member of the gang led by greedy longing for a good reward, fear of Police oppression, or perhaps to revenge some insult or rough treatment often led a dacoit to play the informer and reveal to the authorities the whereabouts and identity of "the leader of his gang. So Ghasita determined to work—a sound rule—on "his own," and thus have no companions to claim a portion of the spoil, or false friends to betray him in the hopes of handling the Government reward for his arrest. But dacoit-

ing a house, where several persons were sure to be collected together and which stood so near to the railway station and—still worse—to the lines of the Agra Police Reserve, was not a job to be undertaken single-handed, and he wondered where he could find a few kindred spirits to join him in the crime he now contemplated. Bidding Nasibun adieu, after promising to see her again ten days hence—it being now the end of October—he returned to his refuge in Tajgunj to think matters over and find a suitable method for robbing the Assistant Station Master of the portable property certain to be at his house in readiness for the coming of the bridegroom and his friends.

In his character as a receiver of stolen property Manphul used to be visited by men of the *butmash* class, who came mysteriously to his house at night and were taken by the Sonar into an inner room for the transaction of business too strictly private in nature to be dealt with in the outer shop. Long absence from Agra had put Ghasita quite out of touch with his quondam allies in crime, most of whom had either begun to live honestly, had left for other parts of the country or—and these perhaps were in a majority—were safely locked up in jail. No alternative remained except to confide in his host and explain that he wanted introduction to a few men of the right sort—thereby meaning scoundrels who would not hesitate to commit any offence in the Penal Code, from cheating to murder—to join in a promising enterprise with a large booty to be divided when the affair was brought off satisfactorily. Manphul asked no awkward questions, not wishing to learn particulars of the villany Ghasita had in view, but made the latter faithfully swear that a certain percentage of the proceeds from his criminal undertaking would be handed over to the Sonar, independent of the portion of the *swag* given him at ruinously cheap rate to dispose of. To deposit jewelry in the melting pot and despatch Currency Notes to a Calcutta correspondent for passing in that distant centre of trade—these were not the least profitable parts of Manphul's trade and he had been too long at the game to make any mistake in this branch of his business. By the middle of November, Ghasita had made the acquaintance of four professional burglars and deemed that number sufficient for the prosecution of his plans. He ascertained from Nasibun that on the 20th of that month, the bridal party were expected to arrive from Farruckabad by a train that reached the Cantonment station between six and seven A. M. The Assistant Station Master, a Kayasth by caste, had made all preparations for the reception of the bride and her relatives, and cash and trinkets were sure to be in his house awaiting the ceremony of betrothal. From the same source he learnt that a Troop Special—conveying a British regiment to take part in some manoeuvres at the Meerut Camp of Exercise—was timed to pass through about 1 A. M. and that the Assistant Station Master had been detailed for duty on that occasion, so would be away from his quarters for some little time. The only other male members of his household were two lads, still in their "teens" and a semi-crippled grandfather, hence the opposition to be overcome was very trifling. Ghasita had not made a confidant of Nasibun, yet her woman's wit soon led her to guess why he asked the questions he did about matters in no wise concerning him, unless he meant mischief towards the subject of his inquiries. The nights are pretty cold in northern India in November and a dense fog often rises at that season of the year, lasting from after sunset till within an hour or two of dawn. By having five persons concerned in the raid on the valuables of the Assistant Station Master, the crime became, as enjoined by Sec. 895 of the Penal Code, a dacoity, punishment for which offence is of a slightly severer character than for ordinary housebreaking, but Ghasita flattered himself that his scheme was too carefully planned to admit the chance of detection or arrest.

The drivers of hackney carriages in a military Cantonment are almost a class by themselves: usually Mahomedans of the most disreputable type and accustomed to act with lawless vigour and without much fear of consequences—a fact due to having to deal with Tommy Atkins, a somewhat rough customer, though in reality his bark is infinitely worse than his bite, and if he does curse and cuff individuals exciting his wrath, nevertheless makes amends by the ease with which it is possible to swindle him in matters of payment. A driver accordingly had repaired to a cluster of small bungalows, tenanted by Government pensioners, chiefly retired Eurasians, and there stayed—as if waiting for a fare well wanted. His place of tarrying was within easy distance of the railway quarters and on the main road leading from the Cantonment Station to the military lines and Sudder Bazar. The four other members of the gang were told to repair by separate routes to an appointed rendezvous, under an old tree that grew on some waste land adjoining the railway line, and not more than hundred yards from the house it was intended to break into. On the night chosen for the dacoity, five men might have been seen—had not a heavy mist rendered things invisible at a distance of over ten yards—seated in conclave under the tree. Ghasita carried his Winchester, skillfully hidden beneath a long dirty overcoat—made out of rough blanketting—while his companions had *lathis* and one of them a *tulwar*. They anticipated little difficulty in getting into the house, surrounded by a brick wall of about eight feet high and with wooden doors unlikely

to resist strong pressure from outside. One of the gang stole forward to watch for the exit on duty of the Assistant Station Master, whose departure was to be the signal for beginning active operations. The railway employee was sure to take a lantern to help him on his way to the station, and prevent him from tripping over wires or falling into a pit on the journey. The chimes from the big clock on the Roman Catholic cathedral had scarcely finished ringing out twelve, when the spy came back to report that the hour for their work had come, the Station Master having just left his house and gone off to his post of duty. Stealthily approaching the building, Ghasita made one of the others give him a leg up and soon managed to scale the low wall. Sitting astride of its narrow coping, he noticed the glimmer of a country lamp, the humble *chiragh*, within the house and heard female voices. Doubtless the women folk had awoken when the master of the premises started out, and were indulging in conversation prior to resuming their disturbed slumbers. Giving a hand to pull up his comrades, one by one the gang surmounted the wall and Ghasita dropping down into the little front courtyard, was soon busy in forcing open the main door, not very securely fastened, so offering scant resistance to the sturdy shoving of the dacoit. Once inside the place it was easy to seize the womenfolk and lads, threatening them with immediate death should they attempt to raise an alarm. Nor were the frightened creatures likely to do so, for the sudden apparition of the dacoits, the ferocity on the coarse features of the leader and their utter helplessness compelled them to sit cowering on the mud floor, while the robbers commenced ransacking the room and breaking open a strong chest in which they, rightly enough, thought the property they sought must be hidden. Unfortunately Ghasita forgot the existence of the grandmother, who slept in another tiny apartment at the back of the house and who—like most old people—was awakened by the smallest noise. She heard the door broken in and the fierce warnings given by the gang, so with a wonderful agility for her years, managed to lift the latch of another door opening on to a bit of ground where the family had planted a few marigolds—the *gendas* used for garlanding an image of Vishnu or some other god of the Hindu pantheon—and a plant of sacred basil (*tulshi*) which on certain festivals adorned a rudely carved lingam, also object of worship by the pious Kayasth and his relatives. To cross the space intervening between the house and the wire fencing that marked off the railway land; to scramble through that barrier and painfully climb the steep embankment did not prove a task beyond the powers of the excited orone. Once on the line, she was not many paces from the distant signal and points where a Jemadar—as the pointsman is called in Indian railway parlance—stood after seeing that everything was ready for the safe passing of the Troop Train, due in another five minutes. Her shrieks of "*Chor-Chor, Daku agya*" ran out on the night air with surprising vigour and were audible for a long way in the perfect stillness that prevailed. The sentry on the Police magazine shouted for the Guard to turn out; the sound of men moving hurriedly about in the lines, orders being given in half a dozen different voices and directions, showed the dacoits that they had better depart as quickly as possible, although not all the booty had been discovered and taken possession of. Ghasita did not lack pluck, so delayed leaving the house till the sound of men running up told him that it was high time to make good his escape. Emerging from the courtyard, his figure was seen by the Jemadar, who told him to stop at once. A shower of abuse followed by a warning not to advance a step further, was the only answer he received. Not perceiving that the dacoit was armed, the Pointsman—a sturdy Rajput from Ajmere—bravely kept on his way and got within a couple of yards of Ghasita when the latter taking deliberate aim shot the luckless man dead in his tracks. Though the report of the rifle increased the bustle in the Police lines, it served to deter some other railway men from coming any nearer, so Ghasita rushed away into the enveloping fog and made straight for the spot where the gharry was in readiness to bear him and his associates away from the scene of their crime. Some sowars had mounted, without pausing to saddle their horses, but were obliged to make a considerable detour to reach the Station Master's quarters, owing to a long stretch of wire fencing that demarcated Police and railway territories. By the time the constables and sowars arrived to find the corpse of the dead Jemadar and to obtain from the terrified people some idea of what had occurred, and whether the dacoits had fled, Ghasita and his "*pals*" were being conveyed at full speed towards the barracks, the Kachi cleverly choosing that road since he knew that soldiers invariably made the driver urge his steeds to the utmost, so their rapid pace would not cause surprise, which it would inevitably have done had they gone in the direction of the Civil Lines or the city. Nearing the Cantonment church, he stopped the gharry, bade a hasty farewell to his companions, after ordering them to meet him that night at the house of the Sonar to get their share of the stolen property, and then—shouldering the cash and ornaments which he had tied up in a sort of bundle, using a *chudhar* belonging to one of the women for that purpose—Ghasita walked calmly along the road leading to Tajgunj, halted amid some ruins in one of the ravines, placed the booty in what he deemed a secure cache, unlikely to be noticed or interfered with for the next twenty-four hours at any—

rate, and was knocking at the door of his lodgings before the sows had got on the track of the gharry, whose noisy rattling had not escaped their attention, but which they failed to overtake or catch sight of. Having killed a fellow creature did not hinder Ghasita from enjoying a sound sleep, and it was midday ere he got up, went to the well to perform the usual ablutions and then told the Sonar to have some food prepared for his benefit. Manphul had visited Tajgunj thana that morning and news of the dacoity and murder had come while he was engaged in amicable conversation with the officer in charge. Congratulating the *Darogha-ji* on the absence of *bardmashes* of that sort in the circle under his vigilant care, he returned to his shop, more anxious than ever to see the last of a tenant with such dangerous habits as Ghasita: for he had little doubt of that worthy being mixed up in the crime of the previous night. Some days, however, had yet to elapse before host and guest were destined to part company.—A. N. G.



Oriental Studies.

LORD CURZON'S APPEAL TO LONDON.

A LARGE and influential meeting was held at the Mansion House in mail week under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, in support of the School of Oriental Studies. Among the speakers were the Marquess of Crewe, Earl Curzon, Lord Reay, Lord Incheape, and Sir Montagu Turner, and the attendance included the Persian Minister, the First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy, Viscount Peel, Lord Redesdale, Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord George Hamilton Syed Ameer Ali, Sir W. R. Anson, M. P., Mr. L. S. Amery, M. P., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, Sir M. M. Bhowaggee, Sir Stanley Bois, Sir Reginald Brade, Sir Edward Bask, the Rev. Professor Caldecott, General Sir E. F. Chapman, Sir Ernest Clarke, Sir William J. Collins, Sir Homewood Crawford, Professor A. W. Crossley, Sir Louis Dune, Major-General F. J. Davies, Sir Algernon F. Firth, Dr. T. Gregory Foster, Sir W. Garstin, the Rev. Professor Gollancz, Professor Israel Gollancz, Sir Lawrence Gomme, Sir George Grierson, Sir K. G. Gupta, Sir Murray Hamrick, Sir Lancelot Hare, Professor M. J. M. Hill, Sir Walter Hillier, Sir E. H. Holden, Sir Frederick Lely, Mr. G. A. Lloyd, M. P., Professor S. L. Loney, Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. Stanley Machin, Sir Philip Magnus, M. P., Sir Carl Meyer, Sir Henry Miers, Sir Theodore Morison, Mr. Charles Roberts, Under-Secretary for India, the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn, Professor J. W. Neill, Professor Prendergast, Sir Walter Pridaux, Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir William Schlich, Sir Felix Schuster, Sir J. George Scott, Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Professor F. M. Simpson, Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir John Stanley, Sir Richard Stapley, Sir T. Vesey Strong, the hon. C. H. Strutt, Sir F. A. Swettenham, Sir Mark Sykes, M. P., Sir Henry Tanner, Sir James Thomson, Canon Weitbrecht, Sir Harry Wilson, and Mr. P. J. Hartog, Secretary of the Oriental Studies Committee.

The Secretary read a letter from the Earl of Cromer to the Lord Mayor, saying: 'It is with the deepest regret that I find myself prevented by illness from attending and speaking at the meeting which you have been good enough to summon for May 6th in support of the School of Oriental Studies. For the last four years I have had the success of this scheme at heart, and have done my best to surmount the not inconsiderable difficulties which have attended its inception. The only difficulties now remaining are of a financial character, and although I do not underestimate them, I feel that we can confidently appeal to the citizens of London to help us to carry through, within the next few months, a scheme which will be of service to the Metropolis as well as to the Empire. I am convinced that the foundation of the school, which will be at once a training ground for those about to proceed to Africa and the East, and a centre of intelligence in regard to our vast Dominions in those parts, is of vital importance to the continued prosperity of our Oriental commerce and of our Oriental administration. It is a matter in which we can no longer afford to remain in a position of inferiority to other countries.'

The Lord Mayor said the merchant princes of London were thoroughly in sympathy with the establishment of this School of Oriental Studies, and the City was anxious to remove the reproach that while England was the greatest Oriental Power in the world, it possessed no school of Oriental studies that could be compared with those of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, or St. Petersburg. He appealed confidently to the citizens of London to make the projected School a speedy and a great success. (Cheers.)

LORD CURZON'S SPEECH.

Earl Curzon who was received with cheers, moved: 'That in view of the great Imperial and commercial interests dependent on

adequate provision being made for instruction in the languages, the literature and the social customs of Oriental and African countries, this meeting desires heartily to support the scheme for the foundation of a school of Oriental Studies in the City of London.' First of all he said he would like to express the gratitude they all felt towards the Lord Mayor and their regret at the absence of Lord Cromer, who had been Chairman of the Committee which had been dealing for four years with the question of the establishment of a School of Oriental Studies a Committee of which the speaker himself was a member. Lord Cromer had attended every meeting of the committee and had done an enormous amount of work in connection with it. In the main that School, when it came into being, would owe its existence to Lord Cromer's influence and untiring perseverance. (Cheers.) Another person whose absence he sincerely regretted was that eminent African administrator Sir Harry Johnston. He would much have liked to see that gentleman there, because this School was intended to deal with the languages and customs not only of the East in the conventional sense of the terms but also of Africa. As the Lord Mayor had pointed out, this was a movement to place Great Britain in the same position with regard to the countries of the East which were administered by us, or with which we had relations of diplomacy or trade, that was occupied by Continental Powers whose interests in the East were far inferior to ours. Germany spent £10,000 a year on a school of Oriental languages at Berlin: France, £8,000 a year on one in Paris: Russia £8,000 a year on one in St. Petersburg to which had lately been added a sister institution at Vladivostok with a similar endowment while even Italy spent £4,000 for a similar purpose. It was hardly credible, having regard to the position of this country in the East, that there should not be an institution of the kind in the British Capital. Our officers and Civil Servants pick up the languages of the countries who went out to the East were left to which they were sent from munshis or interpreters or the native assistants whom they employed, and it was the same with the clerks who were sent to treaty ports and great commercial centres, where our traders were faced with ever-increasing foreign rivalry. Nor was there any machinery for teaching these men what was, from some points of view, ever more important than languages, namely, an acquaintance with the ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of Oriental peoples.

LANGUAGE AND SPIRIT.

To know the languages of the East was a great thing, but he ventured to suggest that to know the spirit of the East was a greater. (Hear, hear.) He remembered a phrase that once fell from General Gordon, who said that it was the duty of the Englishmen in the East 'to get inside the skin' of the Oriental with whom he was dealing. That was a very sagacious and pregnant remark. He would not raise the question whether the Eastern man was a different being from the Western man, but undoubtedly there was an atmosphere of the East, and there could be no doubt that the real key to success was a knowledge of the national character of the peoples and their point of view, their religious beliefs, their acrimies, their prejudices, perhaps. (Hear, hear.) To teach such knowledge would, he thought, be an important part of the work of this school of Oriental Studies. During the past quarter of a century more than one effort had been made to remedy the state of things in this country to which he had made reference, but none was successful, and they finally dwindled down to the excellent but rather precarious teaching of a small number of Oriental languages in University College and King's College, London. This state of affairs lasted until, in 1906, an influential deputation went to the then Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and made to him a powerful representation of the case. The Prime Minister gave a most sympathetic reply, and the result was the appointment of a Departmental Committee, presided over by Lord Reay, than whom, among the distinguished Englishmen who had served this country in high administrative offices abroad, none on returning home, had devoted himself with greater enthusiasm to the languages, literature, and interest of the East. (Cheers.) In 1908 Lord Reay's Committee reported, and that report was the basis of all that had happened since. It recommended the institution of a School of Oriental Studies in London, to be ultimately incorporated in the University of London, and to be reasonably endowed by the Government. The next stage was the discussion in the House of Lords in 1909, a discussion inaugurated by his noble friend, Lord Redesdale, who had placed at the service of Lord Reay's committee his unrivalled knowledge of the peoples of the Far East. Lord Cromer and he (Lord Curzon) incautiously took part in that debate, the consequences of which they little foresaw. The then Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, having adopted a favourable attitude, and indicated a willingness to be further squeezed pounced down on Lord Cromer and himself and told them that they were to formulate and organise a scheme for the establishment of the school, to find a site for the building, sketch out a scheme of managements, and find the necessary

fairly ambitious and expensive programme. (Laughter.) Their income. (Laughter.) The meeting would agree that was Committee had sat ever since, and had seen four Lords Mayors and two Permanent Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs.

THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

With regard to the site, their attention was directed to the splendid building of the London Institution in the heart of the city, at Finsbury circus, which had a magnificent library, large rooms, and a theatre, and was in a quiet position well adapted to study. With the aid of the chairman of that institution, Lord Aldenham, they succeeded in buying out the interest of the proprietors, the Government promised £20,000 or £25,000 for repairs and alterations, and the building of a new block of class-rooms, and Professor Simpson prepared plans which would be carried out before the middle of the next year. This institution was to be established as a school of the University of London, but under a Royal Charter. The bodies represented among the Governors would be the University of London, several provincial Universities, the Foreign Office, the War Office, the India Office, the Corporation of the City of London, the London County Council, the Royal Asiatic Society, the British Academy, and the London Chamber of Commerce. In the school would be taught nine Indian languages, as well as Arabic, Persian, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, Hansa, and Swahili. There were to be six professors and a number of assistants. The King had honoured them by consenting to be patron of the institution. (Cheers.) The Committee estimated the annual expenditure at £14,000, and towards this the Government had promised £4,000, and the Government of India £1,250. They had hopes that the London County Council would make them a handsome grant. In fact, the Education Committee of the Council had, he believed, recommended a grant of £2,000 a year. (Cheers.)

With regard to the city, he appealed to the Lord Mayor to be kind enough to use his powerful influence with the splendid and munificent body over which he presided. (Cheers.) The school would be valuable to the commerce of the city, and once it was established the present Lord Mayor's successors would claim it, and rightly claim it, as a city institution. (Cheers.) He greatly hoped that they might be assisted, too, by those admirable bodies the City Companies, whom everybody co-operated in bleeding, and who revelled in the surgical operation. (Laughter.) Some he believed were favourably inclined but on this subject they must adopt a formula which was popular in high politics; they must wait and see. (Laughter.) He hoped that the formula of the Companies would be: hurry up and pay. (Laughter.) The Committee desired to raise an endowment fund. It behoved the merchants of the city who traded with the East to support the scheme if they did not want to see the plums from the cake and the spoils of commercial enterprise taken by their indigestible foreign rivals, particularly the Germans, as was being done at the present time. He appealed for recognition for what was really a great Imperial obligation. It was part of the necessary furniture of Empire. There was a gap in our national equipment which ought to be filled, and those who took part in filling it would be rendering a patriotic duty to the Empire and promoting the cause of peace and good will among mankind.

'DON'T'S' FOR ANGLO-INDIANS.

Lord Reay, in seconding the resolution, emphasised the importance of understanding the manners and customs of the peoples of the East. There were certain things that an Englishman in India for instance, ought to know, such as that he should not call on a Hindu at prayer time, morning, noon, or night, that he should not cast a shadow on any food a Brahmin was eating, and that he should not interfere with a workman at work.

THE RESOLUTION WAS CARRIED.

Lord Inchcape proposed, and Mr. F. Faithful Begg seconded, a resolution appealing to the commercial community of the city and the general public for funds to enable the school to be opened in 1915 on a satisfactory financial basis. This also was adopted.

The Marquess of Crewe proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor. In doing so, he referred to the close connection between the City of London and East ever since the foundation of the first of the East Indian Companies rather more than 300 years ago. Indians were studying the English language and English literature more and more every day, and that being so there was a reciprocal obligation on Englishmen who went out to India to learn not merely the languages of India, but Indian customs and Indian history. He trusted that all those connected with the City of London would take a prominent and noble part in supplying the needs of this School of Oriental Studies and he was certain that countless as were the objects which had been promoted and pressed forward in the Mansion House, that nursery of good causes, there were not many more worthy of general support than the cause they had met to advocate that day. (Cheers.)

On Toleration and the Turk.

THERE is nothing that so surely enshrines the past in a living balm of piety as a monastery. It is in the critical spirit that the true monk locks his door. His treasure is a thing of chance. No connoisseur has gathered or preserved it. It is always the gift of hazard that some random affection or antique habit has made precious. Here it is a priceless manuscript that a carved chest contains, there a chased salver, and again some pitiful relic that survives only to commemorate credulity and superstition. We recall a curious monastic treasure which in itself summed up a whole world of ambiguous yet beautiful sentiment. It lies in the monastery of Rilo on the frontiers of the old Bulgaria. There is much that is curious and beautiful around it. The mountains have made for it a narrow hermit's cell with their towering walls of greenery, their spires of living rock, their rippling streams that are a ceaseless call to prayer. The whitewashed masonry with its reminiscences, now of the Venetian and again of Byzantine architecture, are solid tomes of history. Like the memories of the monks, it is a chronicle of revolt and brigandage, of plotting and massacre. The treasure is that rarest of all relics, a memento of tolerance, the gift of a fraternity which could overstep race and creed. It is a great candle, such as men of all religions have loved to burn at their altars, presented to this Christian monastery by one of the more glorious Sultans of the House of Othman. Nor is its message inarticulate. Among the treasured manuscripts of the place is a letter in which this tolerant Turk assured the monks of Rilo of his regard and protection, and bade them pray for him at the altar to which he sent his gift. Rilo in the centuries to come was to be the centre of many a savage struggle between Christians and Turks. Here the bands were sheltered and armed which set out with fire and sword for the liberation of Macedonia. Hither the refugees fled with their tales of horror, from its devastated villages, when revolution had brought in its train the usual reprisals of alarmed authority. Crusade provoked jihad, and outrage was answered by massacre, but still, amid the angers and fanaticisms, these candles stood in Rilo to recall the good deed of the tolerant Sultan. There was nothing insincere in their tolerance nor has time made it obsolete. The Turks were and are a tolerant people.

It is a book in defence of the Turks, not too accurate in its facts, and far from tactful in its polemics, which has reminded us of Rilo. In "Turkish Memories" (Heinemann), Mr. Sidney Whitman is concerned largely with Abdul Hamid and the Armenian massacres. He is a partial historian, and his competence to write on Eastern affairs may be judged from the fact that he supposes the Armenians to belong to the Greek Orthodox Church (p. 20). But the book, superficial and but moderately interesting as it is, makes one point which is worth considering. Mr. Whitman, travelling through Armenia to investigate the atrocities as a personal friend of Abdul Hamid, with Palace officers at his side, and Kurdish cavalry for his guard of honor, was impressed by the fact that everywhere on the hillsides of this country which Turkish fanaticism was supposed to have devastated, he saw churches and monasteries of the Armenians, inviolate, flourishing, and secure. On that impression fortified by similar evidence, he bases the conclusion that the persecutions and massacres of the Armenians were in no sense religious, that fanaticism played no part in them, and that they were a purely political reprisal for the outrages and seditious propaganda of Armenian revolutionists.

The thesis is not new. It is, indeed, the usual Turkish version of these ghastly events, but Mr. Whitman puts it forward with an uncritical assurance unusual among disinterested Europeans. The Turkish mind is essentially loyal and honest, and when it is driven into untruth, it lies clumsily and badly. This excuse is not oldsway, and it is not a lie. It is in our experience, so far as it goes, the exact truth, and it fails to be a fair account of this hideous social phenomenon not because of what it states, but because of what it omits. The persecution of Christians by Turks never was religious, as the persecution of Jews by Christians or of heretics by the Church was religious. It was not inspired by hatred of their "errors," by anger at their rejection of sacred teaching, by a desire to vindicate the authority of a Church, nor by a wish to save souls in the next world by destroying bodies in this life. Islam, in short, has never earned Gibbon's censure on the early Church; it has never defended absurdities by cruelties. There have, indeed, been cases, even in recent centuries, of forced conversions en masse by the sword, but these were always an incident of warfare, and did not occur among populations which quietly accepted Ottoman rule. We so far agree with Mr. Whitman as to believe that if there had been no Bulgarian insurrection there would have been no Bulgarian horrors, and if there had been no Armenian secret societies there would have been no Armenian massacres.

Had the Christians of the Ottoman Empire remained deaf to nationalist aspirations, and turned a cold shoulder to fraternal incitements from outside, they might have vegetated in a relative security as tolerable as that which the Jews of Salonica and Smyrna have enjoyed since they formed under the Crescent an asylum from the Inquisition. Whatever else may be said of Turkish atrocities and massacres, they are not religious phenomena comparable with the destruction of the Albigenses, the St. Bartholomew massacres, or the exploits of the Holy Office. When the Turks persecuted, they were not vindicating dogma; they were securing the outworks of an empire based upon conquest.

The distinction may seem subtle. After all, it will be justly said, Armenians and Bulgarians were exposed to the intermittent sufferings and humiliations which provoked insurrection only because they were Christians, and any time they might have escaped all danger by becoming Moslems. That is the broad fact which Mr. Whitman's casuistry ignores. Life was made intolerable for progressive and self-respecting Christians, with the result that some of them rebelled, whereupon rebellion was suppressed with massacre. History in such cases may have some censure for the imprudence of the rebels, but it holds the conqueror and oppressor responsible for the whole chain of evils. The distinction which Mr. Whitman and his school invite us to make is interesting only in the world of theory and psychology, but there it is vital.

The simple fact is that toleration, though we continue to use the word loosely, has long since ceased to be the ideal of civilized men. It represented in European history a half-way house, and a middle term between persecution and full civil equality. It was toleration which kept the Irish Catholics as helots under the penal laws, and debarred them from the ownership of land and the exercise of professions, while it allowed them the practice of their rites. It was toleration which excluded the Jews from the franchise, while it protected their synagogues and stamped out the medieval instinct for pogroms. It was not toleration, but a Liberal theory of the secular State which opened wide the doors of political and civil rights to Catholics, Non-conformists, and Jews. The interesting fact about the Turks, or rather about Islam in general, is that it was the first and greatest builder of this half-way house. It is not enough to say that Islam is tolerant; it is based on tolerance, it has been the standard-bearer and model of tolerance among the world's civilizations. Its theory and practice had as a corner-stone the permissive existence of tolerated cults, which were not merely allowed but protected. So far from making any effort under moral conditions of peace to convert Christians or Jews, the Moslem ruling class regarded them as permanent castes, designed to persevere in their errors under an inscrutable destiny, as pariahs are destined to persevere in their uncleanness. Their rights were well-defined and rarely infringed. They were governed by their own ecclesiastical heads, who administered the civil as well as the canon law in their internal affairs. They enjoyed the public exercise of their cults and were absolutely free in matters of opinion.

The apologist of Islam is entitled to make the most of the wisdom and humanity which inspired this institution. The Prophet anticipated John Locke by a round thousand years, and the history of Islam is in consequence a luminous and glorious page in the matter of tolerance, when one places it side by side with the records of Christian doctors and princes from St. Augustine downwards. But toleration in the strict sense of the word is an attitude of contempt. The tolerated sects of Christians and Jews occupied a status midway between slavery and freedom. The early statesmen and jurists of Islam defined it sharply, and practice rather tended to worsen than to better the plight of the *rayahs*. They were in theory an enemy who had made an external submission. They had bought off the worst penalty of conquest by consenting to pay a tribute. They were a subject caste with rights that marked their status of inferiority. They might own slaves, but not Moslem slaves. They might not marry Moslem women. They might not own or bear arms. There was a penalty on a Moslem who killed one of them, but it was never death, and was always less than the blood-price of a true believer. Their evidence, like that of a slave could not be accepted in court. They might ride mules but not horses. They might retain their churches but could not build new ones, nor even repair their ancient fanes. This was the theory of Islam as its greatest doctors defined it. Its practice as the Bulgarian and the Armenian knew it, was governed mainly by the fact that the Turk was usually his landlord, and that the Kurd and Albanian alone went armed. Toleration bore the same fruits in Catholic Ireland and in Christian Armenia, aggravated, indeed, in the latter by the redness of the ruling race and the feebleness of the central government. By all means let us give the Turk his due, but let us make no fetish of tolerance. If persecution has slain its thousands, tolerance has degraded its hundreds. The monks did well to keep the Sultan's candles in the library at Riloi. But who shall say that they did ill to store rifles in the cellar?—*The Nation*.

Degenerate Journalism.

TRAFFICKING IN ABUSE.

THERE is only one thing more apparent than the monotonous scurrility of the Tory Press when dealing with Liberal Ministers and Liberal measures, and that is its utter ineffectiveness. The disadvantage of always screaming when you talk is that when you do want to raise your voice you cannot. If the epithets 'rogue,' 'liar,' 'traitor,' 'bully,' are used daily about opponents they not only cease to convey any stigma, but are dead when applied on some serious occasion. It is this fact which so troubles the Tory writers. Having exhausted the vocabulary of abuse in their ordinary vocabulary of Liberalism they have nothing left for 'a rainy day,' and, hoarse with bawling, can only repeat their hackneyed catalogue, complaining 'that current language' is unable 'to keep pace with current events to quote the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

A few citations from Tory journals will show how great a hold the new style has got. I unhesitatingly affirm that it is impossible to find in Liberal organs of similar standing to these papers such an utter disregard not only of the elementary decencies of controversy but of the elementary meaning of words. The quotations I have taken are from the Tory Press of last month and in order to avoid the charge of exaggeration the passages selected do not represent the Tory Press at its worst, they are fair samples of its medium mood:—

'We learn on authority, which we cannot question, that warrants have already been signed for the arrest of leaders of the Ulster movement.'—*Globe*, March 19.

Though this statement was untrue, the *Globe* did not, so far as we can discover, withdraw it.

'We believe the Unionist party will now refuse to have any further truck with a Cabinet of tricketers and 'agents provocateurs.'—*Globe*, March 23.

'General' Lloyd George, the debased Maconchi Minister, and now official incendiary, will work his vile ways in vain.'—*Globe*, March 23.

'The honour of Ministers is worth £8 a week. There is no dirt, no filth that Ministers will not eat if only they can cling to office a little longer.'—*Globe*, March 27.

'Trickery evasion, and downright falsehood have stained with indelible dishonour the actions of this unprecedented Government.'—*Globe*, March 26.

THE 'TIMES' AND MINISTERS.

The *Times*, though not so blunt as the *Globe* is equally insulting. It refers to Mr. Churchill as Mr. Lloyd George's 'rival in vituperation,' speaks of the reckoning to be sought with the plotters who planned the forcible coercion of Ulster, and asks 'need we take any further notice of the evasions and the protestations of Mr. Churchill and other plotters?' On March 27 the *Times* declared that—

'The cynical withdrawal of these pledges has induced a widespread feeling that no undertaking by this Government, however solemn, no promise, however sacred, will be kept for an instant longer than political exigencies require.'

During the month of March the forthcoming reduction of the *Times* to 1d. rivalled in importance the Ulster crisis in the columns of the *Daily Mail* but there was room for such headlines as 'The Bullies,' 'Dirty work for the Army,' and for the prophecy that the Government are coming, and not honest, would be the verdict of the British People. Mr. Asquith, said the *Daily Mail*, must be beginning to see 'he cannot carry out his fraudulent bargain with Mr. Redmond.' The *Daily Express*, however, atoned for any excess of 'sweetness and light in the *Daily Mail*.' Included in its headlines were:

How to make a pogrom.

Up to the neck.

Still on the knee.

As for the limpets who cling to office and salary in this incredible fashion, they are beyond the piercing touch of shame. First the "hellish" plot to make a pogrom in Ulster, now amply proved, in spite of Sir John Simon, by evidence against which Mr. Asquith's verbal assurances do not weigh at all. Then the offer of a choice to the officers who were to carry out the pogrom. Then the resignation. Then the Ministerial lies and extra lies morasses of lying which are given a new twist with each new hour, with the dishonoured cheque lying on top of all.—*Daily Express*, March 28.

'The Ulster pogrom and its sequels are made the excuse for a "star turn" by Mr. Asquith, P. M. of England, in his new character of profession of droll.'—*Daily Express*, March 31.

SHRIEKING HEADLINES.

'P. M. of England' is quite good and to the *Daily Express* belongs the further distinction of discovering the hair-raising qualities of 'pogrom,' the 'P. M. of Russia', but the 'honours' undoubtedly belong to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. 'Bully,' 'Juggler,' 'pantaloner,' 'slanderous,' 'indecent,' 'put-up job,' 'vile means,' 'clutching at dirty handholds,' were among its happiest hits. The headlines were worthy of a paper which, as has been wittily remarked, is not so much published as carried shrieking into the street. Here are three examples:—

What the Government Intended,

To Catch Ulster Unprepared

Days of Butchery.

The letterpress was in the same strain:—

The plot that failed becomes the more scandalous, the more the details are known. It was worthy of a Negro republic. There is no doubt even in well informed circles that the work of exasperating Ulster was deliberately contemplated'. *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 24.

The faction that supports the conspirators is prepared to go to any lengths of destruction in its spleen and rage. A Ministry shamed and convicted growing in malignancy as it declines in power.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, March 25.

'The length of a barge pole will not bottom the muddiness of the plot and the second plot...Ministers eat a very dirt to save face'—*Pall Mall Gazette* March 26.

Mr. Asquith's acceptance of the post of Secretary for War and the consequent by-election were described in the *Pall Mall Gazette* headlines as a

Bolt to cover

Premier as 'Poor Reynard'

'The House of Commons had become 'too hot' for the Prime Minister, and he was snatching a brief holiday from humiliation, leaving his Ministers to stew in their own juice. The same journal stated that the Government could not afford 'the luxuries of consistency and honour,' and was 'without a rag of respect to drape the position to which they still cling with paralytic clutches.' Why one should 'drape a position' with a rag is not clear.

THE NON-PARTY ORGAN.

'It may be well said that the conditions of English politics are fast approximating to those of Mexico.—*Morning Post*, March 26.

Then *Morning Post* is not in the counsels of my party...it is an independent organ free from any party or trust, political or financial.... We leave concealment of Liberal Whips, lies to Liberal Ministers, and misrepresentations to the Liberal Press.—*Morning Post*, March 28.

'Every vote for a Liberal is a vote for civil war.—*Morning Post*, March 28.

The *Standard*, whilst not professing to be 'free from any party,' is content with referring to the Government as 'a group of political adventurers who are showing themselves as inept as they are unscrupulous.'

These pledge bound Ministers who have sworn on oath to commit the foulest treason against democracy that a Government ever conceived are entangled in the nets of their own making, and are willing to bring to ruin the whole fabric of the State in a last desperate effort to break through.—*Daily Telegraph*, March 30.

We have not referred to the provincial Tory Press. A single quotation will show how the example of the London Tory Press is emulated. The *Yorkshire Freeman's Post*, alluding to the sore throat from which Mr. Lloyd George is suffering, said:

'We trust his ailment will keep him just sufficiently indisposed to be unable to return to the House of Commons before Mr. Asquith.

Later it contemplates the advantages which might accrue—

'If demagogues can be conveniently silenced for a time, whether by the operation of sore throats or some other merciful intervention of Nature.

To conclude, here are a few flowers of speech culled at random from the pages of the current issue of the *National Review* the acknowledged organ of the 'Die-hard' section of the Tory party.

'We are governed by a combination of black mailers and blackmailed.

'There are no limits to the amount of dirt which an Asquith can eat.'

'The present Prime Minister believes in nothing, not even in himself.'

'Sir Edward Grey would cheerfully smash up the Army and cashier every officer, provided his party secured a few votes. It is high time that a sanctimonious impostor who has enjoyed the privileges of a chartered libertine should be unmasked.'

'It is said of George Washington that he never told a lie, and it can be said of Mr. Lloyd George that he rarely tells the truth.'

'Even such utterly discredited demagogues as the Windbag and the Artful Dodger continue to collect audiences at Bradford and Huddersfield.'

'All the contemptibleness of Mr. Asquith's shifty character was revealed by his answer.'

'Not a statement of his (Mr. Lloyd George's) should be accepted except upon affidavit, and even then it should be handled with tongs.'

'Mentiris impudentissime (O most abandoned liar)—for the first time in history that stinging phrase, which should cut a man of honour like a whip can be addressed with justice to a British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that British Chancellor of the Exchequer does not care.'

'That is the bitterest reflection of all—to the beaten and discredited 'Die-hard'—Mr. Lloyd George 'does not care'.—*Daily Chronicle*.



Mr. Wells on Rebels.

MR. H. G. WELLS tells the *Daily Herald* why he prefers a constructive person to a rebel.

"It is possible to make rebellion a cant," said Mr. Wells. "I think the *Daily Herald* comes near to making rebellion a cant. I disagree with the paper's little way of calling people rebels as if it were praise, as if rebellion was a permanent profession, and highly honourable. Rebellion is sometimes a disagreeable necessity. I admit that. I admit that there are things one cannot stand, one must be quite of them, one has to liberate one's soul from them at any cost. But this note of pride! No.

"A rebel is a nuisance. A rebel is always a bit of lout. Any fool can do rebels' works, and smash and spoil. Don't we all remember from our school days the sort of little beast who used to 'stash up' games? When one has to rebel when there is no more decent or human method, then rebel and have done with it. But to flourish about it as though it was something gaudy and glorious is to show an imbecile's outlook on life. Life is to be and do and make and cherish, not to spoil, insult, defy and embitter. If you must rebel, be clean and direct about it. Decide upon the things you won't stand and don't stand them. If there are things that hamper your life, get rid of them. But get rid of them as quietly and decently as you can.

"Don't spoil life for other people. Don't regard your insurmountable objection to this or that oppression as the heroic justification for any malicious mischief that the ancestral monkey, still lurking in our composition, puts into your head. Everybody has an occasional craving for spiteful destruction. I restrain myself here from a tedious story about a greenhouse and an impulse in my boyhood.) Even in Florence they once smashed ornaments and burnt books and pictures with the utmost gusto. It is one of our ugly factors. It has to be restrained just as we have to restrain many people from a certain innate filthiness, just as we have to restrain many dogs from fighting and many men from a disposition to pursue and frighten unprotected girls in lonely places. It is atavism. It is not the last divine birth of the human spirit.

THE LORD OF THE FUTURE.

"Isn't there a principle actor in the great drama of the modern state whom the *Daily Herald* ignores?" queries Mr. Wells. "I perceive all about me, and I perceive also in myself and my own life, both of the two opponents in the *Daily Herald's* social picture, both *Fat Man* and the lean, large-limbed, small-headed, pathetic *Worker*. Neither strikes me as the hopeful lord of the future. Even if the *Fat Man* be slain, cut up, melted in vats for his tallow, I do not see a very hopeful heir in his toiling, untutored, microcephalic antagonist.

"Isn't there, indeed, between these two, something as yet inadequate in which the hope of man resides, something that is neither pride and greed on the one hand nor blind anger and revolt on the other—Intelligence and Will? Has the *Daily Herald* no sense of Thought and Science and Education as the true heirs of the future that will put an end to Serfs and *Fat Men* and—Kings? In schools and laboratories to-day there are heroes at work. Or does the Good Rebel hope also to burn the books and smash the experiments, and leave nothing finer than a Rebel Leader in the world?"

THE HONEST PARTY.

The word "rebel" displeases even Mr. G. K. Chesterton, for in the same paper he says:—

"The word 'rebel' understates our cause. It is much too mild; it lets our enemies off much too easily.

"I should not say to Mr. Rockefeller 'I am a rebel.' I should say 'I am a respectable man; and you are not.'

"We want a term that will tell everybody that there is, by the common standard, frank fraud and cruelty pushed to their fierce extreme; and that we are fighting them. We are not in a state of 'divine discontent'; we are in an entirely human and entirely reasonable rage. I cannot at the moment think of any party name that would particularly distinguish us from our more powerful and prosperous opponents, unless it were the name the old Jacobites gave themselves; the *Honest party*."

Supplement to the Comrade, 6th June, 1914.

[We regret that through an oversight the leading article on "The Press Act and Proselytization" in our last issue was published without the proofs having been read. We extremely regret it and republish it to-day as a Supplement.]

The Press Act and Proselytization.

In the course of the now famous judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our Pamphlet Case his lordship had said: "I recognise the force of the argument that the Act (the Press Act) 'is now being applied to a purpose never intended'". But Sir Lawrence perhaps forgot that intentions, like everything else in a hot climate, expand enormously. Although the Hon. the Home Member was the author of the new Contempt of Court Bill, and was, therefore, extremely careful of the respect due to a judgment of three of the seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court, he nevertheless pointed out to the learned Chief Justice that he had misinterpreted Government's intentions in passing the Press Bill of one of his predecessors into law. But unless the Hon. Member accepts our theory of expansion in relation to intentions, he would find it difficult to justify the application of the Press Act to the two religious papers of the Mussalmans in the Punjab, the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*.

Last year the "Nawal Kishore Press" of Lahore published three small volumes of a book or tract in Urdu entitled *Ibat-i-Kaffara* (Proof of Atonement). Its author was Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of a Church belonging to the Christian sect of the Church of England. On the cover it is indicated that the publication was a rejoinder to objections raised against the Christian doctrine of Atonement. The preface makes this still more clear and we learn therein that a Mufti Sadiq Saheb, who was a Christian for a time, once more became a Mussalman, and as such delivered a lecture on the doctrine of Atonement when Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din took the chair. The author says that he had asked the Khwaja Saheb's permission to question the lecturer at the end of the lecture which was withheld "on account of the obstinacy 'and bigotry of members of the Ahmadi sect,' and he was thus prevented from making a rejoinder then and there. Sometime after this the Mufti who had lectured published a book called *Kaffara* (Atonement). The three volumes of Rev. Howell's book, *Ibat-i-Kaffara*, are, we are here informed, a rejoinder to the lecture and the book of Mufti Sadiq Saheb.

As regards the Christian doctrine of Atonement, we need say nothing as it is too well known, and we do not think any one would accuse us of injustice to Rev. Howell if we said that it is rather difficult now for anyone to discover a new argument to prove this doctrine. But the way in which the old arguments can be presented are innumerable, and whatever merit Rev. Howell could claim could only lie in his presentation of the case. We have no desire to set up as a controversialist, or even a judge of such polemics, but we cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Howell's methods are certainly not Christ-like, even if they are Christian. We do not know how Christianity is benefited by referring to the Prophet of Islam as having in his heart "the seed of sin which is called the Devil's part", which was repeatedly taken out by the Archangel Gabriel and equally repeatedly grew again. Is the doctrine of Atonement likely to be proved to the satisfaction of a rationalist by saying that Mohamed "frequently remained in subjection to Satan and sorcery"? What relevancy has the following in a discussion about that Christian doctrine:—"Notwithstanding Gabriel's endeavours to remove it by repeated washings, the blackness of (Mohamed's) heart, which was the seed or spermatozoon of 'sin or the Devil's part, could not be removed: or perhaps Mohamed 'used to blacken his heart by not guarding it and repeatedly committing sins.' Or take this as a sample of the Reverend gentleman's style of argument: "Mohamed was caught in the vapour of 'Hell'. . . In the battle of Uhud Mohamed had a tooth 'knocked off besides receiving other wounds. All this was visited upon 'Mohamed on account of his sins with which he was loaded till his 'death'. Turning from the Prophet to his faith and to his followers we get the following:—"The Mussalmans and their divines who committed the crimes of adultery and theft, did so according to the 'desire of Mohamed and behind the screen of 'There is no god 'but God' (the first part of the Moslem formula of faith). . . Through 'this (Islamic) teaching, not only did the number of Moslem prostitutes increase in this world, but Paradise also was filled with *hoars* and *ghilman* and became a quarter full of brothels." Take another sample: "It is the Mohamedan formula of faith which not only encourages a sinner to sin, but is also acting as a digestive pill to assist him in the digestion of sins. And encouraging people to sin beyond measure (*sic*), in practice, thanks to the Mohamedan formula of 'faith, not only are the brothels and the bazars of the towns filled 'with Moslem women who repeat the formula of the faith, but the 'gaols have also been filled'".

It has been said that there is never a controversy about religion but religion is thereby a loser. For our part, we cannot ignore the necessity of religious controversies, and missionary religions cannot avoid them. But the history of the preaching of Islam offers unshakeable evidence for the belief that the example of lives well lived and the few words whispered earnestly at moments when the soul expands and yearns for truth and communion with another soul, are far more effective in winning true converts than all the religious controversies in the world. Possibly Rev. Thomas Howell's scheme of conversion is quite different and he relies upon vituperation of this kind for giving him the converts he seeks. Obviously it does not matter to him a bit whether his proselytising methods wound the religious feelings of the Mussalmans or not. But it is too much to expect that the people whose religious feelings are wounded would remain wholly indifferent to Rev. Howell's vituperation. "Tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" supplies an obvious method of securing satisfaction; but the infuriated Mussalman is to a great extent denied this opportunity of easing his feelings. The Christian theologian can denounce the Quran as a fabrication and a fraud; but the Mussalman, although he may allege interpolations in the Biblical text, is prevented by his own religious belief from denying the divine origin of the Christian Scriptures. Similarly, a Christian may call the Prophet of Islam an imposter and an evil person; but a Mussalman's religion imposes upon him respect for the personality and character of Jesus Christ as a Messenger of God. Obviously, therefore, if a Moslem theologian, no matter how incensed, offers a reply to Christian abuse of the Moslem Scriptures and the Moslem Prophet, he can only denounce certain Christian doctrines, which he regards as the creation of later glossators of the Bible, and Jesus Christ's claim to divinity, put forward not by him but by a large majority of his followers. It is only within these limits that Christ or Christianity can be criticised by Mussalmans. This must be clearly understood, for on this hang the cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*, both of which wrote their peccant articles as rejoinders to Rev. Howell's book on Atonement.

I. THE CASE OF THE "AHL-I-HADEES."

To take the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees*. This paper, which is an important religious organ of the Moslem sect of "the People of the Tradition," understood the Christian doctrine of Atonement to be as follows:--

Our Christian friends believe that sin is divided into two kinds—original sin and sin against the law. They define original sin in this way: Because man is the son of Adam, who committed sin, every Son of Adam is sinful by origin. And the sin against law they define thus: that disobedience to Divine law is sin. By these two suppositious definitions they conclude that Jesus was not the Son of Adam because he was born only of woman, and that, consequently, he was the Son of God. Moreover, as he did nothing against the law, he was sinless, and can, therefore, atone for the sins of all mankind.

The *Ahl-i-Hadees* had attacked the first part of the Christian argument in a previous article on "Jesus of the Gospels" in which it had sought to prove from the Christian Scriptures themselves that Jesus Christ was the offspring of the union of a man and a woman, and can, therefore, be no more devoid of "original sin" according to the Christian doctrine than any other person born of such union. In the article which drew upon it the wrath of the Punjab Government not a word is said even remotely suggesting that the writer believes Christ to be a sinner, and all that he has permitted himself to do with reference to the first part of the argument is to quote these three texts from the Bible:

I know it is so of a truth: but how shall man be just with God?—Job ix, 2.

For there is not a just man upon earth, that doth good and sinneth not.—Ecclesiastes vii, 20.

If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.—I John i, 8.

We are not here concerned with the merits of the controversy; but can any one say that the method of controversy adopted by the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is not in glaring contrast with that chosen by the Christian Pastor? It is not for a Mussalman to abuse Jesus Christ, but he can argue that those who infer from the circumstances of his birth his freedom from sin, and from that the doctrine of Atonement, do so by ignoring passages contradicting these claims which the Bible itself contains. This is indicated by the title of the article itself:

"Atonement in the Bible: Was Jesus of the Gospels Sinless?"
(The italics are ours.) The writer then goes on :

If, for the sake of argument, we suppose that he was born without father, that in no way proves the point of our Christian brethren, because it is written in Job xiv. 4: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one;" xv. 14: "What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous?"

The writer also argues that "woman is more sinful than man, because she did not sin herself alone, but induced Adam to sin," and once more quotes the Bible: "And Adam was not deceived but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." (I Timothy ii. 14.)

So much for the argument about "original sin," and what is there here which is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province," as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab thinks, or "wantonly scurrilous and offensive," as the Secretary of State is compelled to describe?

Let us now see whether the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadees* has done anything more reprehensible in dealing with Christ's sinfulness or sinlessness according to the law. Once more we must bear in mind that the writer is not dealing with Jesus as the Mussalmans know and venerate, but with "the Jesus of the Gospels". What he does is to quote texts from the gospels, and, whether one agrees with his interpretation or not, it cannot be denied that the texts can be interpreted in a manner in which they do not do justice to so great and holy a personality. The well-known text in Mathews: "I come not to send peace but a sword" etc., can easily bear an interpretation wholly different from that which Christians accept, and we have no doubt that if an Indian patriot used such expressions to-day the police would have something to say to him, and the authorities of our colleges would certainly hold up the man who boasted that he had come "to set a man against his father" to public opprobrium—in the interests of discipline! Take again Christ's abuse of the Pharisees and Scribes as "an evil and adulterous generation" and a "generation of vipers". We know what the Pharisees and the Scribes were like in the days of Christ; but have we no Pharisees and Scribes among us who can count on the support of officialdom when "young hot-heads" call them by names not half as abusive? Again, Christ accused the Prophets who had preceded him of being "thieves and robbers". The writer quotes other passages and offers a running criticism of unequal merit, and finally cites Mathew xix, 17: "And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one—that is God".

So much for "Jesus of the Gospels". But what of Jesus as the writer believes him to be? Does he, too, consider him to be a disturber of peace and a man given to unseemly abuse of others, an ungrateful son and a brother without affection, the author of vain prophecies and a teacher of dissembling, fond of loving women who were not related to him, and of wine drinking as, in his opinion, the texts cited by him suggest? Let us give the reply in his own words. He concludes the pertinent article with the following:—"In short, according to the decision of the Old and the New Testaments Jesus was sinful by 'origin' and according to law. If he was 'sinful he cannot atone for the sins of others, according to the Christian teachings. So Jesus can in no way carry away the sins of all Christians. Christian friends, give up this unbecoming and fanciful 'idea of Atonement and believe in the Holy Book which in a few but portentous words calls Jesus son of Mary *ilhamious in this world and the world to come*'"

And this, if you please, is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province". This, of all things, is "wantonly scurrilous and offensive"! If the Christian population of the Province is ever brought into contempt, it would be brought into contempt by their unchristian conduct rather than by their belief even in the doctrine of Atonement. But is there no Moslem population in the Punjab, and did it never occur to the highly sensitive Government of the Punjab that it could be brought into contempt by being alleged to be the followers of one whose black heart could not be cleansed even by the repeated washings of an Archangel? The Panjab Government has, to our knowledge, taken no notice of the Christian Pastor of the Church of England who attributed the loss of a tooth by the Prophet of Islam and other injuries sustained in the battle of Uhud

to the sins of which he bore the load throughout his life, and for which he was caught in the vapours of Hell. But it at once becomes alive to the far-reaching results of the imputation—and that too pointed out merely to prove the absurdity of such inferences from the Bible itself—that Jesus died young and was crucified because he was rude to "the mother who kept awake for nights "that he might sleep, who many a time went without meals "that he might eat and bore trouble that he might rest in comfort." Does not the Bible say: "Honour thy father and mother that thy days may be long," and does not Mathew tell us that "Jesus said unto her, Woman, what have I to do with you?" Is not the argument at least as good as that which accounted for the loss of a tooth by Mohamed in the battle of Uhud? It is true that perhaps neither one nor the other would give the rival missionaries a single convert. But is Sir Michael O'Dwyer so little occupied with the ordinary duties of administration that he must teach missionaries how to convert as well as teach journalists how to conduct newspapers in his vast leisure? Again, even the prestige of Piccadilly has to be maintained at the cost of ten thousand rupees in cash and a large printing press to a writer of piquant prose. But is not the honour of their women at least as dear to the Mussalmans of the Punjab, and has no law yet been framed and enacted to deal with a foul-mouthed "trafficker in souls" who ascribes the overcrowding of Punjab brothels and bazars to the Moslem women's belief in the formula: "There is no god but God and Mohamed is His Prophet"? The *Zamindar* shall not even publish the statistics of divorces in England, because that would bring the purest Anglo-Indian maid and matron into contempt. But Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of the Church of England, could not possibly bring the Mussalmans into greater contempt than the world already feels for them by reason of their yearning for a Heaven of lechery and worse.

This is no new case, for we have had all the documents concerned with us for a full six months. But we awaited the result of the appeals of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and, in the last resort, the reply of the Secretary of State to a question in Parliament. Both are now before us and they need more than a little comment. To the prayer of the publisher of the paper, the well-known Maulvi Sananullah of Amritsar, the Government of the Punjab deigned to reply after three months of deliberation and cogitation that Sir Michael O'Dwyer saw no reason to reconsider his orders regarding the security. Once more he petitioned His Honour to reconsider his decision and pointed out that in his case it was not only he who was required to deposit a security of Rs 2,000, as a publisher, but that the keeper of the Press also where the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is printed had been required to deposit Rs 1,000, which amount, too, the publisher has had to provide. This, as he states, is against the practice of the Punjab Government; but evidently His Honour does not believe in the doubtful virtue of consistency, and after another month's deliberation and cogitation he expressed his regret that he cannot accept the publisher's representation.

That, however, is nothing. The paper has furnished the "good conduct" money and may lose it any day so long as the Press Act remains on the Statute Book in its present form. But the reply of the Under-Secretary of State to Mr. Morrell adds insult to injury. "The Secretary of State has read the articles and can only describe them as wantonly scurrilous and offensive." What shall one say to this but that he can only describe the reply as an unmitigated misstatement. We know our England and our Englishmen with their wonderful equipment for learning Oriental languages and their still more wonderful linguistic aptitude. And we know our Secretary of State also. He is as incapable of reading the articles in question as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab of writing them. What he has probably read is the English composition of a Secretariat hireling who can translate :

او خانہ برائے نام چمن

as "(O, destroyer of the garden root and branch," and who can summarise a long and learned thesis on the possibility of Virgin Mary being a hermaphrodite in a few words as filthy and disgusting as the wretch himself. And that is how India is to be ruled by the "man on the spot" and retained "on the floor of the House of Commons"!

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Albania.

London, June 4.

Reuter learns that Great Britain and Germany have expressed their readiness to send warship to Durazzo if the other Powers do likewise in the event of danger to peace.

Durazzo, June 6.

It is reported that the Albanian Government has accepted the demands of the Epirotes.

Durazzo, June 7.

The Italian Colonel Muriocchio and Italian Professor Chinigo have been arrested at the house of the Italian postmaster and charged with exchanging flashlight signals with the insurgents. The Italian Consulate has protested against the violation of domicile and both have been released.—Reuter.

Vienna, June 7.

When Signori Muriocchio and Chinigo were arrested many compromising documents were found. The Dutch Commander Thomson at first refused the demand for release, but eventually liberated the men on parole on the recommendation of the Prince.—Reuter.

Rome, June 7.

A Message from Durazzo says that the Ex-Premier of Albania, Turkhan Pasha, called at the Italian Legation and expressed deep regret at the arrests and discussed with the Italian Minister measures for settlement of the incident.—Reuter.

Durazzo, June 7.

Prince William of Wied has made a tour of the fortified positions outside the town. Commander Thomson who is charged with the organisation and arming of these positions and General Deweer, Commander-in-Chief of Gendarmerie, are going to Holland on leave.—Reuter.

Vienna, June 8.

A telegram from Durazzo says the that Government troops attacked and routed the insurgents near Tirana. Greece and Bulgaria.

Sofia, June 4.

Anti-Greek demonstrations occurred yesterday in Sofia and Varna. At the former place, the crowd removed and carried off the Greek flag which had been hoisted over the Greek church. The Bulgarian Government apologised for the incident. The people at Varna seized two Greek churches. Bulgarian Government has issued a statement, ascribing these outbreaks to the continual prosecution of the Bulgarians in the new Greek territories.

Sofia, June 5.

A Greek steamer, the "Florida," flying the American flag, with three hundred Moslem refugees and several deported Bulgarians on board, has arrived at Dedeagatch. The populace is excited and shops have been closed.

A meeting of protest has demanded the release of Bulgarians or expulsion of Greeks from Dedeagatch. Greece and Turkey.

Constantinople, June 8.

While the situation of the Greeks in Thrace has improved the Greeks on the Marmora and Aegean coasts of Asia Minor are being ousted wholesale by Mussalman refugees from Macedonia.—Reuter.

Athens, June 8.

Greece has renewed her vigorous protest against the prosecution of Greeks in Asia Minor. Besides her taking these steps in Constantinople the Greek Government has also drawn the attention of the Powers to the situation. The stream of refugees from Asia Minor has not abated. It is semi-officially announced that 25,000 Greeks are now at Chios awaiting steamers to convey them to Greece.—Reuter.

Constantinople, June 9.

Although yesterday was the feast of the Holy Trinity, all Greek churches were closed in pursuance of the decision of the Patriarchate. On a previous occasion, such action was taken. This was in 1090 when the churches were closed for three months. Several ambassadors have drawn the attention of the Ministers to the serious situation of the Greeks in the Empire. They have received assurances that measures will be adopted to remedy the matter.

Persia.

London, June 4.

According to a telegram to the *Times* from Teheran the Tsar's approval to the appointment of Arfaed-Dowleh as Persian Minister in St. Petersburg has been withheld.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 4.

The Indians on board the "Komagata" have cabled to the King and the Duke of Connaught stating that they have been starving for the last two days and that they have also been without water and have not been allowed to land for supplies. The authorities, however, say that they are well provided for.

Gurdit Singh has refused to pay the balance of the charter money until the passengers are allowed to land. If the money is not paid before the 12th instant the Captain will be ordered to return to Hong Kong.

Restlessness among the immigrants is increasing. They may "hunger strike" to call attention to their case. Gurdit Singh who has to provide their provisions refuses to do so while they are held prisoners.

Victoria, June 6.

The Indians on board the "Komagata Maru" are "hunger striking." They have had no food for 48 hours. Gurdit Singh does not participate, but refuses to interfere. Immigration officials decline to take action, and enquiry has been suspended as immigrants refuse to appear, maintaining that all or none must be allowed to land. Gurdit Singh proposed that the immigrants should be allowed to land temporarily, pending the decision of the court. He said that in the meantime, the ship could discharge her cargo. If this were done, he would agree to pay the balance of the charter money. The officials refused the proposal. It has been definitely ascertained that there are ample provisions and water on board, and that the immigrants' appeal to the King was based simply on a hunger-strike. The authorities are unwavering in their determination to enforce the regulations, but it is not known what action will be taken. If the charter money is paid, the ship can remain at Vancouver for four months. The Indians are engaged day and night in religious ceremonies.

Victoria, June 7.

Instructed by the Government a doctor has made an examination of the people on board the "Komagata Maru" and reports that there is no suggestion of starvation, either self-imposed or otherwise.

The owners of the vessel have instructed Lloyds' Agent to collect the price of the coal cargo and the balance of the charter money by the 11th inst. Another demand on Gurdit Singh for money has been refused, and if the monies are not paid by the 11th the Agent will instruct the captain to return to East.

Ottawa, June 8.

In the Dominion House of Commons on Saturday, the Minister of the Interior said that in accordance with his orders the Indians on board the "Komagata Maru," had been offered two tons of flour, two hundred pounds of rice, and bread and some fruit. The Indians had, however, refused to accept the offer unless fifty-five sheep and goats, a hundred live fowls, and two hundred boxes of cigarettes were included. The Minister added that the Department's agents feared no ill-effects from any hunger strike, as while the Hindus fasted by day, they fasted by night.

The member for Vancouver gave notice of an amendment to the Immigration Act excluding all natives, naturalised or not, coming from any country in Asia, south of the fiftieth parallel, except citizens of a country having a special agreement with Canada. It is not likely that the amendment will be considered owing to the lateness of the session.

Victoria: The Indians on board the "Komagata Maru" have abandoned the hunger-strike and asked immigration official for provisions, which were promptly supplied.

Lloyd's Agent is awaiting the reply of the ship's owners to the question as to whether to accept the offer of the Vancouver Hindus to meet the balance of charter expenses.

Gurdit Singh's intentions are not known. It has transpired that he proposed another sailing of the "Komagata Maru" direct from Calcutta in July and if initial voyages were successful the building of a £20,000 vessel to handle the new traffic.

The Captain of the "Komagata Maru" has notified her owners that he fears trouble if he is forced to return to Japan with the Indians.

Indians in South Africa.

Cape Town, June 8.

In the Union House of Assembly to-day, General Smuts moved the second reading of his Bill making provision for redress against certain grievances and removal of certain disabilities of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the Union. General Smuts reviewed the Commission's report the recommendations of which would be carried out partly by legislation and partly through administration. He paid

a tribute to the assistance given upon many points which would otherwise have been very difficult. Especially was this the case with reference to marriage in connection with which, however, the Mahomedans were not yet satisfied, and he had promised to inquire into the precedent said to exist in Mauritius in connection with Mahomedans, who were allowed to marry up to four wives. The Bill granted free passage to Indians willing to return to India, and to forego their rights of residence in South Africa. General Smuts mentioned that some Natal members had expressed difficulties on that subject. In conclusion, General Smuts urged the House and especially the Natal members to assist the passage of the Bill in the present session. He regretted to see the matter arising in an acute form in another Dominion.

Colonel Sir Aubrey Wools Sampson said that the Indian strike in Natal had been engineered for political purposes. The Government would be doing a very unwise thing to concede to coloured men the demands made at the point of the bayonet. He feared that the concession on the Three Pound Tax would induce the belief that the Whites were unjust to the natives while they were just to Indians.

Mr. Leuchars (Natal) asserted that the natives would regard the Bill as a sign of weakness. The precedent would be inevitably followed by the natives.

Mr. Merriman announced that he would support the Bill, although not from any love of Indian immigration. The Indians had been dragged into South Africa like the Chinese. They had been landed in defiance of the wishes of the people, and the Bill was South Africa's bare duty. The House should do its best to aid the Imperial Government, not add fresh fuel to the fire.

A number of Natal members vehemently opposed the measure principally on the ground of the abolition of the Three Pound Tax.

Mr. Henwood (Natal) in expressing the opinion that the Bill solely affected Natal moved an amendment "that this House is not prepared to deal with the legislation for the relief of the Indians, until the subject matter of the Bill has been submitted to a referendum in Natal."

The opponents of the measure argued that the repeal of the tax would encourage Indian competition and eventually mean the Indianising of Natal. The tax operated in the direction of sending back Indians to India. The Bill would not help the Imperial Government, but would be immediately followed by further demands on the part of the Indians. Only one Natal member of the Assembly supported the Bill.

General Botha admitted the existence of amazing prejudice, but the difficulty was of Natal's own creation and South Africa's duty was to aim at peace and justice. He strongly urged that the native question was quite distinct from the Indian question, and deprecated confusion of the two. Mr. Henwood's amendment was impossible. The Indians were introduced by the wish of the majority of the people of Natal and the Government was now responsible to the whole Union. The Government must stand by the Bill, and he appealed to the House for assistance.

The Hertzogite, Mr. Niekirk moved the rejection of the Bill. He described the Indian leaders as dangerous agitators who should have been deported.

Mr. Boydell (Labour) moved the prohibition of further importation of indentured labourers into Natal, and the provision of inducements to Indians at present in the Union to return to India.

General Smuts, replying, quoted the Indian press opinion that the Bill was an honourable solution of a long struggle. Referring to the demand for repatriation, General Smuts declared emphatically that the Government would do everything to get Natal out of the mire. It would go a long way to obtain repatriation, and if inducements were necessary, they would be forthcoming.

The amendments were rejected, and the Bill was passed on the second reading by 60 votes to 24.

London, June 9.

Commenting on the Indian debate in the South African Parliament *Daily News* says that the attitude and speeches of the Natal Members of the assembly explains the discontent of the long-suffering Indians in Natal it is confident that the Union Government will be strong enough in the last resort peremptorily to overrule the opposition of Natal.

The *Times* says that it does not doubt that the views of Mr. Merriman and General Botha will prevail, but it is essential that the people in the Motherland should appreciate the Overseas point of view with regard to Asiatics.

A Wellington message to the *Times* says that Mr. Massey stated in reply to deputation that he hoped to introduce next session legislation excluding Indians from New Zealand.

The *Westminster Gazette* praises Mr. Smuts' speech and dwells on its admirable tact and moderation, adding "We are all thankful to Botha and his Ministry for the Bill."

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Bengal League Bulletin. No. 1.

June 3, 1914.

The last annual meeting of the League was held at Dacca on the 13th April, 1914, and the old office-bearers were changed and the present ones elected in their stead. As the papers of the League were all with the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhury Khan Bahadur, one of the late Secretaries, who was unavoidably absent from Calcutta on urgent family and business affairs, the work of the League could not begin for some time. The Hon. Nawab Sahab has, however, very kindly given us charge of all the League papers with him immediately after his arrival in Calcutta on the 23rd May last.

We had almost insurmountable difficulties in getting over the initial obstacles for organising the office of the League. There was hardly anything like a regular basis on which we could begin the work of the League. Some sort of order has, however, been brought about in the office. A Mahomedan graduate has been appointed as an Assistant in the office of the League. To place the working of the League on a satisfactory basis and to adopt concerted measures for the future plan of the work, a preliminary meeting of the leading Mahomedans of Calcutta was convened at 55 Chowringhee to help us with their suggestions and advice. Information about the changes in the office-bearers and office of the League has been sent to the authorities and the All-India Moslem League.

Apropos of a Resolution passed at the annual meeting, District Leagues and Anjuman have been addressed to, for electing and sending names of their representatives to the Council of the League. Resolutions of the last annual session have been published and sent to the authorities. Representation has been made to the Government on behalf of the residents of the village Mamudipur in Serajgunj regarding the acquisition of their village for purposes of Sara-Serajgunj Railway.

An ordinary meeting of the Council of the League was convened to transact business affairs. An emergency meeting of the Council of the League was also convened to consider the Kidderpur Mosque question.



Our London Letter.

London, May 22.

ROWDY SCENE IN THE COMMONS; SITTING CLOSED ABRUPTLY.

The House of Commons was yesterday abruptly adjourned for grave disorder. Disorder is usually a matter for the back benches. But yesterday the Leader of the Opposition pointedly defied an appeal from the Speaker. For this defiance there is no precedent. It was clear that Mr. Bonar Law had the enthusiastic support of his Ulster colleagues.

When the Prime Minister left the House, he was accorded a memorable ovation.

With curious lack of humour, the Opposition shouted down, not a ministerialist, but Mr. Campbell, the spokesman for Ulster.

The House was full, many members finding places in the side galleries. Lord Londonderry occupied his now usual place over the clock. At first it seemed as if uneasiness was by no means confined to the Opposition. On more than one point there were artifices from the Liberal benches.

When, for instance, the Prime Minister announced that he hoped to take the Home Rule Division early on Tuesday, so as to enable the House to complete the adjournment motion that evening—and be free on Wednesday, which happens to be consecrated to the

Derby—a number of members protested. Mr. Asquith had arranged the matter through "the ordinary channels"—that is, by joint agreement between the Whips,—but he undertook to consult the general convenience of the House.

Again, the proposal to introduce the Amending Bill in the House of Lords was objected to, not only by Unionists, like Mr. Butcher and Lord Robert Cecil, but by a number of Scottish Radicals.

"Has any representative body in Ireland asked for this Bill to exclude Ulster?" inquired Mr. Ginnell. Mr. Asquith admitted that there was no demand for the Bill in Ireland.

"Will this House know the contents of the Amending Bill before voting on the third reading next week?" asked Mr. Faber.

It was the crucial question repeated again and again during the afternoon.

"That matter can be raised in debate," said the Prime Minister.

"But will a member of the Government open the discussion by stating the terms of the Bill?" asked Mr. Bonar Law.

"I do not propose to do so," said Mr. Asquith. "The matter can be raised in debate."

As Mr. Cathcart Wilson pointed out an hour or two later, the Prime Minister is obviously working for peace. From the temper of the Opposition yesterday any offer would have been rejected. The only hope was to wait for a calmer moment.

As so often happens, there was a richly humorous interlude yesterday. Mr. Pirie accused Mr. McKinnon Wood of absenting himself during questions for the sake of "playing golf." The Secretary for Scotland, with elaborate emphasis, explained that Mr. Pirie had put another member's question without authority from that member, who had cancelled the inquiry. Mr. Wood was thus free to arrange an important Scottish conference for question hour.

Mr. Pirie was by no means inclined to let off the Secretary for Scotland so easily. Armed with precedents, he was about to narrate others of Mr. McKinnon Wood's delinquencies, when the Speaker intervened with the remark.

"The hon. member must not go into past history."

"Then, Mr. Speaker, I will only say this—on that occasion I accused the right hon. gentleman of playing golf—and he did not deny it."

The House roared with laughter. Mr. Asquith, for the moment, forgot that there was such a province as Ulster.

At the end of questions, Mr. Bonar Law repeated his appeal for the terms of the Amending Bill, before the main Bill was debated. Mr. Asquith—not the only statesman whose face betrayed strain—quietly but firmly declined to swerve from his procedure. Nothing, for the moment, happened. Two divisions, more or less formal, had to be taken on the Financial Resolution and the Committee stage, the figures being in the first case 316 to 228, a majority of 88; and in the second case 316 to 227, a majority of 89.

Lord Robert Cecil then rose and at once moved the adjournment of the debate. Mr. Asquith had not returned, and Lord Winterton led cries of "Where are the front bench?"

When Mr. Churchill entered he was ironically cheered, and the cheers were redoubled when he left again. Yet it would not have been surprising if the Liberal Leader had desired to consult his colleagues on the situation threatened by the Leader of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith was soon back again—perfectly cool, yet very grave and pale.

Lord Robert accused the Prime Minister of "extraordinary levity", of "deliberately insulting the House," of "dallying with the situation," while the South and West of Ireland were arming—(confused cheers)—"a fine result of Radical Government for eight years."

When Mr. Roch ventured to say "Hear, hear", Lord Robert sneered at "the blood and thunder group"—to be answered by cries of "Law and order." It was "a farce to discuss the Bill."

All the cheering was on the Tory side. Liberals, feeling some sense of responsibility for the peace of Ireland, sat, for the most part, silent.

"This Bill," argued Mr. Worthington Evans, "is not the Bill under which Ireland will be governed" (The Prime Minister dissents.) The Amending Bill was a mere "trick."

Mr. Asquith knew well that this was a moment when all might be won or all lost. His followers, personally loyal, were yet manifestly discouraged by the Government's persistence in making concessions. He was heard without the enthusiasm which burst forth a little later. One felt that the Opposition had a chance; how utterly has it been thrown to the winds!

Mr. Asquith speaking in a low voice, and without a note, told how the Tories regarded themselves as "the dominant party."

"So we are," called a Tory member, and the Prime Minister smiled.

"It is not the true situation," said he.

"This Bill is a wise and statesmanlike measure, containing adequate and abundant safeguards."

"Why amend it?" called a dozen voices, Mr. Remnant shouting, for some reason, "Preamble, preamble."

"This is not a public meeting," said the Speaker, but calls for "Reply" continued, while Lord Winterton contributed the refrain, "None-None-None."

"I have made a proposal for a peaceful settlement," continued Mr. Asquith.

"What is it?" interrupted the Tories.

"You called it a hypocritical sham," retorted the Prime Minister, "and I will not receive an inch from my position that the deliberate judgment of the House on the Home Rule Bill shall be recorded."

The House would have the last word on the Amending Bill, the introduction of which in the Upper House was the best means of promoting peace. As for degrading the House of Commons, "the Parliament Act is the greatest act of homage ever paid to the House of Commons."

"Contempt for this House"—that was Mr. Bonar Law's description of Mr. Asquith's policy. It will be seen how, later, the critic maintained the dignity of Parliament. The proposed Amending Bill was "ludicrous"—"an insult"—yet the Government, so unreasonable, was preparing "to use the whole forces of the Crown to drive loyal men out of the Union."

Under these circumstances, what was the use of continuing debate? Discussion was useless.

Certain private members followed. Mr. McCallum Scott, done and determined, thought that the Government had pressed conciliation to the point of weakness and begged the Prime Minister to reconsider his offer of an amending Bill. Let the Peers do the amending if they so desired. Consider North-East Derbyshire, where the majority for Home Rule was "overwhelming" and the Unionist Vote "insignificant." Cheers and counter-cheers greeted this allusion.

Shouts of laughter welcomed Mr. Ronald M'Neill and Mr. Amery when they rose together from the front bench below the gangway—biggest member completely obliterating smallest member. It was the touch of the ridiculous that cleared the air for a while.

Mr. Ronald M'Neill spoke in tones soothing to the ear, but the sense was charged with deadly mischief. "Duplicity"—that was his charge against the Prime Minister. "He has no intention of producing an Amending Bill at all. It is a mere way of escape if events prove too much for him."

"Bashi Bazouks," he cried, when Mr. Roch made a remark. "Bashi Bazouk" was his description of Sir William Byles.

Sir Henry Dalziel urged the Prime Minister to give way no further, as did Mr. Pringle.

Lord Hugh Cecil denied that Mr. Asquith had made any advances, and, amid loud Liberal cheers, he declared: "As an Opposition, we want no offers—no conciliation—no bargaining."

"Somebody is going to be tricked," he added. "It may be the Nationalists—it may be us—I cannot tell. Any way, the course is perfidious."

Mr. Page Croft had also his word to say on "disgraceful, base trickery"—on "robbers of poor boxes, thieves—kangaroos".

Insult reached a climax with Mr. Amery. "An old gentleman who can't make up his mind," cried he, pointing to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Asquith did not wince. But his face became very white.

"I may not have heard the hon. member," said the Speaker, "but, if I caught what he said, it was very improper."

"I withdraw 'an old man'" answered Mr. Amery, defiantly, adding with scorn, "The Prime Minister—a man of iron! He is an old piece of driftwood, covered with weeds and limpets. He drifted out with Gladstone and in with Lord Rosebery."

Again and again the Speaker intervened. "I have called the hon. member to order twice," he said. "A third time will be the last." "Oh, Oh," shouted Lord Winterton.

"Pogrom," was Mr. Amery's next subject, but again the Speaker intervened. "I will give the hon. member one more chance," said he. And the exhibition quickly came to an end.

The motion to adjourn was put from the chair and lost by 286 to 176, a majority of 110. The House was again crowded.

"The question is that this Bill be read a third time," said the Speaker.

No one rose.

"Mr. Campbell," said the Speaker.

Mr. Campbell started in his seat—hesitated—then rose to the box, some notes in his hand.

Liberals, Labour men and Nationalists sat quiet, ready as always to hear an Ulsterman on Ulster. Not so the Opposition.

A dull roar of "adjourn"—organised and deliberate—continued for many minutes. Mr. Campbell did not try to speak. He stood contented.

The Speaker rose at last, and there was immediate silence. No one was angry. The scene was mechanical—premeditated—official—to wreck any possible settlement.

"Hon. members," said the Speaker, with memorable dignity—"seem determined not to hear their leader."

There were loud ministerial cheers and cries of "Oh" from the Tory defenders of the dignity of the Commons. The Speaker continued:

"I will ask the Leader of the Opposition whether it is with his assent and approval that this is being done?"

A deafening shout rose from the Coalition benches. It was answered by sharp cries of "Oh, Oh" from the Tories—and "Don't answer." As for Mr. Bonar Law, he started as if he had heard a rifle shot.

He sprang to the table.

"Mr. Speaker," he retorted, "I would not presume to criticise what you consider your duty, but I know mine, and it is not to answer any such question."

The rejoinder evoked paroxysms of delight. Tories kept up shouting at the top of their voices, waving handkerchiefs and order papers, while the Speaker—their own man—a Conservative, if ever there was one—stood, himself now pale, motionless, insulted as no Speaker of modern times has ever been insulted, yet majestic in his dignity.

His voice was low, yet it carried from end to end of the seething chamber. His intonation was perfect.

"I had intended," said he, "inviting the right hon. gentleman to assist me in maintaining order"—quiet cheering from the Coalition—"but as I have been disappointed in that, there is nothing open to me except, under Standing Order 21, to suspend the sitting of the House, which I do until to-morrow."

He ceased. One caught a brief impression of the Serjeant-at-Arms shouldering the mace and with difficulty making his way out of the House in front of the Speaker.

Otherwise it was tornado. Tories yelled, clapped one another on the back, literally embraced Mr. Bonar Law.

Sir Edward Carson, with his responsibility for a hundred thousand rifles, was exultant. Mr. Amery, with his charges of provoking bloodshed, stood on the floor, danced like a schoolboy at a cricket match. Earl Winterton, as he passed out, put his hands to his mouth and yelled: "Go on with it alone."

Mr. Stanley Wilson, stentorian as ever, shouted: "Get your election addresses ready." "Three cheers for King John," cried Mr. Page Croft.

The floor was crowded, all parties commingling, and it almost seemed as if we should have physical violence.

But Mr. Asquith saved the situation. He sat with his colleagues, calm, the embodiment of the ordered traditions which have made of the House of Commons so noble an exemplar of Parliamentary prestige.

A torrent of obloquy swept over the Liberal leader as the Tories filed past him along the benches opposite. What the insults were it was impossible to distinguish, but they left him unmoved.

The restraint of Liberals and Labour members was perfect—a splendid achievement under intense provocation.

When the mass of Tories had left, the Prime Minister quietly rose. That was the signal for ministerialists. They sprang up as one man and gave the Liberal leader a great cheer, loud, long, sustained, waving handkerchiefs and order papers. And so it ended. With what result? A Speaker defied; a Prime Minister covered with grossest insult; the House of Commons deliberately degraded by the official opposition; conciliation wrecked.

The effect of the scene in the House yesterday is certain to be unfavourable for the Opposition in the country. So far it has been the proud boast of Englishmen, irrespective of party or creed, that, even during the most acute political crisis, the House of Commons, unlike the continental Legislative assemblies, would never lose its temper and that even the bitterest political opponent is given a fair hearing and is treated with that true sporting spirit for which the British race is famous. Recently, however, things have proved otherwise and yesterday's scene is notable in the fact that it was one of their own leaders that the Opposition refused to hear.

The *Daily News* in a forcible leading article, commenting upon yesterday's "Rebellion and Rowdiness", proceeds thus: "Whether it was planned by Mr. Bonar Law or whether Mr. Bonar Law, as so often before, allowed the most noisy and least intelligent of his followers to dictate to him, is a trifling question which a future historian of this chapter of events may be left to settle. . . . It may well be that the morning, as usual after a debauch, will bring

to the Opposition regret for a blunder, if not repentance for a crime. That will not save them from emphatic condemnation at the hands of every citizen who believes in decency in public life, and who understands that concerted and premeditated disorder in the House of Commons lays the axe at the root of Parliamentary Government and free institutions. The people of these islands have been observing with growing disgust and uneasiness the steady conversion of the Unionist Party to anarchism in its vilest and crudest forms. Yesterday's display, when the new Unionism crystallised into coarse abuse and threatenings flung at Ministers and insults to the Speaker, should complete the process of illuminating the nation.

The *Times* also shows its disapproval of the methods adopted by the Unionists yesterday. In the course of a leader this morning it goes on to say: "Unionists evidently felt that they were wasting time in assisting in such futile proceedings; they decided to stop them, and they had their way. We understand their anger, but are nevertheless sorry that it took a form which brought them into conflict with the authority of the Chair. Disorderly episodes have consequences which outweigh the immediate object in view. They tend to destroy such respect as remains for Parliament in this country and throughout the Empire. The electorate does not like them: they bring no votes to the Unionist cause. While fully realising the exceptional circumstances, we should have been glad if yesterday's protest had been more decorous."

EGYPTIAN ENTHUSIASM FOR TURKEY.

According to the Cairo Correspondent of the *Daily Mail* the two Turkish airmen, Selim Bey and Keinal Bey, have arrived at Cairo from Constantinople (after an air tour of 1,500 miles). They subsequently proceeded to the Aerodroma (5 miles from Cairo) to fly before the public, who were admitted free. Enormous crowds had gathered and there was great enthusiasm and an outburst of Turcophil feelings among the Egyptians, who continually cheered and shouted: "Long live the Sultan," "Long live Turkey."

This report is of particular interest as it conclusively proves the absolute inaccuracy of the statements that had recently appeared in the *Times* (with which the *Daily Mail*, curiously enough, is now incorporated) to the effect that, as a result of Colonel Aziz Ali Bey's trial at Constantinople, a widespread anti-Turkish feeling has developed in Egypt. Such statements, of course, had not been made without any motive, as I have already tried to impress upon your readers in my previous letters; but those, who were at all acquainted with the true Egyptian sentiment, had never for a single moment attached any importance to the version given by the *Times*. The *Daily Mail* has happily spoken the truth and its Cairo Correspondent's report would certainly convince even the most superficial observer of the deep attachment and genuine sympathy for Turkey which have always prevailed in Egypt. The bond of union and devotion between the Egyptian Moslem and his co-religionist in the Ottoman Empire has never been stronger before—a simple yet hard fact which the *Times* and its compatriots have to face, in spite of their pretension as to its non-existence.

THE "TIMES" AND THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

An amusing though somewhat undignified controversy has arisen between the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*. The latter newspaper, until a few days ago, had for several years regularly published a statement daily to the effect that its weekly circulation is larger, to the extent of half a million copies, than that of any other penny morning daily in the United Kingdom. The reduction in the price of the *Times* in March last has evidently affected the popularity of this paper and so on Monday it had slightly modified its statement and now simply contends itself with merely mentioning that it has the largest circulation in the world.

The *Times* has challenged the *Telegraph* as to the truth of the statement, which it characterises as "erroneous and grotesque," and goes on to say that after the reduction in its price in March it has undoubtedly enjoyed the largest circulation. Since the *Times* is now periodically publishing the exact number of its issues actually sold from month to month, it called upon its contemporary to do likewise in order to let the public have an opportunity of realising the accuracy of its statement. This the *Telegraph* has promptly done and on Wednesday its readers were authoritatively informed, by means of the actual number of copies sold, that so far at any rate the sale of this journal is larger than that of the *Times*.

This keen advertising controversy between the two great journals, one is bound to feel, is not likely to enhance the prestige of British journalism, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* has already earnestly appealed to both the parties, now that they have both published their respective lists of sales, to let the matter drop and leave their readers to form their own conclusions.

The most humorous part of this farcical episode is the significant fact that, though the *Times* has always been loudest in its ever mindless cry of "prestige" in other fields, it has not hesitated to descend to the low depth of a "rag" bent on advertising itself at any cost, even at the risk of entering into a controversy with

a great contemporary, in which so far as the reading public can judge on the strength of the authoritative figures published, the odds, or rather the "facts of the case," are against it.

One would have certainly expected the national organ of England to have considered such a step as rather *infra dig* and to have abstained from initiating a quarrel with another newspaper in London on such a feeble pretext. Can it be that Printing-House Square has forgotten its past "traditions"? Let us hope not, or else the journalistic world would be wickedly deprived of some of its most entertaining and amusing elements that not infrequently burst out—true to its past traditions—in the learned columns of this national journal of Great Britain! It would indeed be no less than a calamity if in future we are going to witness the extraordinary spectacle of the *Times* living with the times and actually labouring to impress upon the public mind that it enjoys the widest circulation and that it likewise enjoys the greatest popularity amongst all classes of people! Hitherto it used to boast of the fact that its readers had always been the exclusive and select portion of the community! Lord Northcliffe has finally shattered the very last fabric of this journal's past traditions and the surprising thing about it is that, in spite of the loss of the prestige of the *Times*, neither the Thames nor the Ganges has been set on fire. It is hard to believe that, though the national journal of Great Britain can now be actually bought for a copper and though it is being evidently conducted by its new owners in a spirit antagonistic to its cherished traditions and its accustomed loftiness, and notwithstanding the successive blows that have been lately administered to the prestige of the *Times*—the "Voice" of British public opinion—the British Empire and the Universe, for the matter of that, are still existing and are likely to exist!



Our Constantinople Letter.

Stamboul, 14th May 1914.

RE-OPENING OF OTTOMAN PARLIAMENT: SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

The Ottoman Parliament was re-opened on Thursday last—(14th May) by his Imperial Majesty, our beloved Khalifat. A brilliant escort accompanied the Sultan from his palace at Dolma-Baghche to the Houses of Parliament at Fındıklı.

The speech from the Throne cannot fail to make a deep and favourable impression on the Ottoman nation. It touched on the principal events which have taken place since the closing of Parliament on 5th August 1912. The Italian war, the revolutionary crisis, the suffering and distress of the whole Ottoman nation, the cruel captivity so patiently and courageously borne by the Ottoman prisoners of war, the gallant resistance of the troops at Tchatalja where they repeatedly drove back the violent attacks of the enemy, the courage and endurance of the troops when assailed by disease and hunger, the glorious defence of the besieged towns by the Ottoman soldiers—all these proved that the nation still possessed the same virtues which had distinguished their forefathers. The courage, the discipline, the prompt action which signalled the re-taking of Adrianople and the efforts of those who laboured to inspire the sentiment of security and confidence in the mind of the nation are to be remembered with pride. The speech from the Throne then expressed a strong desire for a pacific solution of the Islands question and continued that the reforms in the interior are to be submitted to severe control and inspection so as to insure public security and tranquillity along with economical development. The concessions granted to France for the construction of railways and ports will give new life to the provinces and so improve the immense resources of the Ottoman Empire. Whilst regaining her credit and developing, in peace and security, the natural resources of her soil and sub-soil, Turkey will not forget to repair the losses and misfortunes sustained by her military forces. The speech then appealed to the nation to second the efforts of the Ministers of War and Marine in increasing the strength of the Ottoman Army and Navy.

A few days ago, when at the National Defence League, I had the pleasure of meeting and conversing with Halil Halid Bey, ex-Ottoman Consul General at Bombay. He spoke with great enthusiasm of his stay in India and of the development, social, intellectual and commercial, among our Mohamedan brothers there, also of the warm welcome he had received on every occasion. Of Mr. Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade* and his unselfish work he spoke in the highest terms of praise.

"It is any ill wind that blows nobody any good," so runs the old proverb. This maxim finds an application here in Turkey. Since the Balkan war a real activity among our Mohamedan population has manifested itself. High functionaries of State have given up their posts to devote their energies and means to industrial and commercial enterprises. Already in Constantinople has been formed an association of Turkish merchants whose aim is to assure the development of commerce. We can now reasonably hope that a brilliant future awaits the Ottoman Empire.

M. SAID, HINDUSTANI.

TETE À TETE



The Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi made a very humorous speech after a masonic banquet at Delhi last January but concluded it with an unexpected seriousness by referring to the need of masonry in such a country as India where people were divided into many divergent creeds and at such a time when, according to Mr. Hailey, some mischief-makers were trying to rouse their religious passions and prejudices. Still more recently a District Officer in the United Provinces communicated to an acquaintance the terrible State secret that Government had an eye on a certain person who was every day accumulating against himself all the materials for a deportation by working upon the religious feelings of Indian Mussalmans. Well, even if we haven't discovered this arch-fiend, we have discovered a good deal of "the Plot" (with apologies to the Tory Press of London) and possibly one of the many fellow conspirators. It appears that this arch-fiend induced Italy to "annex" Tripoli and butcher the Arabs on the Oasis in 1911, at the same time persuading Lord Kitchener to declare the "neutrality" of Egypt and Sir Edward Grey to look the other way. Subsequently this awful person arranged a coup in India by bringing the Government of India round to annul the Partition of Bengal on the ground that Indian Mussalmans were "loyal and contented"—the last thing apparently that Government wanted them to be. Not satisfied with this provocation, he arranged for the bombardment of the Holy Sepulchre of Imam Riza at Meshed, the hanging of Persian divines and the Russian occupation of Northern Persia. Even Morocco could not escape the vile machinations of this wretch and he handed over the Moors to the civilizing influence of French *pénétration pacifique*. This ubiquitous rascal then visited the Court of every Balkan Prince and arranged the massacre of half a million Turks, men, women and children, and while inducing Sir Edward Grey to remain as silent as a grave, persuaded many other English Ministers to utter the most silly and wicked things including the futile threats of the Prime Minister at Birmingham after his equally foolish assurances of the fruits of victory to the victor at the Guildhall. Then this vile person retraced his steps towards India and his hand was once more visible when he destroyed a mosque at Cawnpore and exerted his influence with Mr. Tyler for the shooting down of old men and children that grieved over the destruction of that mosque. Even the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was compelled to discover that although in nine cases out of ten he would gladly comply with the requests of his Taluqdar friends, this was the tenth. This imp of mischief became so fond of pulling down mosques, that one near the Kidderpore Docks at Calcutta was damaged and many dedicated to the god of destruction, besides those of Agra, Hapur and Dulla that were demolished completely, and we have reason to believe that he has some hand in the invention of a new Quran. But his latest handiwork is a master-stroke of genius as the following telegram would show:—

A case of considerable interest to Mahomedans, not only in Sind but throughout India, has come before the City Magistrate of Karachi. It appears that during this week the proprietor of the "Picture Palace" Karachi, has been exhibiting a film entitled "Azim." The film depicts an imaginary episode in the life of the Holy Prophet (Mahomed). According to the story thrown upon the screen the Prophet was in love with a beautiful woman named Salika, the wife of one of his generals named Azim. Following closely the story of David and Bathsheba as narrated in the Christian Bible, the Prophet, in order to get rid of her husband, sent Azim to the wars, where he was reputed to having been killed. Whereupon the Prophet pressed his attentions upon the widow, who repulsed him. Finally the long lost husband turned up, and surmounting all the wiles of his wife's lover carried her off in triumph. It is alleged that some Mahomedan members of the audience at the Picture Palace protested against what they regarded as a blasphemous exhibition, but no heed was paid to them.

This, as we have said, was a master-stroke of genius, for if neither Tripoli nor the Balkans, neither Persia nor Morocco, neither Cawnpore nor Calcutta would provoke the Mussalmans, this latest plot at Karachi was bound to do it. Dr. Mingana's Quran can only be read by the literate, but Mr. Greenfield's latest "*Hades*" concerning the Prophet of Islam can be seen as a moving picture by all alike. Really this Mussalman fanatic knows how to rouse the religious passions and fanaticism of his co-religionists in spite of all the antidotes provided by the creator of the "Indian Peril." The Deputy Commissioner who suggests merely deportation is a very milk-and-water sort of District Officer. The least which this fiend deserves is being hanged, drawn and quartered and then flung into a cauldron of boiling pitch. If this sort of namby-pamby disposition continues to show itself in our District Magistrates when dealing with such wicked and vile plotters, we are afraid, we shall have to send them to the Balkans to learn something of the art and science of making the punishment fit the crime.

This is "the Plot", and who shall say that this is not worse than the worst of which Mr. Winston Churchill is capable? But if like Bengali juries, according to Sir J. D. Rees, our benign Government is not going to believe in the guilt of this man, then, may we hope, that it will unravel the mystery of the Karachi Picture Palace film? Will it not ask Mr. Greenfield to explain for the benefit of seventy million Mussalman why it was that he selected an already distraught community for his brutal jest. The Prophet of Islam has been maligned by every "trafficker in souls" who has dealt with his life with a view to make capital out of it for Christianity. The Prophet's many marriages are a perpetual theme for the display of the coarseness and prurience of Christian evangelists, and this has gone on uninterruptedly for thirteen hundred years. Was not "History" romantic enough that an admitted romance is now being resorted to for the purpose of vilifying a holy personality of whom it could be said with greater justice than that of any other man:

Whatever record leap to light
He never shall be shamed.

If all that Mr. Greenfield desired was to make his Picture Palace rival the attractions of such theatres as the Bishop of Kensington has recently denounced, and improve upon those of Miss Maude Allen, may we not ask if civilized Paris and London could not furnish the material for which the arid desert of Arabia has been explored? Could not the proceedings of English Divorce Courts supply all the paraphernalia for Mr. Greenfield's films? We should have thought that even the royal houses of Europe would have acted on their ancient motto of *noblesse oblige*. And if an oriental *mise-en-scène* was an absolute necessity, we should be surprised if Simla would not have sent its latest plain tale from the hills or a departmental ditty suitable for the occasion. We have a faint recollection that there lived once upon a time in Lahore a young English journalist of the name of Rudyard Kipling who imagined the Last Trump blowing on Hurnai, and slithered and thought he would not like to be the man who sent Jack Brown to Quetta. On looking into the matter a little more closely, we would not be surprised if the hero of Mr. Greenfield's film, "Azim" is our old friend Jack Brown in disguise. But a truce to this banter. The matter is too serious even for sarcasm, and if the Government does not know it already the Government had better know it now. We understand that the matter is *sub judice* and all that we have written is based on the telegram we have reproduced. The description of the film in the complaint filed in Court shows the reality to be still worse. We await the result of the legal proceedings against Mr. Greenfield, and we are sure the Mussalmans of Karachi, and for the matter of that the Mussalmans of India, would preserve the same correct attitude that they have hitherto maintained in this connection. But the matter is not a stray incident which can be settled by a Law Court. Government will have to satisfy us that the recent speech of the Bishop of Calcutta about Islam and the dealings of the Punjab Government with Moslem religious papers are in no way connected with this affair. The Mussalmans have put up with a lot in recent years, but it is not wise statesmanship to believe that 70 million members of a virile race can all remain like patience smiling on a monument in the face of repeated provocation. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi will have to think of something more solid than masonry to prevent the rousing of religious passions and prejudices and our kind friend the U. P. Deputy Commissioner will have to devise some new bogey wherewith to frighten his *enfants terribles*.

It is satisfactory to note that the circular issued some time ago by the Government of India on the subject of Moslem Education, has evoked practical response from several local Governments. Special committees to consider and suggest suitable measures were

appointed in several provinces, some of which have already submitted their recommendations. The report of the committee appointed by the Bihar and Orissa Government has just been published. The committee negatives the suggestion of providing an Islamic Faculty in connection with the proposed Patna University on the grounds that "the Islamic Faculty in connection with the Dacca University was in the nature of an experiment and had not yet been sanctioned and that the Moslem University had not yet reached the stage of fruition and it would be imprudent for the Patna University to enter into competition with it in any way." We do not know what an "Islamic Faculty" is intended to mean. The provision of an alternative course of Islamic studies in the curriculum for the B. A. degree would naturally prove attractive to Moslem students provided it is so devised and proportioned as to ensure to the boys an adequate grounding in modern subjects. In that case the creation of an "Islamic Faculty" in connection with the Patna University, or with any other University for the matter of that, would be welcome. Such an arrangement would in no wise diminish the usefulness of the Aligarh University, but, on the contrary, would increase its attractiveness. But if an "Islamic Faculty" means an addition of a mere adjunct to a modern University as a concession to Mussalmans for their love of their old learning, an adjunct that would be self-sufficing and have little organic relation to the University teaching, then it must be clearly understood that Mussalmans have no taste for such a luxury nor is Aligarh dreaming of such a stultifying thing as that. The committee makes various suggestions for the improvements of *maktabs*. It is no doubt true that Mussalmans on the whole prefer to send their boys to *maktabs* instead of to primary schools, and the best course is to help in improving *maktab* teaching without impairing its essential features as regards control and administration. The committee suggests that model *maktabs* should be placed in central positions. It also suggests that *Mianji* training schools should be replaced by Moslem teachers' training schools and recommends the grant of stipends for trained teachers. These are very useful and practical suggestions. We also entirely endorse the committee's recommendation that *maktabs* conforming to the departmental syllabus should have the same claims on local bodies as the primary schools. On the subject of *madrasahs* the committee recommends that a course should be framed with a view to encouraging students who have real interest in Islamic studies and that one Government *Madrasah* should be established at Patna. A European scholar of eminence is recommended for the principalship of the *Madrasah*, and it is also agreed to send a qualified Beharee scholar for training in Europe for the post of superintendent of the *Madrasah*. The committee has rejected the suggestion to appoint an Assistant Director of Public Instruction to be in special charge of Moslem education. We regret we can not say that the committee was well-advised in this decision. Throughout India the four chief educational needs of Mussalmans are Moslem educational inspectors, Moslem teachers, liberal facilities for the education of poor Moslem students and adequate provision for Islamic studies including religious instruction. In every province efforts should be made to devise practical measures with these needs prominently in view. The Bihar and Orissa committee has failed to grasp the need of strengthening the inspecting staff with an effective Moslem element. In other respects its suggestions are both useful and practical, and we trust the provincial Government will take early steps to carry them into effect. As regards an effective increase in the number of Moslem teachers and Moslem educational inspectors, the Government of India circular has already emphasised its importance, and we trust the provincial Government will do all that is necessary in this direction.

One must live and learn. The *Pioneer's* remarks about the attempts to "boom" the Nationalist Volunteers are sound practical advice "to all whom it may concern." The *Pioneer* is not going to

Live and Learn.

make the "grievous mistake of the Home Radical papers in laughing at the Ulster Volunteers" by remarking that "there is something theatrical and melodramatic about these warriors of Mr. Devlin." It therefore provides the Nationalists with the recipe of a successful revolt. "In these days," says the *Pioneer*, "battles cannot be won by mere bravery." (Not even that of the *Pioneer's* hero, Kanhai Lal Dutt, we presume.) "It is training, organisation, equipment and above all leading which turns the scale." Then follows a description of the rebellious activities of Ulster and the praise of the "distinguished General"—an Anglo-India General, be it remembered—at their head. After this comes the appraisal of the Nationalist Volunteers. "For several decades Roman Catholic Ireland has been more or less in open opposition to the Government, and their opposition has taken the form of secret societies, terrorism, murders, cattle-maiming and boycotting. Naturally these ebullitions produced no effect upon Government. Ulster has

"shown in two years how resistance to what is regarded as legal tyranny ought to be arranged. . . . Its effect upon Government has been very marked indeed. Very late in the day 'the Nationalists have seen that this is the right way to do things,' and they have frankly pirated their rivals' ideas. . . . Drill and discipline as a means of resistance are a vast improvement on the 'time-honoured policy of shooting landlords and policemen from behind hedges.' Every terrorist in India must be immensely beholden to the *Pioneer* for this instruction calculated to make 'the complete rebel'." It has for long been a pioneer of unsuccessful servility to Indians, and we congratulate it on turning over a new leaf and becoming a pioneer of successful sedition. Well, whosoever wants an effective rebellion must catch the rebels young. Now, who's for a corps of Boy Scouts in every school, with a pensioned sepoy as Scout Master, and a retired Resaldar Major as India's General Richardson in organising India's Volunteers to resist "what is regarded as legal tyranny"?

We are glad to note that, as expected, the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazal Huq, the new Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, has earnestly commenced the work of making the Bengal League something more than a

mere name, which it had become after the resignation of Mr. Sultan Ahmad from the office of Joint Honorary Secretary some three years ago. Along with a bulletin, which we publish elsewhere, he sends us the following note:—"The Bengal Presidency Moslem League was formed 'with a view to represent the cause of the political advancement of the Mussalmans of Bengal, and its existence can only be justified when 'the members of the community throughout the Presidency extend their help and co-operation and take an active part and interest in all its affairs. It is to be regretted that the operations of 'the League have so long been mainly confined to Calcutta and no 'regular attempts seem to have hitherto been made to make it the 'truly representative political organisation of the Mussalmans of 'Bengal. It is ultimately the public with whom and for whom the 'League exists. The days when an association could be started, financed 'and worked by individuals have passed away. With public 'opinion becoming a factor in Indian politics, public opinion expressed 'through the League must more and more tend to be the true index 'of the opinion of the public. The political activities of the Mussal- 'mans in India began only in 1906, and very little has been 'accomplished towards generating the spirit of a living interest in 'politics among the Mussalmans in general. Such a state of affairs 'must perforce be the accumulated fruit of years' work, but in the 'meantime efforts should be made to induce the public to take a 'watchful interest in all the affairs of the League. In order, 'therefore to create such an interest in the affairs of the League 'among the Mussalmans of Bengal, and with a view to keep the 'general public always informed about the real and internal working 'of the League and to give them opportunities to study, discuss 'and criticise its affairs, it has been decided to issue henceforth 'periodical bulletins from the office of the League to be published in 'the newspapers.' A very good resolve too, and may the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi take a lesson from Bengal!

We publish below a letter sent to the *Times* for publication by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahab on the subject of the much-advertised "discovery" of some manuscripts which are supposed to throw new light on the text of the Quran. The

"New Light on the Quran."

letter was not published. No comment is necessary. It was so *Times*-like! We shall shortly deal with the whole subject in detail and see what this "discovery" amounts to. The Khwaja Sahab's letter is as follows:—"Sir,—It really amused me to read what 'appeared in your columns of 25th April under the above heading. It 'speaks of some discovery made at Cambridge as to certain variants 'and interpolations found in the text of the Quran by Dr. Mingana 'on the authority of some MSS. I need not say anything at present as 'to the reliability of the MSS., but what has been selected by 'the writer in your columns as a specimen of the alleged inter- 'polation is not a happy choice. It hardly brings any credit 'to the scholarly attainments of Dr. Mingana if he is really 'responsible for it. It is said that 'the 35 pages which Dr. Min- 'gana has deciphered show at least 35 variants, and the omission of 'four interpolations, most of them being decided improvements on 'Zaid's text. For instance, Sura 17 begins 'When we knelt (not 'when we blessed) round the Harem.' One with an ordinary 'knowledge of Arabic could not have selected this verse for the 'advertisement of his discoveries, and I would advise Dr. Mingana 'to think twice before he hazards his reputation as Professor of 'Semitic languages in the seminary at Mosul for 13 years. 'To find variants in the reading of the Quran is not a new dis-

"every. I may supply Dr. Mingana with many a variant known to us from the very beginning of Islam. But he should remember that the variants in the Quran have got a significance quite different from that in the Bible. There are ten different readings of various Quranic verses, but this is confined only to the pronunciation and variations in vowel-points of certain words in the text. It is owing to provincialism and does not affect the meaning. For instance, the opening words of every chapter in the Quran, usually translated in English 'In the name of God, the most compassionate, etc.,' have got some eight different readings. I give three of them here:—(a) Bismilla hirrahma nirrahimi; (b) Bismillahirrahman nirrahimi; (c) Bismilla hirrahma nirrahimu. The concluding portion of the first verse of the opening chapter of the Quran has got three well-known variants: (a) Malike yomiddien; (b) Malake yomiddien; (c) Malake yomiddien; but they do not affect the meaning. In order to appreciate the mistake presumably made by Dr. Mingana in the so-called interpolation, one should first know the character of Arabic writing. The vowel-points are never given in any word, but if necessary they are given not in the body but on the margin of the words. They are usually shown when the writing is meant for a stranger or beginner of the language. For illustration I take three consonant letters B.R.K. They will have different readings by the change of vowel-points, as for example: *Biraka, Barka, Burk, Barke, Barki*, and so forth. In the Arabic writing we will find only B.R.K., but the context will enable us to read it with the required vowels. Before the spread of Islam in the non-Arabic nations the Quran also was written without any vowel-points; but when non-Arabic speaking nations needed the Book the text in the days of Yusuf bin Hajaj was given these points. With this in view the alleged interpolation of Dr. Mingana will not appear so to your readers. I first give the translation of the whole of the 1st verse of Surah 17 in question, in the words of Rodwell: 'Glory be to Him who carried his servant by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the temple that is more remote, whose precinct we have blessed, that we might shew him of our signs.' The verse contains the word *Birakna*, which means 'we blessed,' but read it as *Barakna* and it means 'we knelt.' In the ancient text we find only *Brkna* without vowel-points and could as I have explained above. One may read it *Birakna* (we blessed) or *Barakna* (we knelt) as he is advised by the context or common-sense. There are various reasons, grammatical and others, which do not allow us to read it otherwise than as *Birakna* (we blessed). They will be enumerated on the appearance of Dr. Mingana's book; but even the use of ordinary common sense would induce one to reject Dr. Mingana's reading. It is not man who says "we blessed" (or knelt round) the precincts of the temple, but God. To say of God as kneeling round a temple is an absurdity and gross insult to the Moslem conception of God. God may bless a temple, but not kneel before it. It is decidedly anything but an improvement on the text. Dr. Mingana perhaps takes "we" (we knelt or blessed) for man and hence the error. If by simply reading *Barakna* instead of *Birakna* he jumps upon a discovery, he need not trouble himself in deciphering the MSS. Any ancient copy of the Quran will supply him with hundreds of variants."

In concluding its comments on the oratory at the recent Calcutta Dinner held in London our esteemed contemporary, the *Pioneer*, says: "The Bishop of Calcutta said a thing which no one else could have said so fitly when he remarked

The Text and the Sermon.

"that commercial Englishman supplied in the task committed to Great Britain in India those qualities of straight, honourable and just dealing of which India stood sorely in need." A chapter could be written on this text, but we all know what His Lordship meant, and we know that it is true." Really the *Pioneer* speaks in conundrums nowadays. The text is before us all no doubt, but the sermon can be considered obvious only by the *Pioneer* and its clientele. But if guessing is part of the game, may we hazard the remark that the *Statesman* did preach the sermon? Whether it did so fitly or not we leave the *Pioneer* to decide. Chaffing under Lord Hardinge's well-deserved rebuke about "irresponsible statements made by interested persons," the *Statesman*, representative, we may presume, of that great exemplar of "straight, honourable and just dealing", the commercial Englishman, repudiated the charge of Calcutta commercial criticism being interested by saying that its clients "have not lost a rupee by the transfer" and, carrying the warfare into the enemy's camp, wrote: "Lord Hardinge and his Council have been considerable gainers. His Excellency receives a considerable entertaining allowance. How much has been saved by the attenuated hospitalities of Delhi? Members of Council are paid an absurdly high salary to compensate them for the

"expensiveness of Calcutta. What rent are they paying in Delhi?" Is this an epitome of the "chapter" to which the *Pioneer* refers? If so, may we remind the Government of India that they are not beneath "hatred or contempt", and that if the *Statesman's* remarks "are likely" or may have a tendency directly . . . to bring into "contempt . . . the Government established by law in British India", in the words of that *valetudine* of Indian journalists, the Press Act, those of the *Pioneer* too cannot escape the widespread net of . . . indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, "allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise." We can well understand the *Statesman's* "disinterested" lament at the loss of rent from the Government of India officials who were compensated by absurdly high salaries for the expensiveness of Calcutta, though Calcutta, according to the *Statesman*, did not, by some curious system of book-keeping, lose a single rupee by the transfer. We can understand still better its still more "disinterested" wail at the attenuated hospitalities of Delhi, for snobbishness is no sin according to the Metropolitan's decalogue, and in no way lowers the ethical reputation of the commercial Englishman whether he be a City Alderman at home or a jute-wallah abroad. But why need the *Pioneer* complain of the attenuated hospitalities of Delhi? One of its editors is always at Delhi or Simla, and surely the Government of India have not forgotten the Persian poet's recipe for sewing up the mouths of some of God's creatures.

THE establishment, some weeks ago, of the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce has been commented upon in very favourable terms by the correspondents of several English papers. It has been hailed as a sign of the awakened interest among the Egyptians in regard to the growing commercial importance of their country. The reports are practically unanimous in their views about the value and utility of this step and about the high business qualities and character of the Egyptian merchants, both Moslem and Copts, who have taken the lead in the matter. A distinguished Egyptian was said to have gone to Italy as a representative of the Chamber with the object of creating greater facilities for commercial intercourse between the two countries. All accounts, in fine, agree in their estimates both of the need of such a Chamber and of the capacity, earnestness and high business training of the men who have organised it. And yet "a correspondent" of the *Capital* thinks that no practical good would come out of the organisation. He says that from its initiation the Chamber was paralysed "by the aggressive attitude the Mohamedan members took up towards the Copts." It can, of course, do no violence to the spirit of our Calcutta contemporary if its correspondents are occasionally eager to claim a prerogative of opinion in all commercial matters. But this correspondent goes on better and quietly assumes the tone of an authoritative expert on the psychology of races and creeds. He delivers himself thus: "To the Moslem of the Near East, nothing is secular. His political, commercial and all other ideas are intimately associated with his religion. The one cannot be divorced from the other. To him, Turkey is not Turkey or Egypt Egypt. He has no country—only the area bounded by his religion. The Moslem of Egypt, though he is indigenous to the country, and his forebears through generations have been reared there, feels he is more akin to the Turk, or the Central African negro than he is to the Copt, an Egyptian subject, or to the Syrian, a Turkish subject. With the two former he has the affinity of religion. With the two latter, possibly some blood connection, but that is as nothing. They are poles asunder. Their religion is different. The Moslem of Egypt has, therefore, been quite unable to grasp the meaning of an Egyptian Chamber of Commerce—an institution dealing purely with commercial economics and designed to assist purely indigenous firms irrespective of the religion of the proprietors. A Moslem Chamber he could have understood and been enthusiastic about, but to be called upon to legislate commercially with people of another religion as confreres, even if for the good of his fatherland, has been beyond him." Much of the implied sneer of this deliverance is a Moslem's pride and glory. He has never sought kinship through the accidents of geography and ethnology. His creed has revealed to him profounder affinities of the spirit, which recognise no such fetters as colour or race and bring man and man into real, vital harmony of thought and feeling. Still, however, Islam does not prescribe religious exclusiveness. It is not a set of abstruse doctrines subtly designed in the shape of a metaphysical labyrinth, nor are its ideals a sort of spiral staircase leading up to the heights of the Infinite. History teems with examples of Mussalmans having initiated fruitful co-operation with their non-Moslem neighbours in the material, productive toil of life. The correspondent of the *Capital* is only one of a host of pseudo-philosophers who ape philosophy and are busy spinning

crude and shallow generalities about things that usually lie beyond their narrow mental ken. We have no quarrel with a tribe that knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. The *Leader* of Allahabad quotes the ridiculous effusion of the correspondent of the *Capital* with considerable satisfaction and traces through it "a close family resemblance to the attitude of Mohamadens in India towards the Hindus and public questions." If the *Leader* means thereby that Indian Mussalmans, too, like every true Moslem in Egypt and elsewhere, are not groping hopelessly in a spiritual fog, it is right. It will cure the *Leader's* vanity a good deal to place the conclusions of Mr. Gait on Hinduism in his second paper on the Census of India side by side with the remarks of *Capital's* correspondent about the Mussalmans. Indian Mussalmans are not ashamed of being Mussalmans, and are thankful to think that they are not perpetually harassed by an acute necessity of defining their faith by solemn conference. As regards their attitude towards Hindus and public questions, well, the *Leader* can not presumably be in doubt about this when it regards it quite clear "that the need for the Hindus to organise themselves for the protection of their interest is as imperative as ever." How difficult it is to hide the cloven hoof of separatism under the verbiage of nationalism on Congress platforms.

At the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society at the Queen's Hall in London in the first week of May, Dr. Lefroy, Bishop of Calcutta, discussed the problem of Mohamedan evangelisation and the splendid possibilities and hopes which presented themselves in connexion with it if only the Church would rouse herself in some kind of adequate measure and tackle the work in real earnest. The problem, said the Metropolitan, had never received a tenth part of the attention its importance demanded. It was a case of the Cross or the Crescent; there could be no neutrality, according to the Bishop, between the two; one or the other must conquer. The only sound method of Christian defence against the onward march of Mohamedanism, said Dr. Lefroy, must be that of attack, the Church throwing itself heart and soul into the great cause, winning the Mohamedan world to allegiance to Christ. We are sure this will be highly interesting reading to Indian Mussalmans. May we also hope it will be equally instructive? First the Kikuyu Conference, then the Sunday School Convention and now the Right Reverend Bishop of Calcutta's cheerful prospect of an "attack". Bishop Lefroy's "Muscular Christianity" is a notable feature, and this frontal attack is characteristic of him. Possibly Islam has little to fear from such charges, which like that of the Light Brigade, may be "magnificent but not war" if the usual methods of evangelization adopted by Christian Missionaries in Moslem lands be kept in mind. What Islam has to fear most are "the flanking movements." Dr. Mingana's "Quran" and Mr. Greenfield's latest "Hadees" are to be feared much more than Bishop Lefroy's sermons. When our Pamphlet Case was being argued at Calcutta, the learned Advocate-General had condemned the Macedonia Pamphlet chiefly, almost solely, on the ground that a sharp antithesis appeared to him to have been drawn between the Cross and the Crescent. Of course, Mr. Norton had pointed out that the antithesis was none of the Turk's creation, but was the handiwork of King Ferdinand and his Allies. He could have gone further and said that while at least three Crusades had been waged against Islam by Christendom, not one Jihad could be traced in history in which the entire Moslem World combined in the same manner against Christianity. Islam has always believed in defence not defiance. The Hon. the Advocate-General of Bengal is within the diocese of the Bishop of Calcutta and he would, we trust, note with interest the sharp antithesis drawn by the Right Reverend Bishop between the Cross and the Crescent. Of course, there is no neutrality between the two, at least not between the Unity of Islam and the Trinity of the Nicene Creed. No Mussalman could indeed wish for neutrality. One or other must conquer, and the Mussalman is sure in his mind which it is going to be.

ناله صباد سی مونگی نواسامان طبور * خون گلوین سی کلی رنگیں فامو جانیگی
آنکہ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہی لب پاستکناہیر * محو جبریت ہوں کہ دنیا کی کسی کامو جانیگی
شب گریزاں ہوئی آخر جلوہ خورشید سی
یہ چمن مسور ہوگا فتنہ توحید سی

Dr. Lefroy's "method of Christian defence" is characteristic of the blessed meek that shall inherit the kingdom of the earth. He must needs attack. But with what weapons? Those of the body, as in the Balkans? Or those which even an anti-clerical Government such as the French is employing in Algiers and Tunis where the Hajis being prohibited now, as it is declared to turn loyal French subjects who drink *absinthe* and enjoy the can-can into forces of disloyalty, austere in morals and fearing God only? What did Mr. Asquith say? Yes, yes, wait and see.

The Comrade.

Dignity or Impudence?

To most Mussalmans Etawah has two great associations. It was the home of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, that brilliant and most amiable, if unfortunately also a somewhat weak, leader of the Mussalmans. And it is also the home of one of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk's greatest friends and most trenchant critic, Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab, editor of *Al-Bashir*, and the sole founder of the Etawah Islamia High School in as true a sense as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the sole founder of the Aligarh College. Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab has enjoyed the universal respect of Mussalmans for close upon a quarter of a century as a devoted worker in the cause of Mussalmans. He may not have brought great intellectual qualifications to his work, but he brought to it a persistence and an earnestness of character that so many of the younger men have lacked grievously. And he brought to it, what all Aligarh Old Boys particularly admire in him, a devotion to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that amounted almost to idolatry. Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab has rendered the Mussalmans great service throughout his career as a journalist, particularly in putting up a valiant fight in the days of Sir Antony MacDonnell for Urdu against the encroachments of bigoted separatists who wish to boycott Urdu because it has been splendidly enriched by Mussalmans from Persian and Arabic sources.

But while gratefully acknowledging these services and offering to him the tribute of well deserved praise for his high character, the progressive section of Mussalmans has painfully realised that with advancing age Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab has failed to "grow" in his views, whether on politics or on education. He has not yet realised that even the greatest of men hardly ever accomplish in their lifetime all that they desire, and that even if any of them does accomplish it, his life-work may be the salvation of his own generation, but it cannot assure the salvation of succeeding generations, unless his successors continue, extend and amplify his plans in accordance with the ever new circumstances as they arise from day to day. If some great statesman, educationist, or soldier continued to live far beyond the psalmist's span of life and remained in the fullest enjoyment of his faculties to the last, can it be supposed that he would not alter and modify, and in some cases completely reverse, his earlier policies and plans at the dictation of changing circumstances? Even those who enjoy no such extraordinary longevity and youthful vigor of body and mind are oftentimes compelled to retrace their steps and change their course, destroy what they had built up and build again according to a different plan. The moment they cease to do so, rest assured they have shed not only the youth of the body but also the youth of the mind, and that although they may continue to live, they have ceased to grow.

Sir Syed Ahmad's own career illustrates these obvious facts of life, and his greatest quality was that he took a longer view of things than his contemporaries and was of course never behind the times. Well, Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab has much of the persistence of Sir Syed and an absorbing devotion to him and his ideals; but he will pardon us if we say that, unlike another devoted disciple of Sir Syed, namely, Mushtaq Husain, Viqar-ul-Mulk, he does not possess Sir Syed's secret of perpetual youth. It was given to Syed Ahmad Khan in his generation to locate the centre and find the radius. But his long life was not long enough—and no man's life can ever be long enough—to describe the full circle of Moslem salvation. He has, however, left for us a large enough arc which tells us the position of the centre and the length of the radius, and if we extend the arc on that basis it is nothing short of insane to accuse us of denying the wisdom of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in describing a portion of the circle. It will be equally insane of us to think that we could describe the complete circle in our lifetime, and that anyone who would attempt after we are gone to extend the arc of progress as we left it would be denying the value of our life-work.

Well, however insane it may be, we have unfortunately a number of people among the Mussalmans of India who believe, or pretend to believe, in doctrines such as these which are the negation of all progress. Of Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab, at least, let us say we believe he does not merely pretend to believe in them but does believe in them. The heart is sound, but that does not alter the possibility of the head refusing to be an equally good guide.

It is not strange, then, that a man who was in his younger days of such advanced views as the respected editor of *Al-Bashir* should now on occasions lag considerably behind the times. The controversy about the Moslem University and the views of *Al-Bashir* on the subject provided

one of the earliest indications of this failure to "grow", and few felt surprised at it. Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab is not now the familiar figure that he used to be at Aligarh, and it is to be presumed that he is not so much in touch with the affairs of the College, as he used to be before, taking too much for granted, and relying more than is safe on the peculiar views of his near kinsman, Dr. Zia-ud-Din. Politics was a comparatively less strong point of his at his best, and although he cannot satisfactorily account on the basis of his political beliefs for the annulment of the partition of Bengal, the rapprochement between the Local Government and the Congress School, as also between the Local Government and the Arya Samaj, and the policy of England towards Moslem nations and States, he is also unable to revise his political charita.

Naturally enough he is one of the few Mussalmans who have honest apprehensions that the Moslem League's recent amplification of its creed is a mistake. But the honest sceptic is a godsend to the confirmed hypocrite who works for his own ends under the cloak of patriotism and public duty. We are extremely hopeful of Moslem progress, for we see signs of it everywhere, though we do not consider every excitement to be movement, nor label every movement as progress. But we must confess to having some awful moments when the fears and doubts that assail us are those of a confirmed pessimist. And one of the chief causes of that pessimism is the young man whose "sobriety and sanity of judgment" is the common theme of every hypocrite in our bureaucracy who runs down the "young hot-heads." Such a person has none of the virtues of youth—the age that all old men sigh for—but most of the vices of old age. It makes a goblin of the sun to sit down quietly and picture what a calculating selfish old sinner he would be in his old age who is so calculating and selfish almost in adolescence. Well, the Mussalmans have some of these young-old gentlemen among them, and they see to it that each of them secures a rich or prominent or otherwise eligible puppet to dance to his wire-pulling. Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab is not exactly an eligible party for the purpose, but he is a useful enough cat-paw. He is, therefore, in great requisition, to-day at Cawnpore and to-morrow at Allahabad. The latest occasion on which the wires have been cleverly pulled is the "reconstitution" of the Etawah League, and we should like to know how Mr. Alay Nabi, who, we presume, is still the President of the Provincial League, views the impertinence of a twig—we cannot call a District League a "branch"—of the All-India Moslem League.

Our readers have heard something of the "three tailors of Tooley Street" in Lahore who assumed such imposing dignity in Mr. Shah's portentous resolution. But Etawah is not without its Tooley Street, and its Tooley Street is not without its three tailors. Etawah is a large town and has an important Moslem population. One would have thought, that when it took the important step of re-creating a District Moslem League, at least a couple of hundred Mussalmans would have met for the purpose. Particularly, when the old egg was laid a second time and took the still more serious step of cock-a-diddle-do-ing in opposition to the ancient chancery, immediately after it was laid again, and even before it was hatched, one would have thought that at least it took care to collect a goodly company in which to teach manners to its grandsire. But we regret to find that the grand meeting, advertised with the same neatness as Mr. Shah's, was attended, according to one account, by ten or twelve persons, and according to another by eight. Well, the figure of eight is a pretty figure, but is it really great enough to justify such silly chatter as that birching of the U. P. sphinx has published throughout India?

We are informed that Maulvi Said Ahmad Sahab who is a Municipal Commissioner and an Honorary Magistrate has been appointed the Secretary of the League. But it is said that he confesses he has no idea what the League is, nor the remotest notion whether it is or is not drifting towards the National Congress. It is our information that the figure of eight included two Mukhtars, one of whom is a relation of the editor of *Al-Bashir*, and two Hakims, one of whom is a paid servant of the Islamic School. We are entirely opposed to the view that a person employed in an educational institution must take no part in politics; but those whom the Etawah proceedings would gratify most hold that view strongly, and we hope Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab would let us and them know on which side his theory, if not practice, leans in this matter. The other Hakim, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, is said to have come from Hyderabad not long ago, and his views may be judged from the fact that he garlanded Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, and was prominent in the collection of subscriptions for the Cawnpore Mosque Fund. He is reported to have opposed the famous Resolution along with two others, who were merchants, and it is stated that to meet this unforeseen contingency other gentlemen were brought to the meeting to give the framers of the Resolution a majority. Is it true that of the three Aligarh Graduates in Etawah who are not in Government service not one was invited to the meeting? Was any member of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulka's family—one of the most important in Etawah—present at the meeting? We learn that efforts are being made in order that these wretched proceedings may be imitated elsewhere also. That is the reason why we think it best to expose the hollowness of what passed at

Etawah. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, and we think the exposure we have made should be a sufficient warning.

We have hitherto had no reason to question the *bona fides* of the editor of *Al-Bashir*; but it is a little curious that in its issue of 2nd June, while much more than half the paper is filled with the translation of Mr. Alston's opening speech in the Delhi Conspiracy Case, (taken without any acknowledgement from the *Hindustan*) which Mr. Alston made on the 25th and 26th May, there is not the smallest report of the Etawah League's proceedings on the 29th May beyond an editorial note no more informing than the telegram sent to the papers.

في خودي بي سبب نين غالب * كچه تو هي جيكي پرده داري مي

(The self-forgetfulness is not without some reason, O Ghalib.

Something there must be that has to be draped.)

The editorial note says: "All the resolutions that the Etawah League has passed are the result of carefully and wisely keeping the benefit to the community in view. In particular the boldness and moral courage with which dissatisfaction with the present policy of the All-India Moslem League has been expressed is probably the first instance of its kind, and until and unless thinking Mussalmans do not give up this funky (*dabbu*) policy and declare their views 'freely there is an apprehension of great harm to the Mussalmans.'" The editor also tells us that the setting back of the clock by fifty years during the last two years has been the result of the silence of sagacious leaders, and it is therefore necessary that those who feel for the community and whose lives have been spent in thinking over the causes of national progress and decline should now display moral courage. In conclusion, he adds that he does not care for the abuse of a few selfish and short-sighted persons and believes it to be his duty to guide the community without fear.

Well, if the Etawah meeting is the result of Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din's efforts and the resolutions are his handiwork, we fear we shall have to withdraw even our one charge against him, that he has ceased to grow. We certainly never suspected him of such full-throated self-laudation, and, like Topsy, we 'spect he must have "grewed". The boldness and courage on which he prides himself can, from another point of view, be called insubordination and impertinence, and as such we are glad that it is the first instance of its kind. Is it too much to hope that it will also be the last?

But what astonishes us most is the denunciation of the "funky (*dabbu*) policy" of the All-India Moslem League. Can the much respected editor of *Al-Bashir* honestly affirm that that policy involves no risks for those who pursue it? How many bureaucrats can he point out who would not like to deport such Mussalmans as venture even to dream of self-government and to confiscate the printing presses and securities of such newspapers as support them? Not a hair of his beard has been in the least danger when the liberties of not the lives, of those with whom he disagrees have been in jeopardy. "*Dabbu* policy" indeed! The nearest approach that we ever saw to this *dabbu* policy was when *Al-Bashir* braved the wrath of a predecessor of Sir James Metton who was, if possible, a greater friend of those whom Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab regards as the enemies of Mussalmans. But, again, like Topsy, we 'spect the respected editor of *Al-Bashir* must have "grewed" from the "cowardice" of those days to the "courage" of these.

The hands of the clock have indeed been set back half a century, because in these few years the Indian Mussalmans have been induced to be generous to the extent of a good deal more than a crore for causes which Maulvi Bashir-ud-Din Sahab cannot deny he himself has had at heart, when a few years ago even a lakh was an impossible figure for Moslem generosity during the same period. But does he not know that those who gave so freely gave without the persuasion of the "sagacious leaders" whose silence he deploras. Some of these "sagacious leaders" have not scrupled even to offer prayers for their grandfathers' souls over the confectioners' shops, as the proverb has it. But it did not occur even to them to prevent their less "sagacious" co-religionists from offering their own hard-earned savings and even the bread of themselves and their children for the salvage of Islam after the bloody storm of the Balkans. Does *Al-Bashir* really believe that the croakings of these "sagacious leaders" would have stopped a shell from going to Turkey? The least that they could do was to remain silent, and for our part we consider that silence to have redeemed in a measure all their windy oratory indulged in at the bidding of the enemies of Islam.

Youth must wait and can afford to wait, for time is always on the side of the young. But how many of the aged Scribes and Pharisees can show "lives spent in thinking over the causes of national progress and decline"? Such of the old men as have spent themselves in this way are held in honour by the young far more than by their contemporaries, and it is a matter of pride and not of envy to the younger generation of Mussalmans that the man who leads them is not an unflinching briefless barrister who pulls the wires of puppets of all ages and types but an old man of seventy-three who knows not a word of English and on whom had fallen far more truly than on any else the mantle of Syed Ahmad Khan.

One word and we have done. Who are the youngmen that are now in the van? Are they not the lads of yesterday who sat at the feet of Syed Ahmad Khan and Theodore Beck during the best period of Aligarh's life-history? If they have gone wrong, who has misled them? Shall not Syed Ahmad Khan, Theodore Beck, Thomas Arnold and Theodore Morison have to answer for their wrong-doing? Mind you, it is not as if one man or a handful of men mislead the Moslem public. They are practically all of one mind and they are marching ahead shoulder to shoulder. If they are treading a dangerous path it was Syed Ahmad Khan that had led their footsteps thither. If they misguide the community the charge shall be laid at the red sandstone grave with the green grass under which sleeps the Sage of Aligarh. If it is out of the mouths of babes and sucklings that come forth words charged with the spirit of fire, remember, the lips are the lips of the young, but the voice is the voice of the old. Ah, for one Syed Ahmad Khan to-day to silence alike the old blabbers in their dotage and the young charlatans in their loud-proclaimed patriotism and loyalty.

نی خواہش نہیں کچھ قوم کو ہم نہ کوروں میں * ہماری آرزو تم ہو، ہماری مدد تم ہو
سکایا تمہیں نے قوم کو یہ، شور و سرسار * جو اسکی انتہام میں تو اسکی ابتدا تم ہو

(The nation feels no new yearning; we only weep for you. You alone are our desire, you alone the object of our prayers. It is you yourself that had taught the nation all this noise and mischief: if we are the end, you certainly were the beginning.)

The Press Act and Proselytization.

III.—ISLAM AND JESUS CHRIST.

THE two previous articles that have appeared in this series must appear to our Moslem readers to have been wholly redundant, for they know that both the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* are journals owned and edited by Mussalmans, and religious Mussalmans at that, and no amount of Punjab Government notifications could convince any Mussalman that such journals could have permitted a syllable to be published in their columns even distantly suggestive of blasphemy or irreverence. But this presupposes a knowledge on their part of the teaching of the Quran on the subject of Jesus Christ and his birth, and evidently neither Sir Michael O'Dwyer nor the Marquess of Crewe know this. Let us therefore cite a few verses from the Quran to show how impossible it is for a Mussalman to write irreverently about Christ and the mother of Christ. Apart from numerous references throughout the Book, two Chapters of the Quran, the third, "The Family of Imran," and the nineteenth, "Mary", are in the main devoted to them. We invite the attention of the Punjab Government and the Secretary of State to the extracts from these two chapters which we give at the end of this article as an Appendix.

It must be remembered that before the Quran was revealed to the Prophet of Islam, there were two great bodies of men, the Christians and the Jews, who disputed among themselves about the birth of Christ. The Christians believed in the virginity of Mary, some going so far as to ascribe to her a perpetual virginity and even divinity. The Jews, on the other hand, cast aspersions on her chastity, and far from accepting the divinity of Jesus, branded him with bastardy. It was through Mohamed that God furnished Christianity with the most valuable evidence that could be secured, the independent testimony of divine revelation. In the Chapter on "Women" the Quran tells us that God had got ready "a grievous torment" for the Infidels among the Jews "for their having spoken against Mary a grievous calumny." In the Chapter on "Prophets" the Quran refers to Mary as "her who kept her maidenhood, and into whom we breathed of our spirit, and made her and her son a sign to all creatures." Again in the Chapter entitled "Forbidden" she is called "Mary, the daughter of Imran, who kept her maidenhood, and into whose womb we breathed of our spirit, and who believed in the words of her Lord and His Scriptures, and was one of the devout." Can any one believe after a perusal of the extracts given in the Appendix and of the extracts we have here given that a believing Mussalman could be irreverent towards Christ and slander Mary?

The Quran, however, repudiated the divinity of Jesus Christ in no mistakeable terms. "It becometh not a man," says the Quran, "that God should give him the Scriptures and the wisdom, and the gift of prophecy, and that he should say to his followers 'Be ye worshippers of me as well as of God': but rather, 'Be ye perfect in things pertaining to God, since ye know the Scriptures and have studied deep.'" ("The Family of Imran.") "It becometh not God to beget a son. Glory be to Him! when he decreeth a thing. He only saith to it, Be, and it is." "They say: 'The God of Mercy hath gotten offspring.' Now have ye done a monstrous thing! Almost might the very Heavens be rent thereat, and the Earth cleave asunder, the mountains fall down in fragments. That they ascribe a son to the God of Mercy, when it becometh not the God of Mercy to beget a son. Verily there

"is none in the Heavens, and in the Earth but shall approach the God of Mercy as a servant." ("Mary.") "Infidels now are they who say 'God is the Messiah, son of Mary'; for the Messiah said, 'O children of Israel! worship God, my Lord and your Lord.' Whoever shall join other gods with God, God shall forbid him the Garden, and his abode shall be the Fire; and the wicked shall have no helpers. They surely are Infidels who say, 'God is the third of three': for there is no god but one God: and if they refrain not from what they say, a grievous chastisement shall light on such of them as are Infidels. . . . The Messiah, son of Mary, is but an Apostle; other Apostles have flourished before him; and his mother was a just person: they both ate food. Behold! how we make clear to them the signs! then behold how they turn aside! And when God shall say—'O Jesus, son of Mary: hast thou said unto mankind, 'Take me and my mother as two Gods beside God?' He shall say—'Glory be unto Thee! It is not for me to say that which I know to be not the truth.'" ("The Table.") "And that it may warn those who say, 'God hath begotten a son'. No knowledge of this have either they or their fathers! A grievous saying to come out of their mouths. They speak no other than a lie." ("The Cave.") "Say, He is God alone: God the Eternal! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten; And there is none like unto Him." ("The Unity.") (The translation in each case is Rodwell's.)

We can well believe that a Mussalman may occasionally lose his temper and abuse those who preach the divinity of Christ; but after a perusal of these copious references in the Quran who can even conceive that a Mussalman could ever publish anything "wantonly scurrilous and offensive" about the birth of Christ and the purity of Mary? Is it not a pity that neither the Minister responsible to the King and People of Great Britain for the good government of India, wherein reside seventy million Mussalmans, nor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, where more than half the population is Moslem, knows enough of a small book called the Quran to believe that a Mussalman is incapable of wanton scurrility and offensiveness where Mary and Jesus Christ are concerned?

In spite of the universal reverence for the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of Aligarh and the dictator of Moslem India in politics as well as education, even to-day the majority of the Mussalmans of India look askance at his sane rationalism in religion. It is true that even in the domain of religion his influence has been extraordinarily great, that not only are the young Mussalmans for the most part his enthusiastic disciples, but that men of the older generation also are now getting reconciled to his rationalism since it has been echoed from Syria and Egypt as the views of men like Mufti Mohamed Abdu expressed in a language held sacred because it is the language of the Quran. But when a young disciple of Sir Syed Ahmad who is an Old Boy of Aligarh complained in the course of a laudatory speech on the Founder's Day that his religious works were still taboo at the College which he had founded, and urged their inclusion in the Divinity syllabus at Aligarh, Nawab Vihar-ul-Mulk, the friend and successor of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, replied that it was too early yet for the generality of Mussalmans to be reconciled to all his teachings, and the one view of Syed Ahmed Khan that he selected for mention in support of his contention, which he felt sure few even in that gathering could permit to be taught at Aligarh, was his view of the birth of Christ. The generality of Mussalmans could not yet regard the ascription of Christ's paternity to Joseph the Carpenter as otherwise than derogatory to Christ. The writer in the *An-Najm*, whom the *Badr* quotes so fully, only attempted to meet the objections of the "Naturalists" by seeking to prove an alternative hypothesis equally "natural," namely, the birth of Christ from the virgin womb of a hermaphrodite. Such is the habit of mind of Mussalmans in discussing the birth of Christ, and yet the Secretary of State can believe that Mussalmans who regard as irreverent even the views of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, of whom at least no one has yet said that he brought the Christian population of India into contempt, are capable of writing any thing "wantonly scurrilous and offensive."

IV.—RESTRAINT OF PROSELYTIZATION.

WHATEVER we have said hitherto may or may not benefit the two journals from which security has been demanded without any justification. But our object in writing this series of articles is, as the title must have made clear, to draw the attention of the Government to a most serious aspect of the question. Is the Press Act to prevent the proselytization of Christians by Moslem missionaries, or, for the matter of that, of people of any faith by the missionaries of another? Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahab has already drawn the attention of the Secretary of State to this question, and we should have thought that his Open Letter to Lord Crewe would be enough. But the reply given by Mr. Charles Roberts to Mr. Morrell clearly shows that the question must be dinned into official ears for a long time before any effect can be assured.

Let us examine the general question with reference to the case of these two journals. In the first place, as we have clearly shown, a Mussalman cannot even think evil of Jesus Christ and Mary and remain a Mussalman. In the second place, the two journals with which we have

dealt at length published nothing about them that was in the least irreverent. But, in the third place, if they did, how can the Christian population of the Province be brought into contempt by the publication of any thing which blasphemes Jesus Christ or is irreverent in dealing with the question of his birth? If such publication is a criminal offence, the Indian Penal Code must have provided suitable punishment for it in Chapter XV entitled "Of Offences relating to Religion." This consists of four sections only. Section 295 deals with the injuring or defiling of a place of worship or any object held sacred by any class of persons, with intent to insult their religion or with the knowledge that they are likely to consider such an act an insult to their religion. Obviously this section applies to conduct such as that of Mr. Tyler at Cawnpore, and not of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* or the *Badr*. Section 296 deals with the offence of disturbing a religious assembly, and the two Punjab journals did not even disturb an assembly of Christians rebuilding a Church forcibly destroyed by Mussalmans as Mr. Tyler did. Section 297, again, is wholly inapplicable, relates to trespassing on burial places *et cetera*. The last remaining section in this Chapter is 298, and the offence of the peccant papers must be found set forth here, if anywhere, because it deals with the offence of wounding the religious feelings of persons.

But let us examine the section. It says: "Whoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both." That is all. It is an offence to utter any word or make any sound in the hearing of a person or make a gesture in his sight with the deliberate intention of wounding his feelings. But if a writer writes anything even with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person he does not commit any offence under this section. It is clear that the essence of the offence under section 298 is that it should be committed in the hearing or the sight of the person whose religious feelings are intended to be deliberately wounded. Such an offence is provocative of an instantaneous breach of the peace which wantonly scurrilous and offensive writing, where the provocation, however grave, is not sudden, is not supposed to be. Whether scurrilous and offensive writing with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of a person or a class should or should not be regarded as a penal offence is not the question. We strongly believe that it should be, and we are sorry that it is not; but as things stand we can only conclude that the framers of the Indian Penal Code omitted it of a set purpose.

It is true that the comparatively recently enacted section 153A makes it an offence to promote or attempt to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects by words, whether written or spoken, or by visible representation, or in any other manner. But, in the first place, the explanation to this section makes it clear that it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Thus, even if it be supposed that the belief in or the repudiation of the Immaculate Conception or the doctrine of Atonement is producing, or has a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity and hatred between Christians and non-Christians, the explanation makes it clear that if a Christian honestly intends to remove the non-Christian disbelief and a non-Christian equally honestly intends to remove the Christian belief, neither of them is guilty of an offence under this section. In the second place, the section deals with feelings of hatred and enmity between different classes which are obviously productive of much evil to the people and of much embarrassment to the State. It does not deal with the wounding of the religious feelings of an individual by another individual or even of a class by an individual. We can well understand that the Jewish assertion that Christ was the offspring of an illicit union would wound the religious feelings of Christians and Mussalmans, and if a Jewish preacher called Christ a bastard in the hearing of a Christian or a Mussalman, with the deliberate intention of wounding his religious feelings, a prosecution could rightly be instituted under section 298. But if a Jew wrote—and thousands have written—expressing disbelief in the Immaculate Conception, and accusing Mary, as they did more than nineteen hundred years ago when they said: "O Mary! Now thou hast done a strange thing! O sister of Aaron! Thy father was 'not a man of wickedness, nor unchaste thy mother,'" no Christian or Mussalman could successfully prosecute him in any Criminal Court in British India. If it is not an offence under Chapter XV relating to Religion, as it is not, it can not be one under Chapter VIII relating to Public Tranquillity either.

Assuming that such writings are calculated to disturb public tranquillity, they would do so because the person or class of persons whose religious feelings are wounded learns thereby to hate the writer or the class to which the writer belongs. Let us now apply this to the cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and *Badr*. What their peccant articles may have done is this. They may have persuaded the Christian population of the Province, including its Christian officials,

to hate the Mussalmans. In other words, they may have brought the Moslem population of the Province into hatred. But to say that they have brought the Christian population of the Province into contempt is to reverse the truth and to play with words. The belief that a Local Government can stoop to such things is certainly likely to bring the Local Government into contempt. But obviously the responsibility for that lies at the door of that Local Government and not at the door of a writer who would earnestly dissuade it from courses which, if deliberate, can only be characterised, in the words of Sir Edward Carson, as hypocritical shams.

We have dealt with the law, certainly as it existed before the Press Act, and most probably as it exists even after that inane piece of legislation. But if the opinion of the Punjab Government is correct, then we must say proselytization and the Press Act cannot go together. The one contradicts and prevents the other. By religious freedom a missionary religion such as Islam or Christianity understands not only freedom to believe in one's faith but also freedom to persuade others also to believe in it. As Prof. Max Müller defined it, a missionary religion is one "in which the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty by the founder or his immediate successors." It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest, unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all members of the human family." The question is, shall Government tolerate the performance of this "sacred duty" any longer in India? Shall the restless spirit of truth in the heart of believers be permitted any more to manifest itself in thought, word and deed? Shall it be still allowed to seek satisfaction by carrying its message to every human soul, till the truth is accepted by all members of the human family? If the answer is 'Yes,' then in God's name say it clearly and without mental reservations, and when you have done that we shall see to it that you do not depart from your pledged word. But if the answer is 'No,' then too, in God's name say it clearly and tear up the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, for it will certainly bring you into the contempt that nowadays you so much, and for such good reasons, dread. So long as that charter of our liberties exists, and every subject of the Emperor has religious freedom, we absolutely deny the right of any administrator, be he Lieutenant-Governor of a Province, Governor of a Presidency or Governor-General of the whole of India, to prohibit any man, whatever his faith, to do his utmost to obtain, with the weapons of the mind, victory for his own peculiar opinions. Grant the existence of such a right and you nullify the power of the Punjab Government and the potency of the Press Act to prevent any person from bringing Christianity or Islam or Brahminism into contempt. It is no crime so far as the Criminal Law of India is concerned to bring even a Christian into contempt, and every Anglo-Indian newspaper is every day attempting to bring every community of India into contempt. A very large section of India's public servants of European and Eurasian extraction has openly made lying statements before the Public Service Commission calculated to bring Indians into contempt, and not as much as a Secretariat mouse has stirred in his official hole. But let that pass. The Press Act will not permit any class or section of His Majesty's subjects to be brought into contempt, even if it be the contempt of a solitary individual, and that too a foreigner living in the antipodes. As the judgment in our Pamphlet Case says, it will not permit even "that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others" to be brought into contempt. But can any Act prevent, not Christians or Mussalmans or Brahmins, but Christianity or Islam or Brahminism from being brought into contempt without the legislators driving a coach and six through the Queen's Proclamation?

Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahib has put the matter so well in his open letter that we need offer no apology for reproducing a long extract from it. He wrote:

Will your lordship think of those psychological moments when one renounces the religion one is born in and embraces a new faith; analyse those mental conditions which actuate a person to cut himself off from his kin and kindred. Can anyone hazard such a step unless and until he is disgusted with the religion he inherits from his parents? Religion is a most precious thing with man. Even those among us who are most liberal-minded in other matters of opinion, are prone to show a strong conservatism in their adhesion to their faith. We are all attached to our respective creeds, and one who attempts to wean us from it must first create hatred in our mind towards it. Conversion in religion, therefore, my lord, can only mean the turning of attachment into abhorrence. In plain speech, it is to create this disgust and abhorrence against other religions and their adherents which every missionary effort tends to. Preachers may differ according to their taste and culture in the means they adopt in creating this state of feeling in the minds of their would-be converts, but the object is always the same. Except to create abhorrence, contempt and disgust against Moslems and their religion, what can be the object of the Christian missionaries, in so far as the West to convert us to the Western persuasion, in reviling our religion and its Holy Founder? For full fifty years the most virulent literature has come from Christian pens. Our Holy Prophet and his teachings have been made the victim of a

baseless calumny and shameless abusive remarks. We know for certain that these teachers of Christian charity and meekness have no personal grudge against the Moslems and the Holy Prophet. They are sent to convert non-Christians to their faith. It is their business, therefore, to create hatred and contempt against Islam in Moslem and non-Moslem minds, as without that they cannot secure the object for which they are subsidised by the Christian Nations in the West. A Moslem missionary must do the same and try to attain the same object, though in a gentlemanly way, as he cannot resort to abuses and calumnies under the clear injunctions of the Quran, which lays a particular obligation on the Moslems to show a thoroughly respectful attitude towards the leaders of other religious communities.

The Khwaja Sahib makes his position impregnable by recalling to the mind of the Secretary of State the attitude and policy of the Punjab Government in the past. Let us retrace our steps and go back from Sir Michael O'Dwyer to Sir Mackworth Young. It was in 1897 or 1898 when the Mussalmans of the Punjab approached the then Lieutenant-Governor through the Anjuman-i-Himayet-i-Islam with a request that preventive action should be taken in connection with the publication of a book named *Ummahat-ul-Mominen* ("Mothers of Mussalmans") written by a Christian missionary, which surpassed other Christian publications in India in its wanton scurrility and offensiveness. Even Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was moved to prepare a rejoinder. It was the last work on which that great man was engaged, but unfortunately he died before he could finish it. And what did the Lieutenant-Governor say? He declined to accede to the wishes of the Moslem population of the Punjab because he thought that interference in such a matter would have amounted to an interference with the freedom of religious opinion and its expression, a privilege of His Majesty's Indian subjects under the Proclamation of 1858. The *Ishat-i-Kuffara* is no better, but neither the Secretary of State, nor we, know whether the Punjab Government has done anything to punish its author, the pastor of the Church of England, or to proscribe the book. Probably the hitch in the way is still the freedom of religious opinion and its expression, the privilege of the Indian subject under the Proclamation of 1858! But notwithstanding all the privileges and proclamations in the world, the articles of the *Ahl-i-Hadice* and the *Badr* are, in the opinion of the Local Government of the Punjab, calculated to bring the Christian population of the province into contempt. Between His Honour Sir Mackworth Young and His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer what a strange analogy and what a still more strange contrast!

APPENDIX.

In the Chapter entitled "The Family of Imran" the Quran says:—

Remember when the wife of Imran said, "O my Lord! I vow to thee what is in my womb, for thy special service. Accept it from me, for thou hearest, knowest!" And when she had given birth to it, she said, "O my Lord! verily I have brought forth a female."—(God knew what she had brought forth; a male is not as a female)—"and I have named her Mary, and I take refuge with thee for her and for her offspring, from Satan the stoned."

So with goodly acceptance did her Lord accept her, and with goodly growth did he make her grow. Zacharias reared her. So oft as Zacharias went in to Mary at the sanctuary, he found her supplied with food. "Oh, Mary!" said he, "whence hast thou this?" She said, "It is from God: for God supplieth whom He will, without reckoning!" There did Zacharias call his Lord: "O my Lord!" said he, "vouchsafe me from thyself good descendants, for thou art the hearer of prayer." Then did the angels call to him, as he stood praying in the sanctuary:

"God announceth John (Yahia) to thee, who shall be verifier of the word from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just."

He said, "O my Lord! how shall I have a son, now that old age hath come upon me, and my wife is barren?" He said, "Thus will God do His pleasure."

He said, "Lord! give me a token." He said, "Thy token shall be, that for three days thou shalt speak to no man but by signs: But remember thy Lord often, and praise Him as even and at morn."

And remember when the angels said, "O Mary! Verily hath God chosen thee, and purified thee, and chosen thee above the women of the world!"

O Mary! be devout towards thy Lord, and prostrate thyself, and bow down with those who bow."

This is one of the announcements of things unseen by thee! To thee, O Muhammad! do we reveal it; for thou wast not with them when they cast lots with reeds which of them should rear Mary; nor wast thou with them when they disputed about it.

Remember when the angel said, "O Mary! verily God! announceth to thee the Word from Him: His name shall be, Messiah Jesus the son of Mary, illustrious in this world, and in the next, and one of those who have near access to God,"

And He shall speak to men alike when in the cradle and when grown up; And he shall be one of the just."

She said, "How, O my Lord! Shall I have a son, when man hath not touched me?" He said, "Thus: God will create what he will; when He decreeth a thing, He only saith, 'Be,' and it is."

And he will teach him the Book, and the Wisdom, and the Law, and the Evangel; and he shall be an apostle to the children of Israel. "Now have I come," he will say, "to you with a sign from your Lord: Out of clay will I make for you, as it were, the figure of a bird; and I will breathe into it, and it shall become, by God's leave, a bird. And I will heal the blind, and the leper; and by God's leave will I quicken the dead; and I will tell you what ye eat, and what ye store up in your houses! Truly in this will be a sign for you, if ye are believers."

And I have come to attest the law which was before me; and to allow you part of that which had been forbidden you; and I come

to you with a sign from your Lord: Fear God, then, and obey me; of a truth God is my Lord, and your Lord: Therefore worship Him. This is a right way."

And when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part, He said, "Who my helpers with God?" The apostles said, "We will be God's helpers! We believe in God, and hear thou witness that we are Muslims."

O our Lord! We believe in what thou hast sent down, and we follow the apostle; write us up, then, with those who bear witness to him."

And the Jews plotted, and God plotted: But of those who plot is God the best.

Remember when God said, "O Jesus! verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee up to myself and deliver thee from those who believe not; and I will place those who follow thee above those who believe not, until the day of resurrection. Then, to me is your return, and wherein ye differ will I decide between you."

And as to those who believe not, I will chastise them with a terrible chastisement in this world and in the next; and none shall they have to help them."

But as to those who believe, and do the things that are right, He will pay them with recompense. God loveth not the doers of evil.

These signs, and this wise warning do we rehearse to thee. Verily, Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He created him of dust:

He then said to him, "Be!"—and he was.

The truth from thy Lord! Be not thou, therefore, of those who doubt.

The Chapter "Mary" contains some more details. After "a recital of thy Lord's mercy to his servant Zachariah", who prayed for an heir and successor, and praise of Yahia (John), the son born to him in spite of his wife's barrenness and his old age, on whom were bestowed "wisdom, while yet a child; and mercifulness from Ourselves, and purity," and who is stated to have been "pious, dutious to his parents; and not proud, rebellious," the Quran goes on to say:

And make mention in the Book, of Mary, when she went apart from her family, eastward,

And took a veil to shroud herself from them: and we sent our spirit to her, and he took before her the form of a perfect man.

She said: "I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy! If thou fearest Him, begone from me."

He said: "I am only a messenger of thy Lord, that I may bestow on thee a holy son."

She said: "How shall I have a son, when man hath never touched me? and I am not unchaste."

He said: "So shall it be. Thy Lord hath said: 'Easy is this with me; and we will make him a sign to mankind, and a mercy from us. For it is a thing decreed.'

And she conceived him, and retired with him to a far-off place.

And the throes came upon her by the trunk of a palm: She said: "Oh, would that I had died ere this, and been a thing forgotten, forgotten quite!"

And one cried to her from below her: "Grieve not thou, the Lord hath provided a streamlet at thy feet:—

And shake the trunk of the palm free toward thee: it will drop fresh ripe dates upon thee.

Eat then and drink, and be of cheerful eye: and shouldst thou see a man,

Say:—Verily, I have vowed abstinence to the God of mercy.—To no one will I speak this day."

Then came she with the babe to her people, bearing him. They said, "O Mary! now hast thou done a strange thing!"

O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a man of wickedness, nor unchaste thy mother."

And she made a sign to them, pointing towards the babe. They said, "How shall we speak with him who is in the cradle, an infant?"

It said, "Verily, I am the servant of God; He hath given me the Book, and He hath made me a prophet;

And he hath made me blessed wherever I may be, and hath enjoined me prayer and almsgiving so long as I shall live;

And to be dutious to her that bare me; and he hath not made me proud, depraved."

And the peace of God was on me the day I was born, and will be the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised to life."

This is Jesus, the son of Mary; this is a statement of the truth concerning which they doubt.—(Rodwell's Translation.)



Verse.

On Reading the History of Napoleon.

I ask of Heaven nor regal pomp nor power;
Nor conquered realms subservient to my will;

Nor vassal kings, with vassal hordes, to fill
My yawning coffers with a gorgeous shower

Of gold and gems; nor legions that devour
Fair Nature's bounty and, insatiate still,

Prey on her heart and, with the blood they spill
Pollute God's Earth and blast Life's fruit and flower.

I ask of Heaven that purer, holier pride
Which soars above the blood-stained pomp of kings;

A soul contented, whose unerring guide
Is that divine Philosophy which flings

The radiant garb of Truth and Beauty wide
To adorn the humblest of created things!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Congress Delegates in London.

(SPECIAL REPORT FOR "INDIA.")

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN yesterday (May 14.) entertained to breakfast at the Westminster Place Hotel a number of members of both Houses of Parliament and other public men to welcome the delegates appointed by the Indian National Congress to represent their views in this country. Besides the delegates (Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Mr. N. M. Samarth, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha), the following had accepted Sir William's invitation:—Lord Courtney of Penwith, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Reay, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, O.S.I.; Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E.; Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E.; Sir Edward Boyle, Bart.; Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Herbert Burrows, Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I.; Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L.C.C.; Mr. A. L. Cotton, Mr. E. Dalgado, Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E.; Mr. Bhagwandin Dube, Mr. G. P. Gooch, Mr. J. Fredk. Green, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I.; Mr. W. Douglas Hall, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., M.P.; Mr. Leif Jones, M.P.; Mr. Joseph King, M.P.; Mr. A. C. Morton, M.P.; Mr. Philip Morrell, M.P.; Dr. A. F. Murison, Mr. H. W. Nevinnson, Mr. Harry Nuttall, M.P.; Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.; Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Mr. Mark Phillips Price, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart, M.P.; Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Sir George Scott Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P.; Hon. Mr. Krishna Sahai, Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S. (retired), Mr. Harold Spender, Right Hon. Sir Charles Swann, Bart., M. P.; Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.; Mr. Theodore Taylor, M.P.; Col. Warlicker I.M.S. (retired); Mr. Sidney Webb, and Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.

Letters expressing regret were received from the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Channing, Lord Weardale, Dr. C. Addison, M.P.; Mr. Percy Aldon, M.P.; the Right Hon. Amir Ali, Mr. Edwyn Bevan, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P.; the Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.; Sir William Byles, M.P.; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P.; Dr. John Clifford, Mr. G. G. Greenwood, M.P.; Mr. T. Hart-Davies, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Mr. Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.; Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Bernard Houghton, Sir Robert Laidlaw, the Right Hon. Thos. Lough, M. P.; Mr. F. C. Mackarness, Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E.; Mr. P. A. Molteno, M.P.; Mr. Vaughan Nash, C.B.; Mr. Ernest Parke, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.; Right Hon. G. W. J. Russell, Mr. G. P. Scott, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.; Mr. Fisher Unwin, Mr. John Ward, M.P.; the Right Hon. Eugene Wason, M.P.; and Mr. A. J. Wilson.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

Dr. Clifford wrote that he regarded the meeting of "manifest importance to our empire in India and at home, and certain to promote the best interest of our people there and here."

Mr. A. J. Wilson wrote: "Circumstances have compelled me of late years to give less space to Indian affairs in the 'Investors' Review,' but I have lost none of my interest in the Indian peoples or in their advancement in the paths of freedom. These many years past I have held and preached the doctrine that if the British Empire is to endure, to outlast other empires which have come and gone, it can only do so by emancipating the nations over whose destinies it holds sway, by guiding and educating them until they can take control of their own affairs. The process is long, the progress often slow, but I think we are now on the right path in India. Patience and a wise restraint will bring India to the goal. Pray convey my regrets and most hearty greetings to Sir William Wedderburn, the faithful, consistent and life-long champion of the peoples of India."

Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., wrote: "I have no personal acquaintance with Indian questions, but I read *India*, and try to keep in touch with Congress aims and ideals, which seem to me altogether moderate, progressive, and of such a character that, as a Liberal, I cannot help sympathising with them. It seems to me that if we are to retain the loyalty and affection of India we must apply the same principles there as have proved so successful elsewhere, and by due extension (cautious and gradual, of course), of local autonomy on representative lines, put responsibility upon the people, and open up to them an avenue for self-help and self-improvement, along the lines of their own development, which need not be identical with English ideas, though they will need English sympathy, help and, to some extent, direction."

Mr. E. S. Montagu, M.P., who had been expected, wrote subsequently to say that on arrival at the Treasury that morning he had discovered that he had mistaken the day on which he was looking forward to meet the Congress delegates. He could only plead that it was essential during the passage of the Finance Bill through the House of Commons for him to make at the shortest notice unavoidable engagements of a

business kind. He trusted that Sir William Wedderburn would accept his apologies, and hoped to find some other opportunity of meeting the delegates, for he was deeply sensible of the many kindnesses shown to him by members of the Congress when he was in India, and he still retained undiminished his interest in Indian affairs.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S SPEECH.

Sir William Wedderburn, rising immediately after breakfast, said: The object of our meeting to-day is to promote an *Entente Cordiale*. We have been hearing much lately of the *Entente Cordiale* with France and Germany. That is all excellent. But I say that it is still more important that we should have an *Entente Cordiale* with India. Rightly understood, the interests of India and of this country are identical. If there has been unrest in India, it has proceeded from misunderstanding, and the object of the delegates is to remove that misunderstanding, and to substitute a good understanding—in every sense of the word. Our desire is to establish an atmosphere of sympathy and brotherly kindness between the two great branches of the Aryan race. The delegates have come duly accredited by the Indian National Congress, which for the last thirty years has voiced the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. They are all gentlemen of recognised position in the public life of India. Three of them are barristers of your Inns of Court, and have had the honour of sitting in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, to whom India owes so much. The fourth is a member of the Madras Legislative Council, and the fifth is a Vakil of the High Court of Bombay and hon. secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. Three are Hindus, and two are Moslems. Our time to-day is short, and I am not going to take it up with a speech. What is wanted is that you should hear about India at first hand from Indians themselves. For this purpose I propose that we should resolve ourselves into a Conference. Over this Conference Lord Courtney has most kindly consented to preside. In this we are very fortunate, for he is the best chairman in England. I will now ask him to be so good as to take the chair.

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.

Lord Courtney then took the chair. They were assembled (he said) to listen to delegates who had come over from India, mainly, as he understood, in response to an invitation sent by Lord Crewe in view of the intention he had arrived at of revising and amending the Constitution of his Council. Lord Crewe had asked that those who were interested in the matter should communicate their ideas to him. That was a very unusual step on the part of the head of a great Department, and he thought they ought to congratulate Lord Crewe upon his audacity. He hoped they would later on be able to congratulate him on his success. In India the invitation had been taken up very cordially, and they had present that day five gentlemen who would convey to them the opinions of the great mass of educated people in India.

MR. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH.

Mr. Jinnah said that Lord Crewe had in contemplation a Bill which was intended to reform the India Council—which was really the head of the Government of India and the highest tribunal in all matters executive. It had created a most satisfactory impression in India that an opportunity for stating their views should be given to them by the Government before the Bill was introduced into the British Parliament. At the present moment the India Council was composed of ten members. Two were financial experts, and the rest, who were nominated by the Secretary of State, were connected with the administration of India. Although Lord Morley very recently recognised that anybody who could give first-hand information on Indian matters to his Council would prove very desirable member of that body, and although he gave effect to that view by appointing two Indian members, those two gentlemen were nominated members only, and while they had done excellent work, and had tried, to the best of their ability and judgment, to place the views of the Indian people before the Council, yet something more was desired. It was necessary that the Secretary of State should be kept in intimate touch with the trend of public opinion in India. Men who were connected with the administration, and were brought up in the Service, were debarred by virtue of the rules of that very Service from attending political meetings, and thereby obtaining the clear insight which was necessary for them to adequately represent India opinion. Representatives were required who had been, so to speak, behind the scenes, and men who had been brought up solely in the administrative groove. They wanted on the Council men in touch with public feeling and acquainted with public sentiment and public opinion; and therefore in a position to put before the Secretary of State views which men

The Karachi Sacrilege.

Our Karachi correspondent has sent us the following papers relating to the Karachi Film Case to which we refer elsewhere.

I
IN THE COURT OF THE CITY MAGISTRATE, KARACHI.
MOHAMED HASHIM SON OF GUL MOHAMED SHAH KURSHI,
Complainant.

Versus
MR. H. GREENFIELD, European, Proprietor Picture Palace,
Camp Karachi, ... *Accused.*
Complaint under section 298 I. P. C.

The complainant begs to state as follows:—

1. The accused has been exhibiting this week moving pictures according to the accompanying programme.

2. That one item of the programme is entitled "Azim".

3. That on the night of the 4th instant the complainant went to the picture palace to see the show where he saw the film "Azim". The Holy Prophet (Mohamed) falls in love with one Salika, the beautiful wife of Azim, one of the Prophet's generals. The Holy Prophet sends Azim to the wars with a view to secure his wife Salika. Azim bids farewell to Salika and goes to the wars. The Holy Prophet sends one of his slaves to Salika to bear false news that her husband Azim had been killed in battle. The Holy Prophet then sends women to console Salika and shortly afterwards he himself goes to her and tells Salika "Come to me; I shall console you in your sorrow". Under this pretext he takes Salika to his Harem and conjures up the ghost of Azim. The Holy Prophet then makes immodest advances and offers her a necklace which she refuses. He further asks her to submit to his passion which she refuses to do. Azim happens to return and is informed that his wife is missing. He learns she is with the Holy Prophet. He then goes to Him who tells him Salika is dead and tries to console him. The Holy Prophet then produces a number of beautiful women and asks Azim to choose one as his wife. He refuses and goes home inconsolable. Near his house Azim receives news that Salika is alive and in the hands of the Holy Prophet. He goes to the Holy Prophet's Harem in a rage armed with a sword to rescue Salika. The Holy Prophet hides himself and tries to induce Salika to drink poison. This she will not do. Azim sees the Holy Prophet offering the poison to Salika. The Holy Prophet runs away and his slaves manacle and imprison Azim who manages to escape with Salika and leaves the country for good.

4. Such an exhibition is repugnant to the religious feelings of all Mohamedans. A representation of the Holy Prophet engaged even in his most holy work would shock Mohamedans susceptibilities. The portrayal of him engaged in base and wicked intrigue is an outrageous sacrilege.

5. Many Mohamedans present voiced their indignation but no heed was paid to them. The exhibition has excited the feelings of hundreds of Mohamedans, and unless an immediate stop is put to it there will certainly be riot and bloodshed. A Pir who was present was with difficulty restrained from cabling to the Turkish Consul. The accused has clearly committed an offence under section 298 I. P. C. and it is prayed that he may be dealt with according to law.

(Sd.) P. M. McINERNEY.

Counsel for the Complainant.

Karachi, 5th June, 1914. (Sd.) MAHOMED HASHIM, *Complainant.*

List of Witnesses.

1. Mr. Nabi Bux walad Mahomed Panah, Serishtadar to the City Magistrate, Karachi.

2. Mahomed Khan, Schoolmaster, Madressah, Karachi.

3. Mahomed, Clerk in the Punjab Banking Company Ltd.

4. Mullah Ahmed Gull, Hotel-keeper, Juna Market, Karachi.

(Sd.) MAHOMED HASHIM, *Complainant.*

I, Mahomed Hashim, state on solemn affirmation that I know the contents of this application and that what is stated in it is true within my knowledge.

Before me,

(Sd.) W. N. RICHARDSON,
City Magistrate, Karachi.

(Sd.) MAHOMED HASHIM.
5th June, 1914.

Issue a summons for the 15th June 1914.

5th June 1914.

(Sd.) W. N. RICHARDSON,
City Magistrate, Karachi

II
IN THE COURT OF THE CITY MAGISTRATE, KARACHI.
MAHOMED HASHIM ... *Complainant.*
Versus
H. GREENFIELD ... *Accused.*

Application under section 144 Cr. P. C.

The applicant prays that this Honourable Court will be pleased under section 144 C.P.C. to issue a written order to be served upon the opponent directing the opponent to abstain from exhibiting at the Picture Palace or elsewhere in moving pictures "Azim" on the following ground:—

1. That the applicant this day has filed a criminal complaint showing that the said film depicts the Holy Prophet as engaged in a vulgar and base intrigue with a married woman. The exhibition had already deeply wounded the feelings of hundreds of the followers of the Holy Prophet and unless immediate steps are taken to prohibit any further representation there is sure to be riot and bloodshed.

2. The objectionable nature of the exhibition has been set forth in the complaint. Several hundreds of Mahomedans were in conclave this morning and it was with difficulty that they were restrained by Mr. Nabi Bux, the head of the community, to keep within the law. The more hot-headed of them wished to march upon the theatre and raze it to the ground.

3. The cause of the recent Cawnpore riots was nothing compared with this sacrilegious exhibition.

4. That an exhibition will take place again at 7 p. m. this evening. It is submitted that this is a matter of the utmost emergency. Unless an order is passed under section 144 (2) C.P.C. it is feared there will be bloodshed to-night.

(Sd.) P. V. McINERNEY,
Counsel for Applicant.

(Sd.) MAHOMED HASHIM,
Complainant & Applicant.

Karachi 5th June, 1914.

I, Mahomed Hashim, son of Gul Mahomed Shah, state on solemn affirmation that I am acquainted with the contents of this application and that what is stated in it is true within my own knowledge.

Before me,
(Sd.) N. W. RICHARDSON,
(Sd.) MAHOMED HASHIM.

5th June, 1914.

Order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Ex parte order under clause 2 of section 144 upon hearing an application by Mahomed Hashim son of Gul Mahomed Shah and receiving credible information.

Whereas an application has been made to me by the said Mahomed Hashim that you Mr. H. Greenfield have exhibited in the Picture Palace and propose to exhibit during this week a cinematograph film entitled Azim, depicting the Prophet Mahomed in an intrigue with a married woman Salika, and whereas the exhibition of the said film is likely to cause disturbance of the public tranquility, I hereby direct that you yourself and every other person employed or connected with the said Picture Palace do abstain from exhibiting the said film and that you produce the said film before me at noon on Saturday, 6th June, 1914.

(Sd.) W. N. RICHARDSON,
Sub-Divisional Magistrate.

Karachi, 5th June, 1914.

Mr. H. Greenfield appeared at 12 noon and deposited the film objected to. He agrees to exhibit the film at 9-45 on the 7th so enable the Magistrate to judge for himself whether it was objectionable.

(Sd.) W. N. RICHARDSON,
City Magistrate, Karachi.

6th June, 1914.

connected with the Service could not possibly do. How were they to secure representatives of that character? Their suggestion was that the only possible way was to introduce the principle of election. Once they got elected members on the Council, they would have representatives who would be responsible for the people of India, and who would not secure re-election if their work had not proved satisfactory. The proposal he had first to submit was that the Council should consist of a minimum number of nine members—one-third of whom should be elected Indians. The principle of election had already been recognised over and over again in regard to this Council. More than one attempt had been made to reform it, and on every occasion the principle of election had been recognised; but the difficulty was to form the electorate. He quite agreed that that presented great difficulty in times gone by, but to-day they had already got an electorate in India which had been working for a number of years. He could best illustrate it by describing what occurred in the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, or Bengal—which sent their representatives to the Imperial Council. In Bombay they had got non-official members of the local legislative Council, and they were entitled to send three representatives to the Imperial Council. In the last two elections that had taken place under the new Council Act, and even before, they had chosen their representatives in Bombay to the Imperial Council in this way. The non-official members of the local Council elected those whom they sent to the Imperial Council. Thus they had a ready-made electorate in the elected members of the provincial Councils. Those elected members could choose the members to represent them on the Imperial Council. He thought that would prove a most satisfactory electorate. It would secure the choice of really representative men. The system had already obtained a certificate from eminent official in India, like Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, and the late and the present Viceroy. As to the character of the Council, his suggestion was that it should be Advisory and not Administrative. It had been given out that the portfolio system was to be introduced. He thought that would be fatal and dangerous. It would mean duplicating the machinery and reducing the Secretary of State to a mere figurehead. If each man was to be placed in charge of a portfolio, and if he was to be necessarily connected with the administration, it would mean that a man who had retired from the Service in India would be called upon to dispose of matters which were the subject of complaint against the very class from which he was drawn. Hitherto, the Secretary of State had not only dealt with matters of detail, but also with matters of principle and policy. It was in the fitness of things that there should be antagonism between the official and the non-official views on these questions—questions, for instance, such as the separation of the executive from the judiciary—or the extension of elementary education, or the Press Act. The Secretary of State, consequently, when these matters came before him would be unable to hear both sides of the question if he had nothing but the official element surrounding him. They wanted the Secretary of State to be made the real master of the situation. They wanted him to be placed in possession of the real facts on both sides. Of course, ultimately, the decision rested with him. The full Council, as they knew, might come to a unanimous conclusion on a particular subject which the Secretary of State might not accept, for he had very wide powers. He further submitted that no distinction should be made between the Indian members of the Council and their colleagues. If any was made they would be demoralising not only the whole Council but the Indian members as well. It had also been suggested that if they had the portfolio system they would not be able to get Indian members of the Council with the requisite experience of administration in India, and therefore, the Indian members would not be able properly to discharge their duties if placed in charge of a portfolio. It was next suggested that the period of appointment should be five years. While it was necessary to have men with experience in administration, it was equally necessary to have men who could place the public point of view before the Secretary of State. It was proposed that one-third of the Council should consist of the official class, one-third of the non-official class and the remaining one-third should be men of merit and ability in public life in the United Kingdom unconnected with the Indian Administration. This third would hold the balance between the two other sections. They would bring to bear upon the deliberations of the Council that independent judgment which was so characteristic of public men in this country. If these proposals were accepted, they would have a Council composed of three different groups—each specialising in a different branch, but all helping the deliberations of the Council over which the Secretary of State presided. The Secretary of State for India, to whatever political party he belonged, had always been an eminent British statesman who had done his best for India; but even the best of men required some kind of control and check. The Secretary of State, no doubt, was responsible to Parliament and the British Public, in theory, but in practice really he was not responsible; and what was finally suggested was that his salary should be placed upon the British estimates. In that case they would have real effective control by Parliament.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Passing to discuss the position of Indians in the various "part of the British Empire," Mr. Jinnah said that no other subject had so deeply stirred the minds of the people of India. They had always understood that they were members of the British Empire, but at this moment they were being denied the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Recent events in South Africa had created intense feeling which was only allayed by the wise and statesmanlike pronouncement of Lord Hardinge; and the action of the Viceroy, supported, as it had been, by British Ministers and by the British Parliament, had made a deep impression in the hearts of the people of India.

Mr. N. M. SAMARTH.

Mr. N. M. Samarth desired to associate himself with Mr. Jinnah in publicly expressing his thankfulness to Lord Crewe for the sympathetic hearing which he gave to the deputation on Monday last. As to the scheme for the reform of the India Council which they placed before his Lordship, it was necessary to bear in mind the conditions under which they laboured in India as well as here in regard to the redress of Indian grievances and the satisfaction of legitimate Indian aspirations. Under present conditions, a great deal depended upon having a sagacious, courageous, and progressive Viceroy supported in his efforts for the national advancement of India by a Secretary of State who was not only of one mind with him but who had the strength of character to back him up in spite of opposition from his Council which was mainly composed of Anglo-Indian officials, whose angle of vision differed from that of the freedom-loving Britisher and the educated Indians in matters which related to the political progress of India. Failing such a rare combination, the sun-dried bureaucrats were apt to get the upper hand, and, by burking and pigeon-holing and corresponding and shelving, and, if need be, wriggling out of past promises, to thwart all efforts calculated to bring about the political advancement of the people of India. The result was despair and discontent in India. No doubt, the British public, through its representatives in the House of Commons was, in theory, responsible for the good government of India. But he feared that ever since the days of Burke, India had been, more or less, the dinner-bell of the House of Commons, which was absorbed in momentous question nearer home, and had really no time to devote careful attention to Indian questions. Ordinarily, therefore, the bureaucrats in India and in the Council of the Secretary of State had it all their own way, and constituted a great hindrance to the political progress of the Indian people, the more so as the Secretary of State had no power to veto the majority of his Council in some matters vitally affecting the well-being of India. He did not think he could state the problem and the conditions affecting its solution in better language than that used by the distinguished statesman who had done them the honour to preside at the Conference that day—language which was as forcible as it was pointed, and showed a complete grasp of the situation. On October 30, 1897, the Right Honourable Leonard Courtney, as he then was, made a speech at Fowey, in the course of which he said:—

"After all, what was this Government of India to whom we were bound to defer, even if we thought they were wrong? Who were these ten or a dozen gentlemen who governed India? Who appointed them. How were they trained? What were their qualifications? How were these 300 millions of people ruled. He did not intend to enter upon that question now, but it was a serious question which would have to be very deeply considered. They could not very well have India governed by an Indian House of Commons, choosing its own Government, just as the British House of Commons chose the Government at Home. Things were not ripe for that yet. Nor could India be governed by the British House of Commons as the United Kingdom was governed. The House of Commons would be quite incapable of ruling British India in any direct fashion, and British India could not be left to govern itself. And so British India remained a question which would occupy our attention for some time, but it would have to be considered and dealt with very carefully. This bureau, this little set of people in a room, collected one scarcely knew how, put there one did not know why, having qualifications of which we had no surety, was not the final system of Government for India. The House of Commons never could do it, because it was already overburdened with work, and to undertake to govern India directly would infallibly break its back. But that great question would have to be considered; and if at some future time it fell to his lot to address them on the question of the Government of India and the problem of how to bring that Government into relation with modern life and secure some interpretation of Indian opinion and some authority for educated English opinion, he was confident he should be rewarded with the same attention and the same intelligence they had given him that night.

Since this speech was made, a notable step had been taken in the direction of securing some interpretation of Indian opinion.

on the Council of the Secretary of State. Lord Morley with his keen insight into Indian conditions and his earnest desire to do justice to the demands of educated India, admitted two Indian into the arcana of the India Council. But what Lord Morley gave to India was representation by selection. What they now prayed for was representation by election, so that the Indian members of the Council might be responsible to an educated and cultured constituency. The proposal to introduce elected members into the India Council was not new. In the debates of 1853 and of 1858 they would find it strongly urged upon the attention of both Houses of Parliament, and in 1858 a resolution was actually carried in these terms: "That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it was expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected." The resolution was supported by prominent leaders on both sides of the House. Mr. Disraeli supported the principle, and regretted that the distracted state of the country did not admit of a representation of the people of India itself. Lord Stanley, on whom devolved the charge of introducing and piloting through the House the measure which eventually became law as the Act for the Better Government of India, said: "He believed it was agreed on all hands that, if a satisfactory constituency could be found, that method of appointment would be the most satisfactory of all. No doubt the difficulty was in the attempt to find such a constituency." He added: "We are willing to introduce the elective principle if it were only possible to find a fitting and satisfactory constituency." The constituency was now available, and he asked them to help to build upon existing foundations, and use instruments already at hand. As to the fitness and satisfactory character of the constituency, there could be no question. But even if they obtained one-third elected Indian Council that would not mend matters. There would be no fair opportunity for effective work for them so long as the Council was overwhelmingly official and Anglo-Indian. In several matters of importance there was difference of opinion between Anglo-Indian officials and leaders of non-official Indian opinion. In order that the Secretary of State may be placed in a judicial position to hear both sides, it was necessary that the Indian members should not be placed in a hopeless minority. They therefore proposed that English public men should be introduced into the Council to hold the balance. He hoped that they would favourably consider the scheme they had laid before them, and so remodel the India Council as to appeal to the better mind of India and result in the cordial co-operation of Englishmen and Indians in the best interests of the Empire.

MR. MAZHAR-UL HAQUE ON THE PRESS LAW.

Mr. Haque said he wished to address the Conference on the subject of the working of the Press Act of 1910, and as he saw before him many representatives of the British Press he had no doubt that the question would prove an interesting one. In 1910 India was passing through a phase marked by crimes of violence, and it was considered necessary at the time that writings in the Press should be officially controlled. That was the very first act of the reformed Council of Lord Minto. The measure brought in was very drastic indeed—so much so that one of the most eminent judges, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, had declared that even the Bible might be brought under its operation. Those who at the time represented the Indian people on the Viceroy's Council were rather on the horns of a dilemma. They knew that it was necessary to control wild writings in the Press, but at the same time they were anxious that their liberties should remain intact. There was a good deal of discussion as to what course should be adopted to secure that end while giving the authorities the desired powers, and one of their endeavours was to give those who were affected the powers of testing the legality or justice of the action of the Executive. Indeed, Mr. Sinha, who was then Law Member, threatened to send in his resignation unless some such provision was inserted in the Act, and unless the people of India were given a right of appeal to the High Courts. That was the compromise that was eventually arrived at between the official and non-official members of the Council. Some of them had most reluctantly given their support to the Act, but they had had fears as to how it would work out. Those fears, unfortunately, had since materialised, and action had been taken under the Act which was never dreamt of at the time the legislation was under consideration. He might cite as an illustration the treatment meted out to the "Comrade," a weekly paper published at Delhi. The only misfortune of that paper was that it reprinted a certain pamphlet issued in Europe with an introductory article written by Sir Adam Block, of Constantinople. The Government of India declared that the pamphlet was calculated to bring the Christian subjects of His Majesty into contempt and hatred, and it issued an order confiscating all the numbers of the issue in which the pamphlet appeared. That action of the authorities was tested in the High Court at Calcutta. The case was tried by three eminent Judges, of whom Sir Lawrence Jenkins was one, and they declared that in their opinion, the editor of the "Comrade"

had committed no offence, and was animated by a laudable object in reprinting the pamphlet, but at the same time they added that the powers of the High Court were almost nil under the Act, and that they could not give the editor the redress to which he was entitled. Would any Englishman—to use the word in its widest sense—support the retention for even one day of such a law on the Statute Book of this realm? He had another illustration to offer. The *Zamindar* was a paper published in Lahore, with a circulation at one time of nearly 17,000 daily. It was asked to give in the first place security to the extent of Rs. 2,000. This was forfeited, and then it was asked to give security for Rs. 10,000. That, too, was forfeited, and finally the entire Press was confiscated. This was an Act passed to stop crimes of violence, and it was never intended that its provisions should be thus misused and misapplied. The worst feature of all was that officials in India were now using the Act to interfere in religious matters. Personally he was not in favour of religious discussion in the Press; he did not believe it was useful, but why under the guise of this Act should the authorities put an end to papers which were purely religious? That ought not to be allowed, and it was dangerous as creating a doubt of the good faith under which the Act was allowed to pass. He had a third case of a paper at Lucknow. There was nothing wrong with its writings apparently, but the Deputy Commissioner ordered the editor to leave the town within a few hours. Such a thing could not possibly happen in England, and he could mention many cases in which men have been deprived of their only means of livelihood under the operation of this Act. He hoped they would see to it that an end was put to this state of things, and that pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of State and upon the Government of India to secure the repeal of this law. At any rate, if it could not be repealed, let the right of appeal from the orders of the Executive to the Courts be at least restored and made more effective and real.

MR. B. N. SARMA ON THE COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

Mr. B. N. Sarma discussed the regulations under which elections to the Legislative Councils were conducted. No one who dealt with that subject would be justified in proceeding with it without first expressing the gratitude of the people of India to the British Parliament and to all parties—to the Liberal Party, in particular, and, especially to Lord Minto and Lord Morley—for the Act of 1909, which enabled the people of India to place more often than before their representations and grievances before the Government, and enabled them to associate themselves with everyday administration to a large extent than heretofore. The people of India appreciated fully the statesmanlike sagacity which initiated those reforms at a time when India was being grievously misunderstood in the United Kingdom, and the benefits which had followed therefrom, both to India and England, and had helped to bring the two countries together in a firmer bond of union. At the same time it must be clearly understood that while thanking the British public for giving them that latitude and for enabling them to make a step in advance in the constitutional progress of their country, the people felt that the reform was to a large extent unreal in the sense that it did not place the real administration of the country in the hands of the people even in the smallest detail. They were grateful to the British public for giving them a power of election, but then they had it in substance before, though it was not recognised by Statute of 1909 recognised the principle of election and the principle of representation: but, unfortunately, by the regulations the privilege was reduced almost to nothing, because the Government retained the power of vetoing any election without assigning any definite reason. They asked that that grievance should be redressed at an early day. Again, Lord Minto and Lord Morley foresaw that there was absolutely no chance of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, and Christians—men of various religious persuasions and with different interests—combining together to defeat the Government on any subject. In fact, it was not really a non-official majority, because the nominated non-official members felt that they were under an obligation to vote with the Government, and in practice it had been found that when they differed from the Government view, they felt it their duty to abstain from voting. The result was that it was absolutely hopeless, even if all the elected members joined together in trying to persuade the Government to act upon their views on a particular question, for them to carry any proposal against the wishes of the Government without the co-operation of the non-official nominees. Therefore, in practice, there was not a non-official majority, and he and his colleagues were asking, consequently, that a larger elected element should be introduced into the Provincial Councils, because there was absolutely no danger of these various elements combining together to defeat the Government unless there were something really wrong in the methods of the Government. They also prayed that some concession should be given in the matter of the composition of the Viceroy's Council. Further, they wanted the electoral body enlarged. All those who possessed the necessary educational and other qualifications should have the power of voting directly for a member of the Council. Special representation

had been given to certain classes, but he and his colleagues felt that with a general electorate there would be no difficulty whatsoever in providing for that form of direct representation. There was no reason why the franchise should not be extended to all classes. There was an unhappy disagreement between the Hindus and Mahomedans and other communities on the question of representation, and he must not be understood to in any way ask for the special representation of the Mahomedan community on the various Councils to be reduced, or that the minority should not be protected by the Government. Wherever there was a minority the Government must make it its duty to see that it was properly represented in the Council. But at the present time there was an unnecessary amount of differentiation introduced in the regulations which caused heart-burning and which served no good purpose. The balance could be easily redressed by means of a general electorate which might make provision for larger representation in the case of certain bodies. They asked that the franchise should be conferred on all classes of the community possessing the same qualifications. Why should a Mahomedan with a landed qualification of Rs. 500 be given a vote, while a Hindu landowner must have a qualification of Rs. 1,000 before he could get a vote? And why should a Mohamedan graduate of five years' standing be able to vote for a member of Council, while a Hindu, Parsee, or Christian graduate of the same standing was debarred that privilege? Next he came to the restrictions placed on the choice of candidates. It should be left to the wisdom of the electors themselves to choose the man they thought best fitted, and they should not be confined to selection from a small group. They wanted a modification of the rule, too, which provided that no candidate should be eligible unless he was already a member of some public body. Finally, he came to the question of the powers of the Councillors themselves. In practice it had been found that they were merely an advisory body as, before the Council Act was passed, they possessed in reality no greater powers than they had under the Act of 1891. Any interpellations and resolutions could be vetoed by the head of the Government for no definite reason assigned, and in practice when they had wanted to discuss a certain educational question, they were first told it would be premature to do so, then they were informed at the next stage that they could not do so, because the matter was in correspondence with the Secretary of State and, then, when the final stage was reached, it was absolutely futile for them to raise the question. They asked that they should be given power to discuss all matters so that the Government of India might be placed in the position of hearing both sides before it arrived at a matured judgment. They had no privileges worthy of the name in financial and other matters, and they looked to the British Parliament which guided their destinies to give them wider powers in the future.

MR. SINHA ON THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

Mr. S. Sinha spoke on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. This was a question, he said, which concerned the administration of the Criminal Law in India. The more heinous crimes were tried by judges, with the addition of juries and in some cases juries. But the greater number of criminal cases in the country came before magistrates of different classes, who were directly under an official known as the district officer, who was also by virtue of his office district magistrate. This district magistrate was the head of the police. As such, he had the power of initiating criminal proceedings in all cases. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his district, and in his various positions he was, as was said in India, thief-catcher and the judge at the same time. That was a system which was certainly subversive of what was known as British fair-play and justice. Under the rules which obtained in all civilised countries, the man who was responsible for starting criminal proceedings had no hand either in the trial or in the hearing of the appeal; but in India it was very different. The system, too, was calculated to act unsatisfactorily, because a magistrate trying the criminal charge was under the District Magistrate on whose recommendation his future prospects depended, and it was clear, under such circumstances, he could not do substantial justice in all cases. They had asked for this reform for a great number of years, but one reason for refusing it had been that of cost. He did not think that ought to be allowed to stand in the way, and he hoped, therefore, those whom he was addressing would give cordial support to this proposed change.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Sir George Birdwood briefly addressed the Conference at the request of the Chairman, and said he was there out of respect for his friend Sir William Wedderburn, with whose political views he always differed, although on other subjects, artistic and religious, he agreed with him. He had been very pleased with the temperate language in which the speeches delivered that day had been couched.

He appreciated the perfect loyalty which had been displayed, but there was only one thing which he wished to say, and that was that he was convinced that if the caste system in India was ever broken down it would mean the ruin of India.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

Mr. MacCallum Scott, M. P., expressed the pleasure with which he had listened to the clear statements of the Indian delegates of the reforms which they believed to be necessary in the interests of their country, and he hoped, if he took part in any debates in Parliament he would be able after hearing their speeches to speak with more advantage, both in the way of presenting information and helping the cause of good government in India.

MR. PHILIP MORRELL.

Mr. Morrell, M. P., said he had been astonished in listening to the speeches, not only by the reality of the difficulties with which their Indian friends were faced, but by the extraordinary moderation and reasonableness of their demands, and he trusted that their present visit to this country would prove of great service to the well-being of their fellow-subjects in India.

SIR HENRY COTTON.

Sir Henry Cotton expressed his conviction that the labours of the Indian delegates would not be altogether in vain in regard to the Councils Bill. He heartily congratulated Sir William Wedderburn on the success of the efforts he had been making, almost single-handed, for a long time to bring before the authorities in England matters which were of such serious concern to India.

Dr. John Pollen, of the East India Association, also spoke.

Mr. Jinnah proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, remarking that the political horizon in India was very often dark and dismal, but it was men like Lord Courtney whose attitude brought a ray of sunshine and hope into their lives.

LORD COURTNEY SUMS UP.

Lord Courtney replied at some length. After declaring that all the credit was due to Sir William Wedderburn for bringing them together, he said the problem of the reconstruction of the Council of India so as to make it a more effective means of communication between the people of India and a Secretary of State was one of the profoundest importance. When he spoke upon it at Fowey seventeen years ago, he dealt with it as a problem to be considered, and not as one for which he had a ready-made solution. He foresaw many difficulties, some of a practical character, in bringing to Westminster elected representatives to join in the work of the Secretary of State's Council. Members of that Council hitherto had, no doubt, fulfilled advisory functions, but they had also joined in the administration, and particular subjects had been allotted to them. They were in that way joint assistants and advisers of the Secretary of State. But when it came to the question of bringing three elected members over, who were not to act primarily in the capacity of assistants and co-operators, but who would more properly be described as members of the Secretary of State's Opposition, whose duties would be to criticise and examine, and whose object by their criticism would be to modify and perhaps reflect the action proposed by the Secretary of State, that was an entirely new proposition, at which even the most advanced Secretary of State would feel a little staggered. By regulations the most vital reforms might be deprived of their vitality. For instance, there was no necessary submission to the Council on the part of the Secretary of State of any projects he might have in his head, and therefore, if their scheme was to be made effective, it would be necessary to provide rules and regulations by which the presence of these detached members would be made effective. He was making these criticisms in the most friendly way. He had felt it his duty to point out some of the difficulties which might not perhaps have been fully apprehended. It had occurred to him it was just possible that in this as in many other matters compromise might be possible, and that instead of sending over three elected members to sit on the Secretary of State's Council, it might be possible to elect a panel in India of forty or more persons who, by their previous training, by service under the Government, by knowledge, by position at the Bar, by their activity in commerce or industry, were fit and proper persons to assist and advise the Secretary of State in the exercise of his functions, and that the Secretary of State might have the privilege of selecting from that panel those whom he was advised would be most serviceable to himself. He threw this out as a suggestion for their consideration. He wished to make it plain to the delegates that there were difficulties to overcome.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to Sir William Wedderburn for his hospitality.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, Rule 20, Act V of 1908.)

Reg. Suit No. 271 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, AKBARPUR,
DISTRICT FYZABAD.H. Abdul Rahman ... Plaintiff,
*versus*Gaya ... Defendant.
To

1. Gaya and Nanda Kandoo, residing at Mouza Lalhampur near Thana Ram Nagar Perg: Atroulia Dist. Azamgarh.

Whereas the Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 166/10/6, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions, on 19th day of June 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 30th day of May 1914.

By order,
Kaur Bal Kishore,
Munsarim,
Munsif's Court, Akbarpur,
FYZABAD.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, Rule 20, Act V of 1908.)

Reg. Suit No. 273 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, AKBARPUR,
DISTRICT FYZABAD.Hafiz Abdul Rahman ... Plaintiff,
*versus*Mussammat Edan ... Defendant,
To

Must. Edan, Widow of Sh. Ghissoo Jolaha, residing Mz. Sahasram, Mohalla Zaki Shahid, District Arra.

Whereas the Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 139, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions, on 19th day of June 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 30th day of May 1914.

By order,
Kaur Bal Kishore,
Munsarim,
Munsif's Court Akbarpur,
FYZABAD.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, Rule 20, Act V of 1908.)

Suit No. 272 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF AKBARPUR
DISTRICT FYZABAD.Hafiz Abdul Rahman ... Plaintiff,
*versus*Shaikh Abdul Rahim, &c. ... Defendants.
To

Shaikh Muse, residing Kasba Mau, Mohalla Paharpur, Munsafi & District Azamgarh.

Whereas the Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 289/12/6 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions, on 19th day of June 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 30th day of May 1914.

By order,
Kaur Bal Kishore,
Munsarim,
Munsif's Court Akbarpur,
FYZABAD.

Notice.

Bengal Veterinary College.

"The last date of admission of Students to the Bengal Veterinary College for the Session 1914-15 is 19th June 1914. The candidates for admission should present themselves at the College with necessary certificates as required by the College Rules at 11 A. M. on the abovementioned date for selection.

D. Dey,

for Principal, Bengal Veterinary College.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Albania.

Durazzo, June 10.

In order to suppress the insurgent movement as speedily as possible the Government has decided upon a simultaneous advance from three sides, namely from Alessio, Durazzo and Valona. The advance is expected to begin this week. The rebels are attempting to resume negotiations with the Control Commission. The Prince and Princess to-day reviewed the Albanian forces and received an enthusiastic ovation.

Rome, June 11.

Marquis Di San Giuliano stated in the Indian Chamber yesterday that as a result of the enquiry into the arrest of Colonel Muricchio at Durazzo he telegraphed to the Italian Minister that Muricchio's innocence must be considered proved and that no value must be attached to the subsequent investigation by the Albanian Government and Dutch Officers. The Minister was also ordered to obtain satisfaction. After the Muricchio incident there has been exchange of views between Austria-Hungary and Italy and an agreement has been concluded to the effect that their respective agents in Albania shall be instructed to work harmoniously and to do the utmost possible to maintain Prince of Wied in power and avoid any appearance of preferential treatment of either Government and further to secure the despatch of warships by all powers to Durazzo.

Achmed Bey, one of the most distinguished Mahomedan leaders, has arrived at Tirana to negotiate with the insurgents. If his efforts are fruitless a general advance may be expected not later than Saturday.

Durazzo, June 12.

The Italian Minister at Durazzo has telegraphed that the insurgents this morning attacked the town in three places. Colonel Thomson, Commander of the Dutch Gendarmerie, was killed. Bluejackets are defending the Legations and the Royal Palace there being no other force available. At the outset it seemed that the town must be captured but the defenders rallied and now hope to be able to resist any further attacks.

Rome, June 15.

There has been continuous heavy artillery and rifle fire throughout the day. The Prince is leading the defenders.

Durazzo, June 15.

A wireless message received from a Cruiser on the spot says that the defenders at Durazzo have repulsed the insurgents from the precincts of the town after three hours' fighting.

Vienna, June 15.

A Times message from St. Petersburg states that M. Sazonoff and the Russian Minister have left for Bukharest. It is believed that an important conference will be held at Bukharest to consider measures to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Greece for which the imminent arrival of new Turkish battleships is expected to give signal.

London, June 11.

Greece and Turkey.

The Cabinet met yesterday to consider the critical situation arising out of the persecution of the Greeks in Asia Minor. The public is most excited.

Athens, June 12.

Constantinople, June 12.

Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior has announced that there have been regrettable incidents at Aivali. Officials, who failed in their duties, have been dismissed. Greek accounts of the situation, however, says the Minister are exaggerated.

Government has addressed a strong note to Constantinople, demanding the cessation of the persecution of Greeks in Turkey and the repair of the damage. Public opinion is most excited. People generally urge immediate and energetic action.

Athens, June 12.

Athens, June 12.

Public excitement is increasing. In speech in the Chamber M. Venezelos described the arrivals of thousands upon thousands of hapless pitiable Greeks ejected destitute from Turkish territory. He declared that the situation was grave but it would become even graver. Unless conditions altered, Greece would not be content with mere lamentations. (Prolonged cheers).

After consulting with financiers Government has ordered the closing of Bourse owing to uncertainty of situation.

All Greek sailors of 1908 class have been ordered to join colours.

Alexandria, June 12.

Athens, June 18.

Six steamers, chartered by Government, are continuously transporting refugees to the Aegean Islands.

M. Vénézelos, the Premier in the Chamber announced that the Turkish persecutions were unparalleled in history. They aimed at the elimination of the populations which have been inhabiting country for several thousand years.

Besides thousands of Greeks from Thrace, over 20,000 from Asia Minor have arrived in Greece and there are fifty thousand more on the Asiatic coast awaiting a chance to depart.

Constantinople, June 13.

Although the Porte has given categorical assurances that it will remove causes which compel the Ottoman Greeks to leave the country, nevertheless there are reasons to fear that Government are really bent on removing the Greek element from all strategic points such as the vicinity of Constantinople, Dardanelles and Smyrna Littoral. The Porte recently proposed to the Greek Government a scheme of exchange of populations which Greece accepted but before further progress could be made the existing situation arose owing to an action of the Committee engaged in settling refugees from Macedonia, the Committee evidently considering its plan to be more expeditious.

Constantinople, June 14.

The Greek Minister has presented a Note drawing attention to the treatment of Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and declaring that Greece will decline to take any responsibility for the consequences if the situation continues.

Athens, June 14.

The newspaper *Restia* expresses the opinion that war with Turkey is inevitable.

Athens, June 15.

Though Turkey has not replied to the Greek note official circles are convinced that the Ottoman Government will follow its previous tactics making vague promises. These, it is declared will not satisfy the Greek public which demands the restoration of Greek refugees in their home and the payment of indemnity. The Greek Naval preparations are proceeding most actively.

Constantinople, June 15.

Talaat Bey who had been sent to enquire into the situation telegraphs that in various places in Asia Minor he has succeeded in reassembling the Greek population and in inducing numbers of families to return to their homes.

London, June 16.

Many regard the supremacy at sea as the crux of the Turco-Greek position. Turkey's dreadnoughts are now being completed at Elswick and Barrow, but an outbreak of war would place an embargo on them. It is noteworthy that lack of funds on both sides is likely to be a pacific factor.

Constantinople, June 16.

The Turkish press takes a calm view. The *Tanin* says that if Greece intends to make a noise, Turkey will remain unmoved.

Belgrade, June 15.

The Cabinet is discussing the Turco-Greek position in view of the Greco-Servian Agreement which compels Servia to mobilise in the event of a war. It is hoped however, that the Powers will mediate to preserve peace.

Constantinople, June 16.

Pessimism is felt in the official circles here regarding the Turco-Greek situation. Fighting has occurred at Menemen and Phocia. Forty inhabitants of Menemen are reported to have been killed while defending the town.

Malta, June 16.

The Greek government has ordered all the Greek seamen here to be in readiness for instant departure.

The Hague, June 16.

The International Conference to consider the putting of the Opium Convention into force has opened. The Foreign Minister announced that Turkey and Servia had refused to agree to the Convention. Greece had made reservations regarding the new territories and Austria-Hungary had agreed to it in principle. Britain and her colonies had signed.

The Bagdad Railway.

London, June 16.

The Anglo-German agreement regarding the Bagdad Railway has been initialled in London by Sir Edward Grey and Prince Liebhowsky. A complete understanding has been reached on all questions.

Persia.

London, June 12.

The *Times* publishes a gloomy leading article with regard to Persia, expressing fear, that a crisis of unusual gravity is approach-

ing. One aspect is that the whole problem of restoration of order will probably have to be tackled afresh. The journal believes that Swedish officers have worked arduously and gallantly but that on the whole they have not succeeded and are not likely now to succeed. The other aspect relates to the neutral zone in which the British interests almost exclusively lie and in which except for a few cities freebooters are almost supreme. The *Times* declares that the Persian question cannot be allowed to drift for ever and that the problem of the maintenance of order may soon bring to a head.

London, June 16.

In the House of Commons to-day, Sir J. Flannery asked whether Government contemplated formal annexation or establishment of a protectorate over the neutral oil-bearing zone in Persia. Mr. Acland said that the answer was in the negative.

Mr. Churchill replying to different questions regarding the Anglo-Persian Oil Company said the examination of the property and plant of the Company had satisfied the Government that the present capitalisation was reasonable and that the potentialities of the proven territory fully justified the expenditure on behalf of Navy.

Home Rule.

London, June 11.

The Stock Exchange takes a gloomy view of the Irish situation and the markets are depressed. The rapidly growing number of Nationalist Volunteers is the absorbing topic in the Lobbies. Moderate estimates place them at a thousand.

The seriousness of the position is realised by the Liberals numbers of home, speaking in their constituencies said that it was the final proof of the weakness of the Government in allowing drilling and arming in Ulster.

London, June 11.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Asquith announced that the amending Bill would be introduced in the House of Lords before the Home Rule Bill if the opposition desired it.

London June 11.

Mr. Birrell replying to Lord Robert Cecil said that the figures supplied to him showed that the Nationalist Volunteers numbered 80,000 (eighty thousand). But these figures varied daily. He had not been informed as to the number of arms but the Government were giving their attention to the action of both, he forces.

London, June 12.

Mr. Bonar Law opened the Unionist campaign in Scotland at Inverness last night. He dealt at some length with the Ulster question and said the outlook was a conflict between the Government and the Nation in which the Nation was bound to win. Whatever calamities were ahead the determination of Ulstermen was fixed. No cleverness or manœuvring would make them submit to Dublin Parliament.

London, June 12.

A serious split occurred in the Nationalist Volunteer movement. The Provisional Committee governing the volunteers refused Mr. Redmond's co-operation and decided to organise a force on its own lines. Mr. Redmond now denounces the Committee as self-constituted and says that the majority on it do not support the Irish party, which is supported by 95 per cent. of the volunteers. He dwells upon the grave responsibility of military organisation and affirms that unless the committee reconsidered its decision, he would appeal to the volunteers to organise themselves independently until the Convention can elect a permanent governing body.

London, June 16.

In the Lords to-day Lord Crewe informed Lord Lansdowne that Government proposed to take the second reading of the Home Rule Bill on the 30th instant, intending the Bill would be introduced next week. This would give the Opposition ample time to consider its position. It had been hoped, he added, that the Amending Bill would be the result of conversations between the parties that still held good. Lord Lansdowne affirmed that the time for discussing the Amending Bill was altogether inadequate as this was the only measure which mattered.

Lord Lansdowne emphasised that events had been moving with alarming haste in Ireland but Government had done nothing to mitigate the strain, or towards conversations. The Opposition would not proceed with the discussion of the Home Rule Bill if they were only given a chance of seeing the Amending Bill for a few days before the main discussion.

Lord Crewe replied that perhaps an agreement could only be reached by public discussion rather than by conversations. He understood that Lord Lansdowne preferred a public discussion. If an agreement were reached, it mattered little by what road it was reached.

Lord Lansdowne subsequently give notice of a motion to-morrow censuring Government for delay in producing the Amending Bill.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 10.

Mr. Roche, Minister of the Interior has telegraphed to the Mayor that the Government intends to enforce the Immigration law. He expects that unless the law is defeated in Court on some technical ground the Government will be able to handle the question with satisfaction to British Columbians.

Immigrants are now appealing again before the Court of Enquiry. Fourteen more have been allowed to land having been formerly in Canada. It is anticipated that none of the remaining 354 will be admitted. Meanwhile it is so ill not known if the ship will be ordered back East by the owners if the charter money is not paid.

Victoria, June 11.

The exclusion policy will not be enforced until all "Komagata Maru's" passengers have been examined. The owners have ordered the vessel to return to the Orient but the immigration officials understand that arrangement will be made to keep her at Vancouver until the conclusion of the hearing of the Indians' appeal in the Canadian Courts.

London, June 11.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons regarding the "Komagata Maru" Mr. Harcourt said that he did not doubt that the Canadian authorities were acting in accordance with the law of the Dominion. He was communicating with the Governor-General but at present he was not prepared to make any statement.

Victoria, June 12.

Two Vancouver Hindus have deposited the balance of the "Komagata's" charter money. If the owners accept it the vessel can remain for upwards of three months longer. Full instructions for disposition of the steamer are expected by cable daily. Only twelve more immigrants have been examined. They were all rejected.

Victoria, June 14.

The Court of enquiry into the case of Indians on board the "Komagata" has been suspended. Reason has not been stated. It is believed that authorities are awaiting the result of the communications between the Imperial Government and the Canadian Government. "Komagata's" owners have not replied to the offer of Vancouver Indians to pay the balance of charter money. Lloyd's agent is not attempting to dispose of the cargo of coal.

Colonising India.

London, June 12.

Sir Harry Johnston in a letter to the *Times* on the subject of Indian Immigration refers to the report of English and German travellers regarding the sparse population of many parts of Indian mountainous regions in which paradise is still waiting inhabitants. Sir Harry asks: "Why promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India do not endeavour first of all to colonise to the fullest extent 2,00,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India?"

South Africa.

Cape Town, June 11.

Government has been twice defeated on the amendment to bring the Premier mine under the Income Tax Bill. The proposal had been strenuously opposed.

Cape Town, June 12.

Government continues in office. It admits the gravity of its defeat but considers that it would be detrimental to the country if much useful labour of the session were abandoned.

The *Cape Times* and *South Africa News* argue strongly against Government resigning. Nevertheless the Cabinet takes a most grave view of its position owing to the recent diminishing majority and difficulties with some of its followers regarding taxation which the Cabinet considers essential.



Our London Letter.

London, May 29.

HOME RULE BILL THROUGH THE COMMONS.

The Home Rule Bill has passed through the House of Commons and has been already introduced formally in the Lords. Acting on the advice of the *Times* the Opposition decided not to discuss the

Bill and consequently the division was taken a day earlier than was expected. The House adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess on Monday last and so hon. members were free to run up to Epsom on Wednesday to see the Derby run. The political situation has not materially changed during the week and every-body is now awaiting the introduction of the Amending Bill after the holidays.

Talking of the Derby, by the way, I noticed the King's four Indian Orderly Officers thoroughly enjoying themselves in a reserved box in the Grand Stand. Can it be that their genial presence on the course had anything to do with the dramatic success of Durbar II? The victory is most cosmopolitan; the winner is an English thoroughbred born in France, his owner is an American sportsman, his groom a negro, his trainer an Irishman and he bears an Indian name. A good omen indeed for the advancement of the Irish and Indian cause!

DIPLOMAT EMBRACES ISLAM.

According to the Constantinople correspondent of the *Times*, Alfred Rustem Bey de Bilinski, recently appointed Ambassador in Washington, has embraced Islam. The Turkish Press expresses satisfaction at the conversion of Rustem Bey, who has taken the name of Ahmed, and announces that the Sultan has presented the convert with his own chaplet and other tokens of Imperial favour.

MEDALS IN INDIA.

"D. I. K." writes to the *Times* suggesting that a special medal should be awarded to every British soldier (including, of course, officers) who has served in the Indian N.-W. frontier stations for seven years in peace time, considering the constant risks such soldiers are exposed to during the period of their service in those districts, a "risk" almost as great as that in time of war. This is indeed an extraordinary proposal and is sure to be keenly resented by every soldier, who is really devoted to his profession. The suggestion is both grotesque and absurd and the writer of this letter must not have fully realised the real spirit that prevails in the military circles. The King's soldiers would certainly appreciate and highly value any medals or decorations that may have been awarded to them for distinguished service on the field, but none except a "feather-bed soldier" would attach the least importance to medals given to him for having merely spent a certain period in the frontier districts of India in routine peace duties, simply because occasionally there may possibly be a "rising" or a "disturbance" amongst the tribes residing in those districts or else on account of isolated outrages on the part of irresponsible and depraved Indian soldiers, which may unhappily involve the lives of a brave officer and an equally brave comrade of the murderer himself. Such mad acts of revenge for a real or fanciful wrong are as common in the military barracks in this country as they are in India and are not by any means characteristic of the frontier stations.

"Landi Kotal," in the course of an excellent reply to the letter of "D. I. K.," writes as follows in the *Times*:—"The abnormal craving for medals and decorations revealed by Englishmen in India, both civil and military, is one of the most contemptible things visible in the Empire to-day. The climax is surely reached in the letter you publish from 'D. I. K.' He wants every soldier who serves for seven years in frontier stations to have a special medal. Really, what are we coming to? In my day in India, every keen soldier tried to get to the frontier in the hope of seeing service. They never sought medals. They sought danger gladly because that was their trade and they loved it. Now, apparently, any man who puts in seven years amid the amenities of Peshawar, not even constantly, wants to wear on his chest a medal which will say, 'Look at me! I am a remarkable fellow! I lived for seven years in a place where I might have had a shot fired at me when I walked through the native bazaar! What do you think of that?'"

"I know the frontier and know the hard, anxious work often done there, and the risks that are run. But men go there as a rule of their own choice. If they want patting on the back for it they are of the sort that ought to stay at home and sell groceries. To do them justice, I believe the best men don't. They say, 'I am doing my job' and are content."

COLOUR AND THE EMPIRE.

The *Daily News* and *Leader* writes a splendid leading article on the above subject, which is particularly welcome at this moment when the colour question is again prominent in Canada. "The same day," proceeds the article, "brings news from one quarter of the Empire of the probable settlement of a problem and from another quarter of the definite posing of a very similar problem. The Bill introduced by the South African Government, on the basis of the findings of the recent Commission of Inquiry, seems to be accepted by the local Hindus (i. e. Indians) as satisfying their demands. On the other hand, practically all the Hindus on the Japanese ship now lying off British Columbia have been denied admittance, and their

case will be fought through the law courts, unless the local officials by the exercise of force prevent the testing of the question of right. We pointed out a few days ago that the Hindu question in South Africa is in a very important respect different from the Hindu question in Canada. The South African Hindus have accepted, with very slight qualifications recognised by the South African Government, the principle of exclusion. They have been fighting for decent treatment of such Indians as live in South Africa. That claim had its complications owing to the dread by white labour and commerce of the competition of Asiatic labour; but once the shutting of further immigration was accepted, the question was reduced to manageable limits. The claim of the Indians now seeking to enter Canada is a claim as British subjects to enter Canada freely and without restrictions. "I intend to use every legitimate course I can pursue to make sure if it is true that East Indians will not be permitted to land in your country," says their leader, and if the few hundreds in the Komagata Maru were to make good their claim they would be followed by countless thousands.

"Opinion on the Pacific Coast and doubtless throughout Canada is as emphatic as opinion in South Africa. . . . Probably, therefore, the Indian question in Canada will after a brief struggle be reduced to the form and the dimensions of the Indian question in South Africa. It will lose its local acuteness, but that does not mean that it will vanish. On the contrary, it will become visible as an Imperial problem free from all obscuring accidental circumstance. Our Imperialists in moments of expansion cry *civis Britannicus* in imitation of the ancient proud *civis Romanus*. But the Roman citizen, when citizenship became the badge of all free men throughout the Empire, was something very different from this British citizen. The Roman citizen, whatever his colour, race, or faith, could pass freely throughout the Empire and everywhere enjoyed equal rights. British citizenship is a thing of grades and territorial limitations. A white man may go where he will and everywhere be a citizen. A coloured man may be free here, excluded or a pariah there. To make his situation more bitter his rights are less than even the non-citizen enjoys who has a white skin.

"Whether an Empire can hold together with so strange a practice and so strange a theory of citizenship is a disturbing question. It is complicated by the fact that the colour line raises international as well as Imperial difficulties of great magnitude. Beyond India are China and Japan, and beyond Christianity is a religion, Islam, which has swept away race and colour as social and political barriers. . . . But no man can believe that uncompromising negation is the last word of civilisation on the colour question. No civilisation which can be content to see colour an eternal badge of separation can satisfy, and men of vision and understanding must never cease from fighting to prevent an economic issue becoming an unconquerable prejudice. The gravest feature of the present situation is not that exclusion is being urged on behalf of the standard of life, but that it is being coupled with assertions of moral and intellectual superiority, and of the existence of social and political incapacities, for which there is no warrant. Those passionate and false indictments of half mankind eat into the souls of those who draft them."

The *Times* also deals with the same subject in a brief leader, under the heading, "Empire day". "One problem in particular", says this journal in the course of the article, "whose solution not the most optimistic would forecast with any confidence, overshadows its close (i. e. the period of twelve months ending on "Empire day"). The claim of our Indian fellow-subjects to be admitted without restriction into the overseas Dominions is being asserted with fanatical resolution in Canada to-day, as it was asserted, though in a somewhat different form, in South Africa earlier in the year. Canadian statesmen may be relied upon to face the problem with discretion and resolution. They will not, of course, forget the interests of their own people. But it is equally certain that they will allow no spirit of narrow partisanship to blind them to the importance of the Imperial considerations which are inevitably involved in this question. The Government of Canada has already proved itself in this respect. We have no doubt that the present crisis will supply it with another occasion."

Considering that the *Times* in its Empire Day Number has devoted three full pages to Australian matters, two pages to those of South Africa, Canada and even Rhodesia, whilst it has contended itself with only one solitary page on the Indian affairs, the two or three sentences above referred to clearly indicate that it is nonetheless fully alive to the gravity of this vital question.

COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL: AN ELECTIVE ELEMENT INTRODUCED.

The Bill to amend the law as to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, just introduced by Lord Crewe, differs in at least one important respect from the outline of his proposals given in the House of Lords last Session (July 31). He then had no intention of modifying in any respect the Secretary of State's discretion in the selection of members. But his admiration of reform, as is well-known, led to a demand at the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress and the Agra Session of the Moslem League that the Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial

and Provincial Legislative Councils in India, and it was suggested that the Indians should form one-third of a Council of nine members.

At a conference following a breakfast given by Sir William Wedderburn to a delegation from the Congress a fortnight ago Lord Courtney suggested the possibility of electing a panel in India of 40 or more persons who, by previous training in various fields, would be fit and proper persons to assist and advise the Secretary of State in the exercise of his duties, the Secretary of State to make his selection from that panel. This scheme finds a place in the Bill. It is provided that at least two members of the India Council "must be domiciled in India," a phrase which is evidently intended to have the same connotation as the familiar legal term "a statutory native of India." These members are to be selected from among the persons whose names appear on a list chosen for the purpose by the non-official members of the Indian Legislatures, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Secretary of State in Council.

The salary of the Councillors, reduced by Lord Morley's Act of 1907, when he introduced an Indian element by the nomination of a Hindu and a Mohammedan member, is to be restored to the previous figure of £1,200 yearly. The members of Indian domicile, however, are to have an additional yearly allowance of £600.

Lord Crewe also foreshadowed the attachment of individual members to the various departments of the India Office in substitution of the system authorised by the Act of 1858 of committees "for the more convenient transaction of business." The Bill expressly widens the statutory authority of the Secretary of State to send to India "secret" orders without communicating them to Council, by including within their range matters relating to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of His Majesty's Dominion. But it should be noted that this is without prejudice to the Council's statutory control of Indian revenues.

MR. M. A. JINNAH INTERVIEWED BY THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has given a *Daily Telegraph* representative the following summary of the more important points which the Indian National Congress wished to bring to the attention of the Government:—"To begin with (said Mr. Jinnah) I may say that Lord Crewe's action in inviting Indian opinion on his bill has produced very favourable impression in India. At present the India Council consists of ten members. Two are financial experts and the others—nominated by the Secretary of State—are connected with the administration of India. Lord Morley, in order that his advisers might be kept in touch with Indian opinion, nominated two Indian members to the Council; but these gentlemen, although they had done excellent work, are nevertheless nominated and not elected. We think the time has come for the elective principle to be introduced; for there is now, what there was not a generation or two ago, an Indian electorate.

"Our proposal is that the India Council should consist of nine members, appointed for five years, but eligible, of course, for a further term of service. Three of these members would be officials connected with the Indian administration, nominated by the Secretary of State; three would be Indian representatives; and the remaining three would be men of recognised ability in the public life of the United Kingdom, not connected with the Indian administration. These last three members would bring an entirely independent judgment to bear on the problems submitted to the Council, and would, when necessary, hold the balance between the other two parties.

"A most important matter is this. We propose that the three Indian members, not being officials, shall be elected by a responsible electorate, viz., the representatives of the local legislative Councils, who number altogether about 140. With such a small and weighty electorate as this it is clear that no irresponsible person could be chosen as a representative on the Council. We disapprove of the suggestion that a panel should be formed from which the Secretary of State could select three members; for our experience leads us to believe that such a scheme would not work well in practice. The portfolio system, which has likewise been suggested, would also be unsatisfactory; for the Council should be advisory, not administrative; and the best results would be obtained if the members of it were not tied down to any particular department."

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the feeling of bitterness which had been aroused in India by the drastic regulations of the Press Act—a measure, he thought, which a Council on the new lines proposed would advise the Secretary of State to modify. The main grievance is that newspapers have to provide security before they can publish; and if the executive forfeits the security, or seizes the paper, no appeal to the High Court is permitted. This is felt to be a severe restriction on the liberty of the press.

MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE TO SPEAK ON "INDIAN NATIONALISM."

At to-morrow's meeting of the London Indian Association, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque will deliver an address on "Indian Nationalism." Among other speakers will be the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. S. Sinha, and the Hon. Mr. K. Sahay.

TETE À TETE



Lord Hardinge's birthday falls on the 20th June, and the event brings vividly to mind the spell that his personality has woven over the hearts of the Indian people. The widespread and genuine respect that he has succeeded in creating for himself since his assumption of office and the measure of public confidence that he enjoys to-day as a statesman responsive to the needs of the times have fallen to the portion of only a few of his predecessors. Much of this success has no doubt been due to a happy concurrence of peculiar circumstances in which Lord Hardinge has had to play a conspicuous part and has thus incidentally revealed himself to the intimate gaze of the public. In the normal state of things a Viceroy is necessarily a mere symbol of British power, and only the privileged few are able to discern the real man beneath the head of Government of India robed in Viceregal dignity. The generality of the people have to content themselves with such glimpses of the man as they can get through his measures. Events of great magnitude and unique import have, however, brought Lord Hardinge into close touch with Indian sentiment, and his acts and movements have been quite unconsciously a process of self-revelation. He stands apart from his measures, self-revealed, intimately known to the people, for whom he feels genuine sympathy, and who hold him in whole-hearted affection and esteem. Such achievement has been rare in the careers of the many eminent administrators and statesmen who have spent strenuous years in the service of this country. The King-Emperor's visit to his Indian Empire is rightly regarded as marking an epoch in Indian history. India owes it to Lord Hardinge that such an historic occasion was utilised for the enunciation of a bold and sympathetic policy, and, although we disapproved of the way in which things were secretly arranged and were intended to be justified as accomplished facts, we must admit that behind the changes and boasts announced at the Durbar lay the inspiration of the Viceroy, whom all recognised as possessing true Imperial instincts, courage and statesmanship of a high order. The transfer of the capital to Delhi not only marked the beginning of a new era, but would remain associated with a wider policy of trust and faithfulness of which the Government of India Despatch on the subject breathes such abundant promise. In spite of the calculated hysteria of an irresponsible Calcutta clique, the Delhi change has proved a popular measure and the people have realized to the full its ampler meaning. They are eagerly looking forward not only to the building of a worthy monument of British rule on a site consecrated by immemorial tradition and history, but also to the growth and fruition of the liberal policy which the new capital is designed to initiate. Lord Hardinge's personality is closely connected with both these aspects of the Delhi change. No one, therefore, can think without deep concern that his hand in the ordinary course will soon be withdrawn from the supreme control of affairs in India. His term of office is rapidly coming to a close—in November, 1915, he will complete his five years of Viceroyalty. But the policy to which his rule has given rise has not yet struck firm root in the soil. Things are naturally in a stage of transition still, and his departure towards the close of 1915 may prove little short of a calamity. No man is indispensable even in the governance of India. But the peculiarly fluid condition of things existing in this country needs for some time to come the uninterrupted guidance of a man who was the principal author of the new change and of new hopes and without whose presence the reconstructive effort, lacking even the necessary basis, may eventually sink into the limbo of might-have-beens. If India is to be governed in the spirit promoted by the King-Emperor's visit, Lord Hardinge alone has the will and capacity to make that spirit permeate the administration. He has given ample proof of his courage, sym-

thy and transparent honesty of purpose. The Delhi Bomb outrage threw his sterling and noble qualities into bold relief. Even that dastardly crime has kept him undauntedly to his course with unshaken trust in the people. His simple and direct message of peace delivered to a distracted community at Cawnpore showed his remarkable gifts of sympathy and statesmanship, which place him far above the puny breed of officials whose sense of petty administrative conventions is often stronger than their sense of justice, or of the sacrifices of selfish ambitions which the consolidation of a great Empire must demand. His bold challenge to South Africa at Madras could only be uttered by a Viceroy having the interests of the Indian people closely at heart. His reply to the address of the Moslem Deputation showed that the most trying perplexities of office could not rob him of his sense of proportion. His deep and living interest in all questions relating to the material and moral progress of the people is well-known. The increasing attention now being paid to the growth of education and sanitation is in a large measure due to his initiative. It is manifest, in view of all this, that Lord Hardinge's presence at the helm of Indian affairs is absolutely necessary for some time to come. The liberal policy for which he stands has yet to materialise in liberal measures, and there is a deep-seated natural apprehension lest his retirement after a year and a half should make an end of his policy and lead to the extinction of all useful measures in an embryonic stage. This apprehension is still more strengthened by the restiveness occasionally shown by some Local Governments and their alarming susceptibility to the charms of drastic action. The continuity of the supreme control at this juncture, at least for three years more, seems to be most desirable in the best interests of the country. It is not, therefore, too much to hope that an earnest and unanimous appeal will go to the King-Emperor from the Indian people, praying for the extension of H. E. Lord Hardinge's term of office to seven years. We trust that Lord Hardinge himself, whose love for India and her people has won him universal regard and affection, will not grudge this protraction of his labours for a grateful people and that he will be induced to carry on his great burden for two years more. A superficial observer will be astonished at the spectacle of an arrangement under which the highest officer of the Crown in India is made to depart from the country just when he has got a firm grip of its manifold problems. But those who know by experience the demoralizing influence of semi-irresponsibility, particularly on Englishmen who have throughout their past careers relied on the strong support of Parliamentary control, need no other justification for the apparently paradoxical five-years' rule. The Indian bureaucracy slowly and imperceptibly, but, nonetheless, surely and decisively, fastens its grip on the Viceroy in the course of his career, and it is just as well that the rule exists. The recent precedent of Lord Curzon is somewhat misleading, for that pro-consul brought a great many of his despotic inclinations along with him. But it is there all the same, and it is against our prayer. We must not forget, however, that Lord Hardinge has so far escaped the baneful influences inseparable from his bureaucratic environment, and we may well rely on his outstanding personality to teach something of his own far-seeing statesmanship to myopic bureaucrats rather than to learn in the next three and a half years any of their habit of sighing for "Martial Law and no d——d Nonsense".

We have been favoured with the following communication from Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Bayley, C. I. E., I. A., Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, from Simla, dated the 16th June, in connection with the *Zamindar's* recent warning and our comments thereon:—

SIR.—In your issue of May 2nd appears the following paragraph commenting on the orders passed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in regard to the *Zamindar* Press of Lahore:—

"In circumstances such as those attending Mr. Tollinton's warning to the publisher of the *Zamindar*, a high spirited person may be induced to do exactly that which the warning is designed to prevent. In such cases the person who warns only becomes an *agent provocateur* who, according to Sir Edward Carson, is a person despised even by the criminal classes. We are prepared to believe that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has no intention of provoking the *Zamindar* to incur the penalties of official displeasure under the Press Act. But His Honour has not chosen the best method of disproving the rumours current throughout Northern India that his aversion to the proprietor of the *Zamindar* does not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Punjab, but goes back to the days when, at his instance, as the British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's

The Agent
Provocateur.

services were dispensed with by the late Nizam, on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the "loyal" and staid *Paisa Akhbar*. At any rate, the *Zamindar* is not likely to thank His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for his leniency any more than it thanked him for his unjustifiable order of last January which mulcted the *Zamindar* in a loss of some Rs. 20,000. If it was meant as an exhibition of His Honour's leniency it has failed to convince. It is nothing more or less than an indication that the *Zamindar* must be prepared for the worst so long as the Press Act is in force, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and the *Zamindar* continues his (We wrote "its". Ed. *Comrade*.) present policy. The Press Act is by this time notorious for the all-comprehensiveness of its scope and application, and until and unless the *Zamindar* ceases to be an independent critic of official acts and measures, it will provide every day a hundred excuses for the Punjab Government to punish it under that Act. The result would be the kind of impotent rage and despair which drives even those who appreciate to the full the blessings of British Rule in spite of its occasional shortcomings into the attitude of irreconcilable hostility. This is the genesis of three-fourths of the anarchy one hears of in India, and when we read of a bomb being thrown or a pistol being fired at some official of Government, while we denounce the outrage we also curse the crass stupidity of those who drove an otherwise well-intentioned youth into an inhuman anarchist."

The paragraph repeats the insinuation which has appeared on other occasions in your paper and also in the *Zamindar* that the latter paper is not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar* goes back to the days, "when, at his instance, as British Resident at Hyderabad Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister." That suggestion Sir M. O'Dwyer desires me to say, is absolutely untrue. When Resident at Hyderabad in 1907-09 he never knew and never even remembers to have heard of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan who was apparently then employed in a subordinate capacity in the Home Office of the Nizam's Government.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and three other British subjects in the Nizam's service were removed from that service by His Highness the Nizam's Firman dated 9th, October 1909 and deported from the State within 24 hours.

That order was passed without any prior reference to or consultation with the Resident. So far from Mr. Zafar Ali Khan having been dismissed and deported from Hyderabad at Mr. O'Dwyer's instance, Mr. O'Dwyer first heard of the matter after the deportation had been carried out and then addressed the Nizam's Government pointing out that the Resident should at once have been informed of the orders passed to prevent the risk of misunderstandings which might have arisen had the officials in question claimed as British subjects the Resident's protection or an asylum within Residency limits.

I am to request you to be so good as to publish at an early date the correct facts as above stated, at the same time reproducing the paragraph of 2nd May which gave publication to a rumour which is directly contrary to those facts. Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have preferred to take no notice of the paragraph in question, had not the unfounded insinuation which it contains found a wider circulation and now that the appeal of the *Zamindar* has been heard it is advisable to correct the misrepresentation.

Copies of this letter will therefore be sent to the Press.

I am,

Yours faithfully,
E. C. BAYLEY, Lt.-Colonel,
Private Secretary, Punjab.

In reply to this communication we took the earliest opportunity of forwarding the following explanatory letter to Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Bayley:—

Our Explanation.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 532 of the 16th instant which has just reached us.

2. You reproduce from the *Comrade* of the 2nd May a paragraph entitled "The Agent Provocateur" and go on to say that "the paragraph repeats the insinuation which has appeared on other occasions in your paper and also in the *Zamindar* that the latter paper is not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, goes back to the days, 'when at his instance, as British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister.'"

3. To the best of our recollection the paragraph you have reproduced from the issue of the 2nd May contains the only reference ever

made by the *Comrade* in connection with the *Zamindar's* troubles to the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's having been the British Resident at Hyderabad. We shall, therefore, be grateful if you would kindly specify on what occasions other than the one now alleged the insinuation referred to in your letter has been published in the *Comrade*.

4. As regards the *Comrade's* issue of the 2nd May, we respectfully but emphatically repudiate the suggestion that it contains any insinuation such as you allege. Rumours were undoubtedly current at the time in Northern India to the effect that His Honour's aversion to the Proprietor of the *Zamindar* did not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Punjab, but went back to the days when Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of his having lampooned Mr. Walker, then Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the *Paisa Akhbar*. It was also rumoured that His late Highness had ordered the dismissal of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan at the instance of Mr. O'Dwyer, then British Resident. Without suggesting even remotely that these rumours had any foundation in fact, we stated that His Honour had not chosen the best method of disproving them. That is all that we wrote on that occasion, and I need hardly say that we are at all times prepared to abide by what we write. How this simple and plain statement can be construed into an insinuation of the nature you have alleged is beyond our comprehension.

5. With reference to what happened at Hyderabad, it is extremely gratifying to learn from your letter that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were not dispensed with by the late Nizam at the instance of the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and we shall therefore gladly avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity of publishing your letter in the *Comrade*. However, we trust it will not be an impertinence to mention that had you written to us or to any other newspaper soon after the rumours current in Northern India were first brought to His Honour's notice it would have been still better. As it is, we have every hope that the publication of the facts of the case would prove to be the best, if a somewhat belated, method of disproving the unfortunate rumours.

6. Now that the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not only taken notice of the paragraph published in the *Comrade* of the 2nd May, but has also directed that copies of your letter be sent to the Press, we trust you will withdraw the wholly unfounded statement contained in paragraph 3 of your letter with reference to our publishing an insinuation that the *Zamindar* was not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir Michael O'Dwyer. On reconsidering the matter you will agree that it is highly unjust to us.

7. We are publishing this reply along with your letter.

I am,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMED ALI,
Editor of the *Comrade*.

We have more than once expressed our resentful astonishment in these columns at the vagaries of official translators of extracts from Urdu journals in the Punjab, and when Mr. Tollinton had that interesting discussion with the *Zamindar* on the correct interpretation of the word "expose" in Lord Morley's speech from which our contemporary had quoted, we could have hoped that when the officials were so anxious to discern the mote in a journalist's eye more care would be taken in future in the matter of removing the beam in official optics also than had been taken in the past. But Mr. Tollinton's English version of "*khana-bar-andaz-i-chaman*" in a well-known verse which has become proverbial as "destroyer of the garden, root and branch" destroyed our hope also "root and branch" even before the seed could germinate. In the reports of the proceedings of the *Zamindar's* Appeal in the Chief Court we notice the "destroyer of the garden, root and branch" again, and we see no change or reformation in our old friend. In fact the discussion in the Court about the "martyrdom" of a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque beats even the "root and branch" business quite hollow. Evidently nobody in the Punjab Secretariat has ever heard of the expression "*shahid hona*" in connection with the accidental dropping of a copy of the Quran on the ground even though by a Mussalman. We had been wondering how long Indian journalists could tolerate this "government by translators", and why they did not combine to contribute a considerable portion of the cost of the proposed institution in England for the study of the Oriental languages. But when we receive a communication such as that which we are now publishing what are we to say? Here, at least, there is no tyranny of translators. The *Comrade* is published in English and, as there is no refractory medium intervening between us and the officials,

its meaning should be obvious. Yet the "insinuation" discovered in a very plain and straightforward statement takes our breath away. We have never disguised our strongly adverse opinion about the dealings of the Punjab Government with the Moslem Press, and if the repeated expression of our opinion does not induce that Government to rectify its blunders, we are afraid we shall have to write again and pitch our disapproval of its measures still higher. That is one of the duties of a newspaper and we never shrink from the performance of such duties no matter how unpleasant they may be, and no matter what we may have to suffer ourselves in carrying them out. This is part of the day's work, and at least, there is nothing else we can do except to grin and bear. But it never occurred to us that the *Zamindar* was not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir Michael O'Dwyer because of some old grudge that Sir Michael was supposed to bear against its editor when neither Sir Michael was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab nor Mr. Zafar Ali Khan the editor of the *Zamindar*. Even supposing that this explanation sufficed for the repeated punishment of the *Zamindar*, how were we to explain the far less justifiable dealings of the Punjab Government with papers like the *Ahli-Harles* and the *Bahr*? As we have explained in our letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Bayley, rumours such as those to which we had alluded in our issue of the 2nd May were undoubtedly current at the time. We ourselves heard any number of people explaining the attitude of the Punjab Government towards the *Zamindar* on those lines. An English official of considerable eminence whose services had been lent to Hyderabad had been brought into contempt in the columns of the *Paisa Akhbar*. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was well known to be a writer of easy and caustic verse. He was in the service of the Nizam at the time. His services were soon after dispensed with in the usual way by His late Highness the Nizam, with a full pension and an order for quitting his dominions within 24 hours, as had happened even to such great men as the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Mr. O'Dwyer was then Resident, and people rushed to the conclusion that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with at the instance of Mr. (now Sir Michael) O'Dwyer. We now learn from one of the two authoritative sources that people had, as often happens, (e.g. the Tory rumour about the Ulster "Plot" of the present English Ministry) rushed to a natural but false conclusion, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer had no more to do with the matter than, say, Sir James Meston or the editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*. But considering the wide prevalence of the rumour it is difficult to believe that it never came to the ears of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In fact Lt.-Col. Bayley's letter seems to indicate that our paragraph of the 2nd May was not the only occasion when to his knowledge the rumour was published. What could have been more easy, we ask, than to have dropped a line to a newspaper without the least possible delay, and with or without a request that the source of information should not be divulged, to have authorised it to publish the facts of the case? We do not presume to suggest that we should have been selected for their publication; but there were a hundred other papers as well as ours which would have gladly published them. Are we to believe that

غور حسن اجازت مگر نداد ای نگر * کمرستی بکنی عند اب شیدا را

(The pride of beauty did not permit, O Rose! that thou shouldst enquire of the devoted Nightingale.)

If this was, indeed, the secret of the silence, then we must frankly say we consider such pride to be wholly unsuited to administration. Half the difficulties of the world are due to misunderstandings, and the more the Government takes the Press into its confidence the better would it be both for the Government and the Press. We do not see why Sir Michael O'Dwyer should have waited till a rumour so unfortunate as this had received a "wider circulation", nor do we at all see the connection between the publication of the facts of the case and the *Zamindar's* Appeal. But what perplexes us most is that when His Honour is pleased to take notice of the paragraph published in the *Comrade* more than six weeks ago, his Private Secretary is not content with the statement of facts directly contrary to the unfortunate rumour alluded to in that paragraph, but tacks on to it an imputation against us of having not only once but repeatedly insinuated that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was consciously unjust to a Punjab journalist. Sergeant Buzfaz or even Mr. Govan Petman may read into "chops and tomato sauce" a world of meaning. But nobody expects the Punjab Government to have the least affinity to "Vakil Raj". We must warn Government that the constant use of the "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, "allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" of the Press Act "is likely or may have a tendency to" create by imperceptible degrees a mental squint. Unwise measures always react on the administration that sanctions them and carries them out, and we fear the Press Act is already beginning to force Local Governments to discover an esoteric significance in statements as innocuous as Mr. Pickwick's hungry message.

The preceding three paragraphs were in type and the *Hamdard* had published a translation of the above correspondence when we received the following telegram from the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the

Punjab:—

Your 6033 of 17th received. For the first three lines in para. 3 of my letter of the 16th please substitute the following. "The paragraph repeats the 'insinuation which has appeared also in other papers that the *Zamindar* is not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because of his aversion'—"

As the reader will easily see, this is the first-fruit of our reply and an answer to the humble request contained in para. 3 of our letter that Lt.-Col. Bayley "would kindly specify on what occasions other than the one now alleged the insinuation referred to in his letter 'has been published in the *Comrade*.'" On the 16th instant His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, or at least his Private Secretary, was under the belief that we had repeatedly offended by publishing an insinuation of conscious partiality against Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and that the *Zamindar* itself was not innocent either. However, three days afterwards, and perhaps immediately on the receipt of our reply, that belief undergoes considerable change. The *Zamindar* is discharged, if not acquitted, and we become only a "first offender." We are grateful for this change of belief, and are now encouraged to hope that a little re-consideration will convince Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with whose views we have so often found ourselves in whole-hearted accord, that the "insinuation" was wholly imaginary, and that all that we had been guilty of was a passing allusion to an unfortunate rumour which was so current in Northern India at the time that we should have thought at least every other Moslem visitor to the Government House would have reported it. May we not hope that this partial withdrawal will be followed by one which is complete?

A MEETING of many of the prominent citizens of Delhi was held in the Town Hall to-day, with R. B. Sheo Parsiad Sahab C. I. E. in the chair, to "congratulate His Excellency Lord Hardinge on the auspicious occasion of his birthday and wish him long life and every success." This was moved by R. B. Lala Sultan Singh Sahab. The following resolution was also moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali, supported by R. S. Lala Wazir Singh Sahab, and carried with acclamation:—"That in view of the great importance of an early completion of the work of building at Delhi a new capital worthy of this great Empire and in view of the necessity of further developing the policy of confidence and co-operation between the Government and the people, which has signified the dawn of a new era commencing with His Most Gracious Majesty's Durbar at Delhi in 1911, this meeting is strongly of opinion that the tenure of office of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, who has initiated such measures and policy, should be extended by at least two years, and prays that His Excellency would be graciously pleased to continue to undertake the burden of his heavy responsibilities as Viceroy of India for this additional period in the interest of the country, and that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India would be pleased to advise His Majesty to accept this humble prayer of his people." An executive committee consisting of fifty members, representing the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Delhi, has been appointed with a view to prepare and send a memorial to the Secretary of State for India and through him to His Majesty the King-Emperor to grant an extension of at least two years to His Excellency Lord Hardinge.

It is now upwards of eight months that Lord Hardinge visited Cawnpore to personally effect the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair which was accepted by the Mussalmans in the spirit in which it was offered. It is, however, a matter

The Cawnpore Mosque.

of infinite surprise to us that nothing has yet been done to restore the demolished portion of the mosque in accordance with the terms of the settlement. We are curious to know what the mosque authorities have been doing all these months. Sir James Meston, during his recent visit to Cawnpore, was reported to have held some sort of consultation with the mosque authorities, and the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad had also gone there for the purpose. We have not yet learnt the upshot of these consultations, but we would request the Hon. the Raja Sahab as well as the mosque authorities to let the public know how the matters stand. It is obviously the duty of the authorities to rebuild the demolished portion as soon as possible. Much unnecessary delay has already occurred, and we would like to know if any other cause is responsible for it than the procrastination of the mosque authorities themselves.

The Comrade.

"Inherent Rights."

In the *Pioneer's* issue of June 11th appears a long letter of Mr. J. Renton Denning, at one time editor of our local contemporary the *Morning Post*, who writes from Delhi against the "inherent rights" of Indians "to migrate anywhere in the Empire as British subjects". The assurance with which he lays down the law on a host of subjects may or may not be the envy of all, but we feel certain that the freedom with which he expresses himself must be the despair of our fellow-countrymen. As an Englishman he says he would fain enter "a firm protest, couched in no ambiguous terms" against the claim of Indians to the full enjoyment of the rights of British citizenship. He tells them that "all this talk about right is an unwarrantable assumption." He pities the members of the Indian Government for "feeling some reluctance and being swayed by some hesitancy in 'dealing with this question *au fond*', though it is not clear whether he also envies their possession of power to act where many an equally important question of the rights of Indians is concerned. At any rate, he clearly suggests that there are thousands of Englishmen in India and thousands elsewhere "who feel most strongly that the time for 'very plain speaking is come, and that nothing else but plain speaking 'will serve in the matter.' That is not all. "If we are afraid of a 'little straight speech,' says Mr. Denning, so cruelly misjudging the 'thousands of Englishmen in India,' who fear nothing, 'we see clearly 'enough that our colonies will have no such scruples'; and then follows the terrible threat: "and to their plain speech they will add—'as indeed they are now doing—very plain action'!" Mr. Denning, therefore, concludes that "the problem is not one to be tackled with 'too carefully balanced phrases', and instantly put his resolve into practice, and even amplifies his determination, for we not only come across phrases which are none too carefully balanced, but notice a want of balance in ideas as well.

Now Mr. Denning will agree with us that one of the chief distinguishing characteristics of the English is that they are a sporting race. They instinctively abhor an unequal combat and whole-heartedly detest a bully. Some of the noblest traditions of the race are connected with the defence of the weak against the strong. What, then, are we to say of one like Mr. Renton Denning who becomes the spokesman of thousands of Englishmen in India as well as of thousands elsewhere, and as such indulges at the expense of Indians in what he calls "very plain speaking", threatening them at the same time with some "very plain action" on the part of his Colonial brethren? Can Indians, too, indulge in "very plain speaking" with the present large sweep of the law of sedition and the widespread net of the Press Act? No, it is not for one of our race and complexion to enter the lists with one of Mr. Denning's where "very plain speaking" is to serve for weapons. As for "very plain action," we are painfully aware that we are domiciled in a Dependency and dare not even dream of self government which alone entitles one to indulge in some "very plain action".

Nevertheless, Mr. Renton Denning is, like us, that very abject being, a journalist, and even though an Englishman and the spokesman of thousands of Englishmen, he could not have altogether forgotten "the rules of the game". We are, therefore, encouraged to hope that he is not as bad as he declares himself to be when he says: "I am not concerned here to defend my statement by argument. I make my assertion". At any rate, he will perhaps bear a little with a humble brother who would not only make his assertion to the contrary but also defend his statement by argument.

We begin with agreeing with Mr. Denning. We, too, like logic to be taken as "the basis of our reasoning", and it is all the more gratifying if it is "irresistable." We, too, are for exposing "the root of the matter". Leaving ancient history aside for a moment, and even modern politics, let us examine Mr. Denning's biology. The poor Asiatic does believe that he is the only type of humanity to whom exclusion applies, and the truth is not in the least different from this. If there are natural laws of exclusion besides artificial ones, the European also "without question, reaps the benefit, if benefit there be, of those natural conditions of climate and environment which exclude except in a few instances (relatively to the mass)" the dark man from European territory. When the Right Hon. John Burns became for the first time a Minister of the Crown and began as such to be sought after by Society, Mrs. Burns received an invitation to a dance from a Duchess. The Duchess had never called on Mrs. John Burns before and apologised for dispensing with this formality, stating as an excuse that Battersea Park was such a great distance from Grosvenor Square. Mrs. Burns in reply apologised for dispensing with the dance itself, stating as an excuse that curiously enough Grosvenor Square happened to be just as distant from Battersea Park as Battersea Park was from Grosvenor Square!

Well, why should Nature be credited with less logic than the wife of a plebeian English Minister? If heat kills, so does cold. Gordon's useful advice to put ourselves into the skins of other people had already impressed Lord Morley. We see that it has now impressed Lord Curzon also, who used it with great effect recently in appealing for funds for Oriental Studies. It has, therefore, evidently travelled quite a good distance in the last seven or eight years. We wonder how long it will take to traverse the distance between Mr. Renton Denning and Lord Curzon of Kedleston. With the temperature nearer 120° than 110° in the shade in Delhi, we can, we think, easily get into Mr. Renton Denning's fair skin, if he will only allow such an impertinence on the part of black men even in imagination. But has Mr. Denning ever tried to get into our sunburnt pigmented skin when the thermometer at Oxford registered several degrees below zero and we had to break the ice before getting our matutinal dip into the tub, or when a pea-souper garotted us in the neighbourhood of Liverpool Street in London at midday? Well, if Mr. Denning comes to think of it again he will find the Poles just as exclusive as the Equator.

But it is not much of a compliment to the Whites to place them no higher in the scale of adaptability than the polar bear. In that respect our *Bhaloo* is no better and no worse than his brother of the snow-white fur. But we have survived the ice-covered matutinal tub and the midday pea-souper which the *Bhaloo* of our country could not perhaps have done. Similarly, we believe, the white man who shares his domicile with the polar bear can survive even the 125° in the shade of Jacobabad. But it will not be remiss if we request Mr. Denning to study something of modern philosophy such as Nietzsche's who tells us, what ought to be only too plain, that man is born to conquer Nature, and instead of adapting himself to his environment, compels his environment to adapt itself to him. This is the true interpretation of the old proud boast that "Man is man and master of his fate" in terms of biology.

Mr. Denning remarks that "whatever may be said by certain 'enthusiasts profoundly ignorant apparently of physiological and 'biological laws, no sane Englishman imagines, that he can enter 'into India, settle down and establish a posterity that shall be 'come rooted in the soil of the land of his temporary adoption and 'still remain English." Mr. Denning is right. He was wise to qualify his "Englishman" as he has done it, and he would have been wiser still if he had qualified his "certain enthusiasts" not only with the apparent ignorance of "physiological and biological laws" but also with the certain presence of insanity. Of course, no Englishman can do all that Mr. Denning suggests and remain an Englishman and Mr. Rudyard Kipling was apparently one of these "enthusiasts" when he wrote all that stuff about East being East and West being West. But is it not the same thing as saying "no sane Indian imagines that he can enter Canada, 'settle down and establish a posterity that shall become 'rooted in the soil of the land of his temporary adoption and still 'remain Indian"? But who expects, or even wants either of them to remain wholly unchanged? It is with no sudden access of humility that we confess we Indians can learn a great many useful things from a domicile, or even sojourn, in other lands, and can unlearn an equally large number of useless or harmful things. Nor can Mr. Denning's "sane Englishman" say he is the last word in everything good and has nothing to learn or unlearn from a domicile or a sojourn in the East. While fully admitting that the laws "of climate, of environment, of nature"—not so "inscrutable" now with the progress of science as Mr. Denning seems to believe—have considerable effect on the physical and mental condition of man, we have already suggested clearly enough that the higher the individual or the race in the scale of fitness for the struggle of life, the more he or it would be able to assert himself or itself against climate, environment and nature and adapt them in a greater or lesser degree to his or its own desire. If the Asiatic is made of an inferior clay, as so many pseudo-scientific western politicians assert, or even if, generally speaking, he is at present in a lower grade of efficiency for life's struggle, as we all admit, he would be able to grapple with the climate, environment and nature of Europe and America all the less efficiently than the European in Asia or Africa. This bar of exclusion provided by the Asiatic himself is surely much more effective than any outside bar, whether natural or artificial. But in any case, if an Englishman loses some of his "Englishmanity" by a domicile in India, must he not put up with it as part of the bargain? Has he not enough consolation in the fact that whatever he loses merely by a sojourn has generally to be put up with by others as well as by him? Is not that the price of Empire throughout history? Did not Rome, while Romanizing the rest of her great Empire, herself become something less than Roman? Why should England alone have a world-wide Empire and escape the forces of Imperial reaction? And we would be the last to suggest that such reaction is altogether a loss. Imperial Rome became not only something less, but also something more than Roman.

But if it is suggested that it is impossible for an Englishman to be domiciled in India without complete degeneration and demoralization, we must join issue with Mr. Renton Denning. The Aryans who came to India were believed to have come to this country from a Central Asian home as cold as most European and American countries. But Mr. Tilak's great researches have led us to believe that the Indo-Aryan race migrated from an Arctic home which, Mr. Denning will allow, is considerably colder than the coldest part of the British Empire. Yet for centuries the Aryan in the Indian tropics compared with the Briton who was dressed in woad was the more efficient of the two.

So much for biology. Let us now glance at Mr. Denning's economics. We fear here, too, our verdict is not likely to be very pleasing. "The immigration of the white man into India.....in no way lowers the economic status or standard of the native population. The white man cannot"—probably Mr. Denning means "does not"—"take away the inherent right of living by his labour from the Indian labourer or the Indian shopkeeper or the Indian of small means in his own native land." So says Mr. Denning. And yet he asks: "Will any one dare to assert that Asiatic immigration on any extensive scale into such a country ('a white man's country') does not weaken the white labourer's inherent right to labour and receive in his own country the fair wages of his labour?" We fear the would-be hostess of Mrs. John Burns will have to go on repeating for some time her discovery that Grosvenor Square is just as far from Battersea Park as Battersea Park from Grosvenor Square before Mr. Denning will grasp the fact that natural and economic laws do not differentiate against the whites as human and political laws often do against the blacks, the yellows and the browns. In each case there is competition. The few, able and enterprising European and American captains of industry in Asia compete with the Asiatic and amass great wealth by beating him down by dint of greater business capacity, organization and enterprise. The few or the many sober and thrifty Asiatics desire to compete with the European, American or Colonial in countries each of which through a sheer assumption, which we hotly challenge, Mr. Denning calls a "white man's country," and wish to amass a moderate amount of wealth by beating him down by dint of greater sobriety and thrift. If the one weakens the right, inherent or otherwise, of some people to labour and receive the fair wages of their labour in their own country, so does the other. But the true application of economics to politics would suggest that in neither case are the rights disturbed. To the Asiatic the white entrepreneur is an exemplar whose competition is not a curse but a blessing in disguise. The Bishop of Calcutta has already declared publicly that the commercial Englishman supplies just those qualities of just, honourable and straight dealings of which India stands so much in need. Is there no one who would bear a like testimony to the sobriety and thrift of the Indians in Africa and Canada? To the European, the American and the Colonial, the humble Asiatic may not presume to be an exemplar; but it is certain that his competition would prove anything but a curse if it teaches him sobriety and thrift at a time when what is called a "high standard of living" is unduly exalted, and comfort and even luxury have become the measure of civilization, or if necessity becomes once more the mother of invention and the white man discovers some new device that may make him comparatively independent of the Asiatic's unskilled labour.

But if Mr. Denning still insists on considering the coloured man's competition with the white man "a wrong against him individually and collectively" and thinks "he would be a fool—and a dastard—if he did not stand up for that inherent right, spill his blood in defence of it if necessary—despite all the theoretical jargon of international politicians, dreamers and comfortably-off hair-brained and crack-brained theorists", all we can say is that here the laws of man have reformed those of nature and at least the Indian is helpless. The Indian is no fool, as Gandhi and Gurdit Singh are proving; but if he is a dastard, is it his own fault or his Maker's, that being still a man he has lost all virility, that excepting for propagating slaves or seditionists he is emasculated and that even compared with the women of England he is unsexed? But perhaps he is not a dastard altogether. If he has not the weapons of offence and has lost the trick of killing others, he has still something of the old world about him. He can still spill his own blood in the defence of his inherent rights, and he has shown that in South Africa. But let us not talk of spilling blood, for even the spilling of ink is now a crime.

Dr. Ibuka writes an interesting article in *The Japan Magazine* on the subject of the colour bar. He had interviews with President Wilson and Mr. Bryan, and it is an irony of fate that the latter, a trenchant critic of the British Government in India, should have had to talk to Dr. Ibuka, a Japanese, as Mr. Denning and many others talk to us. To Mr. Bryan's argument Dr. Ibuka replies as follows:—

I cannot quite agree that the whole difficulty in California is economic. I am convinced that racial prejudice has a good deal to do

with it And call it an economic problem if you will, or explain it as the clash between oriental and occidental civilisation, the root of the trouble is racial. . . . When Indians, who are British subjects, are not permitted free entrance to British territory, such as South Africa, Australia, and Canada, what is it but race prejudice?

He comes to the conclusion that it is a question "between the entire East and the entire West. It is a sacred question of humanity and can be permanently settled only by humanitarian methods." He states the position in plain words:

To-day Europe, the smallest of the five great continents of the earth, dominates the greater part of mankind. Europeans rule North and South America, the greater part of Africa, all Australia and New Zealand, as well as India and numerous islands of the sea. For the most part the white and the coloured races chance to be placed on opposite sides of the globe. (We should have said they are white and coloured because they chance to be placed on opposite sides of the globe. *Ed. Comrade.*) They (the whites) appear to wish to close their doors against the coloured races, yet, at the same time, wish to mingle with them. They want to have free course in the coloured man's country, but they don't want him to have free course in their country. This does not appeal to us at all as just.

If we now turn to Mr. Renton Denning we learn, nothing perhaps that even he thinks would satisfy any but a fool in India, but much of the science and the art of jumping over yawning gulfs of awkward questions. He says: "You do not find Occidentals 'claiming an inherent right to enter and reside in lands occupied by Asiatics.'" We rub our eyes and pinch ourselves to make sure we are not dreaming. But, no, it is all right. We are quite awake, and you shall see how Mr. Denning convinces you in your waking hours that all is *maya*. He goes on to say that "they (the Occidentals) do enter and do reside in such countries to some extent. "But"—now mark the ease of the practised jumper—"their presence," says Mr. Denning, "is based upon considerations apart from claims to inherent right." Wonderful, wasn't it? "It may be right conferred by treaty, or it may be right conferred by conquest, "but"—the leap again!—"on whatever grounds the right may be exercised, the conditions which ratify it and regulate it are acquiesced in by the country which receives the immigrants, tourists, travellers, officials, whatever they may be." It is not clear to us whether Mr. Renton Denning was smuggled into India by means of a vaguely worded treaty, possibly of the Amichand type, or stalked in as a conquering hero. Indian history in the eighteenth century was, if we may so call it, bewilderingly ambidextrous, and the distinction between treaties and conquests was no more clear than between *meun* and *tuun* on the Scotch Border when one of the Border Chiefs had as his motto "Thou shalt lack ere I lack." But however Mr. Denning may have come, the question is whether his right to remain here is ratified and regulated by the acquiescence of the country on which he was dumped. Well, the educated classes, whose one fault is that they are vocal, do not acquiesce unless he acquiesces in their "inherent right". There remain then only the "dumb millions"—and, as ill luck would have it, they are—why, of course, dumb!

Well, we do not know whether our phrases are "too carefully balanced" or not, but that is what comes inevitably of taking the "irresistible logic of the problem" as "the basis of our reasoning". It may or may not be some consolation to Mr. Renton Denning that, as he desired it, "the root of the matter" is now thoroughly "exposed"!

The Council of India Bill.

THE Bill introduced by Lord Crewe on the 25th May in the House of Lords, embodying certain important changes in the constitution and methods of work of the India Council, has naturally aroused a good deal of serious public discussion in this country. It closely follows the lines foreshadowed by his Lordship in his speech of 31st July, 1913, in the House of Lords. On that occasion he dealt in a general way with the need of reform in the methods of conducting business in the India Office and outlined his views in regard to the changes that he considered desirable. He said that the methods of conducting business had been the subject of discussion before he went to India Office in 1910. His own experience soon convinced him of the soundness of the general opinion "that the procedure of the Office in relation to India was intolerably cumbrous and dilatory." He referred to the peculiar features of the constitution of the India Office with an advisory council to assist the Secretary of State for India in the supervision and control of Indian affairs. This form of Government was definitely set up by an Act of Parliament in 1858. The Council originally consisted of 15 members whose salary was £1,200 a year. Apart from a general control over Indian expenditure, the functions of this body were deliberately made purely advisory with a view to maintain intact the responsibility of the Secretary of State. The authors of the Act of 1858 had mainly desired that the Council should devote its time to matters of policy

and questions of first-rate importance. A practice, however, soon grew up under the Act of relegating to committees of the Council all matters of business great and small. Some unimportant changes in the details of procedure were effected in 1876 and 1889. A Bill was passed in 1907 which laid down that the Council should consist of not less than ten and not more than fourteen members, and the salaries of the members were reduced from £1,200 to £1,000 a year. The system has in other respects continued unaltered down to this day. Lord Crewe now proposes to make it more efficient and expeditious by introducing certain changes in the methods of work and constitution of the Council. His sole idea is "to improve and, so far as possible, perfect the machinery by which the daily and sometimes even hourly intercourse between those who represented the Imperial Government and those who controlled the actual Government was carried out."

The question of the India Council reform inevitably raises the still wider question whether a council of some sort is at all necessary to assist the Secretary of State in his task. The work of the India Office is quite different in scope and character from that of any other office in charge of Imperial affairs. It has to supervise and direct the government of diverse races differing from the English in history, language, religion and social practice, inhabiting a vast continent and dependent for their welfare on the will of an executive enjoying almost unlimited authority and power. An individual Minister in absolute control of such a gigantic and novel political transaction and responsible only to Parliament would not obviously constitute an ideal arrangement. A Secretary of State for India is generally a party leader who has risen to prominence in the British public life. He has no Indian experience and has usually a very hazy idea of the problems of Indian governance. Unless he is a man of exceptional intellectual gifts and strength of character he is liable to be overwhelmed by the bewildering variety and mass of the questions with which he has to deal single-handed. He may be content to leave everything to the unfettered choice of Indian Government, or may land affairs in a sorry mess by ignorantly interposing his authority at peculiarly inopportune moments. Generally speaking, therefore, a Secretary of State for India would derive considerable advantage by having at his side men possessing adequate knowledge of Indian affairs and competent to give useful advice. On a priori considerations the retention of an India Council seems to be necessary. It is, however, essential to bear in mind that the utility of the Secretary of State's Council depends ultimately on the character of its constitution and personnel. Unless its members are men of capacity and independence having real sympathy with Indian aspirations, the Council would be not only useless but also an instrument of potential mischief. In such a case it would be far safer to have no Council at all, and leave the Secretary of State to do his work alone without the help of a set of reactionary, obstructive or unsympathetic advisers. The vital thing is, therefore, to see what sort of India Council has hitherto existed at Whitehall and what possibilities of improvement are held out by the changes sought to be embodied in the recent Bill.

In theory the Secretary of State for India is, like other Ministers, responsible to Parliament, but in actual practice he is an autocrat wielding supreme authority in Indian affairs. The Council that was given to assist him by the Act of 1858 was expressly designed to be advisory. Its functions have remained unchanged since the day of its creation. It took its origin from the traditions connected with the management of Indian affairs by the East India Company. The old Court of Directors, whose abuse of power had roused the righteous ire of Burke, was abolished when after the Mutiny the Crown assumed the administration of India under a Secretary of State in Council. The change was, however, of little practical value, for the independent Parliamentary control, "exercised in a spirit of judicial impartiality", for which Burke had pleaded so eloquently, was not revived. As Sir William Wedderburn says in the Congress Green Book No. VI, dealing with the history and proposed reorganisation of the India Council, "the Council of the Secretary of State for India was little more than 'the old Court of Directors under a new name. This will be apparent 'when we remember that Mr. Burke's chief objection to the Directors 'was that they were the representatives of the Indian bureaucracy, which 'it was their duty to control. And exactly the same objection may be 'taken to the India Council, which is regularly recruited from the 'leading members of the Indian official class. In fact, it may be said 'that the last state of control is worse than the first. For, whereas 'the Court of Directors was filled with the nominees of the dominant 'Indian officials, the India Council is filled with these officials themselves'."

It would be interesting to recall the views held by prominent party leaders in England when the India Council was created by Act of Parliament. Referring to the debates on the Act of 1858, Lord Crewe said in the House of Lords that it was evident that there was a marked dread of the Government, and particularly of a single Minister, having uncontrolled power to spend the revenues of India, and also deep distrust of the patronage of India being handed over to a single individual. On the other hand, it was generally agreed that the functions of the Council should remain advisory and that

the responsibility of the Secretary of State should be maintained. Lord Palmerston, who introduced the Government of India Bill No. 1, said that "the proposed Council must be a Council of advice, not a Council of control". He laid down the principle upon which a sensible man would select his advisers, saying that the Government "would wish to be advised by those most 'competent to give advice, and so far from choosing those most likely 'to be subservient and flexible, they would no doubt deem it 'their duty and their interest to select those who, by their knowledge, 'experience, talent and capacity, were most certain to prove useful 'assistants in the management of Indian affairs". Lord John Russell favoured "everything that can be done to preserve an independent character to the Council". Practically the same view was taken by Mr. Disraeli, who declared that the two great requisites for the Councillors were independence and knowledge. Sir Charles Wood laid down, as the guiding principle, that "if we are to govern India it must be for the benefit of the natives of that country." It is manifest, therefore that the statesmen primarily concerned with the creation of the India Council desired to make it a body of competent advisers, distinguished by their knowledge, experience, talent, capacity and independence of character, who would be prepared to make the welfare of India their first consideration. According to the originators of the Council the essential qualifications for Councillors are, as Sir William Wedderburn says, devotion to Indian interests, knowledge of Indian affairs, and independence.

The existing constitution of the Council does not apparently favour the selection of men who combine these qualifications in a marked degree. Ever since its creation it has been the close preserve mainly of the retired Indian administrators, who have stoutly maintained the bureaucrat's unbending attitude towards the real needs of India. Lord Morley, with his usual insight, realised the risks of this one-sided arrangement, and contrived to let some fresh air into the stuffy atmosphere of the Council by appointing two Indians as representatives of the non-official standpoint. The Council, as at present constituted, consists of ten members, of whom two are London bankers, two Indians, and the remaining six possess what is called the "Indian qualification." Lord Crewe now proposes to have a Council consisting of "such number of members, not less than seven nor more than ten, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine." He desires to reduce the maximum number from 14 to 10 and the minimum number from 10 to 7. He thinks that for the practical working of the office a Council of eight would be adequate. The reduction in number is explained by the changes in the methods of work that have been embodied in the Bill. Briefly, the changes amount to the abolition of the system of work by committees of the Council except when such a procedure may be deemed desirable in deciding matters of moment. Under the present Bill, as amplified by the rules which the Secretary of State is empowered to make, various members of the Council will be attached to different departments of the India Office. They would co-operate with the permanent officials upon particular work. Lord Crewe hopes that thereby a great deal of business "which now went to committees and afterwards in a perfunctory way to Council, might be done directly by the departments, sometimes of course requiring the particular sanction of the Secretary of State."

We must say it at once that Lord Crewe's proposed "reforms" are in some respects alarming. With the ostensible object of making the Council efficient he seeks to introduce some very reactionary changes under the guise of this seemingly unpretentious Bill. He reduces the number of Councillors in order to do away with committee procedure, and he abolishes the committee system simply that members may get longer holidays than a "clergyman's fortnight" and thus the business of the office may be done with greater efficiency and despatch! Is he not aware that by abolishing weekly meetings of the Council and attaching each member to a particular department he would strike at the root of the advisory character of the Council? Will not such an arrangement be an expensive futility? To have the entire body of Councillors turned into so many more under-secretaries tied hopelessly to departmentalism is not a very gratifying prospect for the well-wishers of India. If the India Office is under-manned, increase the strength of its permanent staff by all means. But if its clerical and secretariat establishments are up to full working strength, one fails to see the wisdom of reducing Councillors to the status of glorified clerks, who would have rare occasions of meeting one another in Council and would spend most of their time in the usual routine of office. If Lord Crewe's "reforms" are carried in their original shape, the Secretary of State himself would soon fall a victim to departmentalism and the India Council would be strangled by red-tape. Was it for this fate that the originators had designed the Council?

Lord Crewe seeks through this Bill to enlarge almost indefinitely the scope of the powers of the Secretary of State which are reserved to him for "reasons of State." Lord Crewe is apparently of opinion that the area covered by the "Secret Department" requires extensive additions. This is perhaps the most reactionary aspect of the changes embodied in his Bill. One may understand the anxiety of the Government responsible for the Act of 1858,

i. e., of the year after the Mutiny, to arm the Secretary of State with exceptional powers to deal with certain contingencies without consulting his Council. But does any need for the exercise of secret and summary powers exist to-day? Have the contingencies provided for in the Act of 1858 grown in number and scope in recent years? Is the situation in India to-day as desperate as in the dark days of 1857? If so, why is it that no predecessor of Lord Crewe ever asked for his secret powers to be enhanced? Or is it that the need has begun to be felt since the inclusion of two Indian members? The fact is that Indian affairs, as a result of the general progress of the country in education and political thought and aptitude, have grown so complex that no Secretary of State should be entrusted to deal with any portion of them in a secret and summary way. He should be deprived of his power to send any secret orders and should be required to consult his advisers in all matters, big or small. It is just in dealing with questions "gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India, or the interests of India in any other country," that the Secretary of State is liable to err, for he himself being generally ignorant of real circumstances, he is in all likelihood guided by the advice of "men on the spot". In all cases gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India it is indispensable to ascertain the views of the Indian members of the Council. They alone are expected to know the full facts and represent the people's standpoint. If in the existing condition of India it should be possible for the Secretary of State to secretly order a deportation under the Regulation of 1818 or the promulgation of repressive measures without the knowledge of his Indian colleagues on the Council, their position at Whitehall as the Secretary of State's advisers is a mockery and a sham. It is far better to have no Council at all and no representatives of the Indian opinion tied to the tale of a Minister of the Crown who can find no use for them in "matters of moment".

Some of the far-sighted Indian publicists have often urged the abolition of the India Council altogether. They regard it as the only effective "reform", because they are of opinion, not unjustly, that the Council is a reactionary body packed with Anglo-Indian officials whose views and opinions had long since been stereotyped in bureaucratic environment and who retain little sympathy with Indian aspirations. If the personnel of the Council is to remain as provided for in the Bill, one may at last be driven to think that the total abolition of the Council would be a decided improvement on the existing system. The Bill provides for the inclusion of six members, including two Indians, having Indian experience, in a Council consisting of not more than ten nor less than seven members. Lord Crewe thinks a Council of eight members would be adequate. Taking eight, therefore, as the most probable figure, it is obvious that the Council would be composed of two Indians, four retired Anglo-Indian officials, one financial expert and one member probably taken from the ranks of British public men. The only satisfactory feature about this composition is that Indian members will be chosen from a number of persons elected by the Legislative Councils. But here, too, the Secretary of State's selection from a panel of elected Indians has been designed to dilute the principle of election and makes the concession almost worthless. In other respects the matters have not been improved by the Bill. And when the Council is practically shorn of its advisory character, one needs little persuasion to accept the alternative of having no Council at all. The Secretary of State as the sole undisputed arbiter of Indian destinies would be an infinitely simpler and better system of governing India than if he is given a so-called advisory Council, which will be asked to advise him when he pleases and in most important matters will be treated as if it never existed at all, which is to be split up into its individual components that would be asked to bury themselves up in the isolation of departments and be seldom free to emerge out of their trivial tasks and the common round of office. Lord Crewe started with an alluring promise to make a better use of his Council. Nothing would render it more effectually useless than the "reforms" embodied in his Bill.

Verse.

Napoleon.

Methought I heard a mighty voice proclaim,
In tones that taught my wavering heart to deem
Man's sacred life a pure and silent stream
That glides through shine and shadow still the same—
"Wealth, Rank and Power, Grandeur, Glory, Fame,
Whose charms allure, are seldom what they seem;
They're but the phantoms of a feverish dream—
A gorgeous semblance with a pompous name."
I turned and saw a shadowy spectre glide
With folded arms, bent brow, and aspect grim;
It pointed—thus I knew the shade of him
Who played in mortal life a Titan's part—
Far to a bleak rock's billow-beaten side,
Where a chained eagle preyed on its own heart.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Council of India Bill.

The following is the text of the Bill to amend the law as to the Council of India, which was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe on May 25 and read a first time:—

1.—(1) The Council of India constituted under the Government of India Act, 1858 (which Act as amended by any subsequent enactment is hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), shall consist of such number of members, not less than seven nor more than ten, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine.

(2) Unless at the time when an appointment is made to fill a vacancy in the Council two at least of the then existing members of the Council were at the time of their appointment domiciled in India, the person appointed to fill the vacancy must be domiciled in India, and unless at such time as aforesaid six at least of the then existing members were at the time of their appointment either domiciled in India or were persons who had served or resided in India for at least ten years and had not ceased so to serve or reside more than five years before the date of their appointment, the person appointed to fill the vacancy must be either domiciled in India, or must have served or resided in India for at least ten years and have not ceased so to serve or reside more than five years before the date of his appointment.

The person appointed to fill a vacancy for which a person domiciled in India is alone eligible shall be selected from amongst the persons whose names appear on a list of persons domiciled in India chosen for the purpose by the members (other than official members) of the Legislative Councils of the Governor General, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners, in such manner, subject to such conditions and restrictions, and in such number, as may be prescribed by regulations to be made by the Secretary of State in Council, or by directions issued by the Secretary of State thereunder.

(3) The yearly salary to be paid to a member of the Council shall be one thousand two hundred pounds, provided that such members appointed after the commencement of this Act who at the date of their appointment shall be domiciled in India shall be paid an additional yearly allowance of six hundred pounds.

(4) Where the Secretary of State is of opinion that a person possessing special qualification as a financial expert should be appointed to be a member of the Council on special terms, he may, after recording in a minute to be laid before Parliament the special reasons for the appointment and the special terms on which the appointment is to be made, make the appointment and the person so appointed shall, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, or this Act, hold office for such term and on such conditions, and shall in respect thereof be entitled to such salary and to such pension, and other rights and privileges (if any) as His Majesty may, by order in Council, in each case determine.

Provided that not more than one person appointed under this provision shall be a member of the Council at the same time.

2.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in section nineteen of the principal Act, it shall not be necessary for an order or communication sent to India or an order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India to be signed by a Secretary of State in such cases as the Secretary of State in Council may otherwise direct, but every such order and communication shall purport to be made by Secretary of State in Council.

(2) For section twenty of the principal Act (which relates to the powers of the Secretary of State to divide the Council into committees, and to regulate the transaction of business in Council) the following section shall be substituted:—

"It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to make rules and orders for the transaction of business as regards the powers which under the principal Act are to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council:

"Provided that any such rules or order, so far as it affects any matter or question in respect of which the concurrence of a majority at a meeting of the Council is required by this Act, shall not be valid unless made with the concurrence of a majority of the members of Council present at the meeting of Council at which the rule or order is passed."

(3) Such rules and orders as aforesaid may, notwithstanding anything in sections twenty-two, twenty-four, twenty-five, and twenty-six of the principal Act, provide, as respects such matters as may be specified in the rules and orders—(a) for enabling powers of the Secretary of State in Council to be exercised otherwise than at a meeting of the Council, and, where necessary for that purpose, for dispensing with any requirement of the principal Act as to the concurrence of the majority of votes of members of Council; (b) for dispensing with the necessary of submitting to Council or depositing in the Council Room for the perusal of members, orders and communications proposed to be sent to India or to be made in the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State, and of recording and notifying to members of Council the grounds on which any order or communication to India has been treated as urgent.

(4) At a meeting of the Council the quorum shall be three, and meetings of the Council shall be convened and held when and as the Secretary of State may from time to time direct.

(5) Any document required by the principal Act to be signed by two or more members of the Council, either with or without the countersignature of the Secretary of State, or one of his Under Secretaries or Assistant Under Secretaries, may be signed in such manner as the rules and orders made by the Secretary of State in Council for the transaction of business in his Council may prescribe, and any such document, if signed in accordance with such rules and orders, shall be as valid as if it had been signed in accordance with the provisions of the principal Act.

(6) Section twenty-seven of the principal Act (which enables the Secretary of State to send certain secret orders without communicating them to the members of his Council) shall extend to any order not being an order in respect of which concurrence of a majority at the meeting of the Council is required by the principal Act, which relates to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India, or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of His Majesty's Dominions, and which in the opinion of the Secretary of State is of the nature to require secrecy, and it is further declared that the said section shall apply to any order which the Secretary of State may send in reply to a despatch received and dealt with by him under section twenty-eight of the principal Act.

(7) All rules and orders made under this section shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after they are made, and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next subsequent thirty days on which that House has sat after any such rule or order is laid before it praying that the rule or order may be annulled His Majesty in Council may annul the rule or order, and it shall henceforth be void but without prejudice to that validity of anything previously done thereunder.

8.--(1) This Act may be cited as the Council of India Act, 1914.

(2) The enactments mentioned in the schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in third column of that schedule: namely, the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict. c. 106), sections ten, thirteen, twenty and twenty-two, from the beginning to "shall be present" and from "meetings of the Council shall be convened" to the end of the section: and the Council of India Act, 1907 (7 Edw. VII, c. 35), sections one, two, and three.



An Open Letter.

To the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Crewe, K.C., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD.—As editor-proprietor of the *Daily Zamindar*, which is one of the leading exponents of the views of the bulk of the Muslim Indian population, permit me to trespass for a while on your Lordship's indulgence with a brief statement of the latest attitude adopted by the Executive authorities towards the *Daily Zamindar*, affecting as it does the whole problem of the freedom of the vernacular Press. It is my firm conviction that, conscious of the high destiny of Great Britain in Asia, your Lordship and the other statesmen who are responsible for the government of the Indian Empire, are genuinely anxious that the people of India should be happy, prosperous, and contented, and should have their just grievances promptly redressed. It is this belief which encourages me to approach your Lordship on behalf of the freedom of the Press, which is a matter of as great concern to His Britannic Majesty's Indian subjects as to their British fellow-subjects.

As your Lordship knows, English can never be the language of the Indian masses, but only of a small minority of persons who have received, or may in future receive, an English education mainly for purposes of being associated with the administration of the country. The bulk of the population must continue to use the native languages. To Great Britain is due the everlasting credit of having given official support and recognition to a language which is the only possible substitute for a common medium of expression in India. It was due to this wise measure that Urdu became the written and spoken language of Northern India, and the Esperanto of every other part of the country; and if the new life with which India is pulsating has found its intellectual manifestation in a daily expanding vernacular press, of which the Urdu section is by far the most important, it is only in the fitness of things that such should be the case. A new spirit is in the air. In common with the rest of the struggling communities of the world, India is in the process of a mental and moral transformation: new ideas, new aspirations, new susceptibilities influencing the minds of millions imperceptibly yet inevitably. This superabundance of fresh energy must find expression somehow or other if the community is to continue in a state of normal health. And what more fitting outlet for this exuberance of newly acquired vitality can be than the vernacular Press? Choke this outlet and you will have shut the safety-valve. The body politic will become afflicted with internal abscesses, dripping with a thousand venomous humors. The ruling caste, barred from intercourse with the people by reason of their insular aloofness and want of proper knowledge of the

language of the country, will have to depend for information as to the real temper of the people upon a host of paid spies or unscrupulous sycophants. Such a state of affairs would be disastrous.

I have constantly tried to subordinate journalism, ever since I adopted this profession five years ago, to the policy laid down by the Supreme Government. The Indian Government is a human institution, and as such is susceptible of defects and errors of judgment. In common with the rest of my fellow-journalists, I have claimed the right to criticise official errors with a view to securing their rectification. This claim is based upon our intimate association with the traditions of England, and, to use the figurative expression of Lord Morley since our incorporation in the system of British citizenship, it is as old as Runnymede. Of late, however, there has been a marked tendency on the part of a section of officials in India to resent the independent spirit shown in perfectly honest, constitutional newspaper criticism. It is this attitude to which I beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention in the earnest hope that prompt measures will be taken to safeguard the freedom of the Indian Press in the interests both of the people and the Empire.

In February 1910, when the Indian Press Act was being hurried through the Viceroy's Legislative Council, on the plea that the measure was necessary for the extermination of anarchism, no one could have positively asserted that it was destined in the near future to be employed for the suppression of the freedom of religious and political thought of the most innocuous character. Yet the scores of paper and presses which have been dealt with under this stern law during the past two years show that the worst fears of the early critics of the Press Act have been more than realised. It could not have been anticipated that a criticism of the revenue policy of the Government, a presentation of the case of the poverty-stricken peasantry, a statement of the religious grievances of the people, would come under the provisions of the Press Act, all embracing as they are. Nevertheless, articles in the *Daily Zamindar* devoted purely to such matters have been treated as objectionable for the purposes of the Press Act, as the following letter* addressed to me by the District Magistrate of Lahore will show.

Mr. Tollinton's letter, which bears on it the impress of inspiration from higher quarters, harsh as it is, is an agreeable departure from the usual procedure in one respect. To journalists who were accustomed to receive, without the slightest warning, notices of forfeiture of existing securities and of imposition of fresh ones as a punishment for writings which had incurred official displeasure, without the opportunity of a protest or a defence, it is, indeed, a relief. The new system inaugurated by Mr. Tollinton's letter, however undesirable in many respects, as the advocates of the freedom of the Press will readily appreciate, has at least the advantage of affording us the chance of removing many deplorable misunderstandings. To misunderstandings of this character is due in a large number of cases the harsh treatment meted out to the vernacular Press; and I am sure a mild reproof, a friendly warning, or call for a proper explanation would have spared the Government the regrettable necessity of suppressing many a journal. Circumstanced as the Indian officials are in view of their conceptions of personal prestige, it is extremely difficult for them to set aside an executive verdict when once it has been issued, even though it may be subsequently established that there has been an error in judgment, perhaps because of the defective data supplied to them by incompetence, inadvertence, or even personal interest. The cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Bara* are instances in point. These two Muslim papers have each been required to pay a security of three thousand rupees on the plea that they had brought the Christian subjects of His Majesty into hatred and contempt.

Now I am sure the Punjab Government at the time of punishing the *Bara* was unaware that the article which formed the ground for the Government order had appeared more than eighteen months ago in *Annajm*, a theological paper of Lucknow; that during these long months it had never occurred to the Christian subjects of His Majesty that the Muslim interpretation of the "Incarnation of Jesus Christ," in which orthodox Muslims reposed the same faith as orthodox Christians, could ever bring them into hatred and contempt; and that the U.P. Government, whose campaign against offending journalists has not erred on the side of leniency, had not thought it worth their while to bring *Annajm* to book. Similarly, I feel convinced that the official in the Punjab Secretariat, whose business it is to lay the Press Act whip on the back of outspoken journalists, did not know at the time of drafting the order in respect of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* that Muslims believe in Jesus Christ as one of the greatest messengers of God, any disrespectful mention of whom renders a Muslim liable to be branded as a blasphemer; but that, as they do not believe in the Atonement, the paper was simply expressing the Muslim doctrine; and that, therefore, to the seventy-five millions of Indian Muslims any action of the Punjab Government against the *Ahl-i-Hadees* on the score that it had refused to accept the doctrine of the Atonement to be the teaching of

* The letter referred to has already appeared in these columns. Ed. *Comrade*.

Christ, would appear as nothing but a flagrant violation of the pledge of religious neutrality. Had the officials known all these facts they would have hesitated to commit themselves to a course of action in respect of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* and the *Badr*, which has secured for them the sympathy of the whole of India as victims of official intolerance. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that so long as the Press Act remains on the Statute Book, the greatest circumspection should be exercised by the officials in taking any action under the Act which is to be placed in the category of their *obiter dicta*.

Mr. Tollinton's letter to my address is a remarkable document in many respects. It shows that the Press Act is now going to be employed for censoring perfectly *bona-fide* and honest criticism on the ever-ready plea that it is intended to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses. It arrogates to itself the task of lecturing the editor of a responsible paper in harsh, dictatorial and intimidatory language on his suppositions journalistic sins, and does not permit the scores of rival newspapers—Anglo-Indian, Hindu and Muslim—to detect his "mischievous inaccuracies," if there were any, and to denounce him accordingly. It is full of erroneous assumptions, which are based upon a distorted English version of the original articles; and the central idea dominating the whole letter—*viz.*, that the articles objected were so much "veiled treason"—is derived from a few isolated and disjointed phrases or words in utter disregard of their context. In one word, the articles in question, instead of appealing to the authorities as respectful representations of a loyal journalist, who is an out-and-out believer in Pax Britannica, are treated as the dangerous fulminations of a sedition-monger. The object of these lines is to prove to your Lordship that such an illusion does exist, and that it has its source in the inability of the officials to understand our language, which has to be interpreted to them by a staff of underpaid translators who are mostly incompetent.

Urdu, having Sanskrit grammar and more than 50 per cent. of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, is very difficult to translate into English, and to bring out the spirit of the original when rendering some elegant passage of Urdu *belles lettres* requires a perfect mastery of both languages, which very few people possess. When, therefore, the loyalty of a person has to be determined by one single phrase, one solitary word, and he has to be adjudged a faithful subject of His Majesty or a traitorous seditionist according to the shade of meaning conveyed by that particular phrase or word, it is high time that the officials adopting this Draconian standard should see that the phrase or word in question shall not only be accurately rendered, but that it also will be interpreted in the light of its context. That flagrant injustice is done to journalists by attributing to them views and sentiments which they never expressed is abundantly evident from Mr. Tollinton's letter. The writer in the *Daily Zamindar* respectfully appeals to the Government on behalf of the dumb agricultural masses, and with the customary oriental courtesy uses the following poetic language:—

"Thou hast showered down upon others flowers and even fruits;
O giver-away of orchards, grant me also some boon, I
pray thee."

For the sake of literary brevity only the second line of the couplet used as an elegant allusion, but the Provincial Government, as Mr. Tollinton's letter shows, interprets the line as follows: "O destroyer of the garden root and branch, throw something to this side also." Evidently this is a sample of the "veiled treason" of the vernacular press, to which the *Standard* refers in its review of the speech of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, recently delivered in the Punjab Legislative Council.

The Government translating staff, which has given this glaring proof of its incapacity to translate Urdu poetry, supplies Mr. Tollinton with further material of a similar kind, which has led him to assert that the *Daily Zamindar* has mischievously misquoted a speech from Lord Morley with the object of fanning the fanaticism of the ignorant masses. Mr. Tollinton's complaint is that the word "exposed" has been used in a deprecatory sense. Now, in order to be able to affirm with any degree of assurance that the rendering of the *Daily Zamindar* was not in consonance with the precise significance of the word as used by Lord Morley, it was necessary that Mr. Tollinton should know Urdu, the language in which the *Daily Zamindar* is written. But he has to depend upon the translators, with the result that Lord Morley's words, which had been correctly translated into Urdu by the *Daily Zamindar*, are retranslated into the translator's English, and the responsibility for this inaccurate language is, as usual, foisted on to the *Daily Zamindar*.

Mr. Tollinton has been led to draw many strange inferences from the leading articles of the *Daily Zamindar* which appeared in its issues of February 25, 26, 27 and 28 last. He gratuitously assumes that the British Government has been described as an alien Government which has destroyed the nationality and religion of the people over whom it rules, and has been compared unfavourably with Russia, the Balkan States, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Philippine Islands. Here again the incorrigible translators have caused Mr. Tollinton to do the grossest injustice to the *Daily Zamindar*. The fact is, it never

described the British Government as such, and never instituted any disadvantageous contrast. Its point was that even the most tyrannical and barbarous Governments had respected and tolerated the law of Islam under which Muslims were governed elsewhere, and it would be monstrous to suppose that a just and constitutional Government as the British Government would fail to concede our just and reasonable demands if we pressed them in a proper manner. This attitude is abundantly clear from the opening lines of the leading article dated February 27, which run thus:—

"It is a constitutional Government. Its laws are just. It never tolerates injustice intentionally. Muslims acknowledge it to be a Muslim Government; Hindus regard it as a Raj of their own faith; while, in the opinion of the bulk of the population, it is superior and very much superior to both Muslim and Hindu Governments."

The article then reproduces the trenchant criticisms of the *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* on the "Official Secrets Bill," comments on the repressive nature of the Press Act, refers to the budget-speech delivered by Lord Morley in 1906, and winds up with the following characteristic remarks:—

"Whatever its shortcomings, the people of India are attached to the British Government, and we hold the view that it is the sacred duty of every child of the soil to be firmly attached and devoted to the Crown. But the question is whether the stability of the British Government does not rest upon the maintenance and integrity of the two basic components of the British constitution—*viz.* the Legislature and the Executive. Is it not expedient that, while preserving its prestige intact, efforts should be made to make the Government universally popular by suggesting proper measures of reform."

It is a discussion of these measures in the most respectful language which has disturbed the equanimity of Mr. Tollinton and his chief, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. A bureaucracy, which can afford to spend £16,000,000 sterling or thereabout in creating a new Delhi, but cannot provide a few millions for free primary education demanded by the combined voice of India; which pays 80 lakhs of rupees per annum to 8,000 European officials, but disburses a paltry 71 lakhs to 131,000 Indians; which permits Messrs. Black & Sons to publish in India their notorious geographical work full of vitriolic attacks on the nationality and character of Indians, but places an embargo on a translation of "Come over into Macedonia and help us," dealing with the savage treatment of Muslims by the Balkan States; which, in direct contravention of the laws of the realm, interdicts a time honoured religious observance, the rite of sacrifice, and forbids all adverse criticism on the part of the parties affected by this arbitrary order; must not be surprised if a protest is entered against its actions. The *Daily Zamindar* refers to all these grievances in the belief that constitutionally the British Government, as distinguished from the Anglo-Indian oligarchy administering India, is not responsible for them, and that as soon as their true nature is brought home to the Imperial statesmen everything would be put right. Among other things it has discussed the rates of the land revenue obtaining in modern India as compared with those levied under Muslim Governments in former times. It has shown on the authority of Lord Morley that the maximum rate levied by the British Government in India is 65 per cent., and pointed out by way of contrast that the Muslim land revenue has from the earliest times been based upon the principle that the Government should take one-tenth of the produce of the land, leaving nine-tenths to the cultivators. The contrast is certainly unfavourable to the British Government, but the *Daily Zamindar* takes the sting out of the comparison by reminding its readers that "we must not be unfair to the Government, for its expenditure is very great, and without this increase it cannot possibly make up the deficit in its budget." It further assures the poor peasants, whose lot is really to be pitied, that "we must not lose heart, as our Government shares our joys and our sorrows. It will spontaneously introduce reforms and alleviate the sufferings of those who are in distress. England! then has always been a protector of the weak. Help us, for we are weak."

In this spirit of humility the Punjab Government sees lurking the dark shadow of treason. Mr. Tollinton, who is obsessed with the one idea that everything that the Editor of the *Daily Zamindar* says or writes is intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against the Government, thinks that the sentiments of devotion above expressed will stir up agitation among the ignorant masses. He questions the authenticity of the statement made by the *Daily Zamindar* that the "Muslim Governments claimed one-tenth of the produce of the land, leaving nine-tenths to the cultivators," and so far forgets his duty to himself as an English gentleman of polished manners as to call it an "untruth." He then calls upon the Editor, under commands from the Lieutenant-Governor, to publish an extract from Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, "which shows that the Mughal system at its best under Akbar, following the system of Nousherwan, took one-third of the produce." Finally, he threatens the *Daily Zamindar* with what looks like another forfeiture of security, or something even worse, if it refused to publish the extract in question. The extract has, of course, been published,

with a comprehensive reply calculated to allay the totally uncalled-for suspicions of the Punjab Government. But, apart from the problematic issues raised by the British land revenue system as compared with the systems of empires long dead and gone, I venture to ask your Lordship whether the vexatious and quibbling spirit manifested in Mr. Tollinton's letter is worthy of a great and dignified Government so jealous of its prestige? The objections raised by Mr. Tollinton are, as your Lordship will have been pleased to observe, so petty, so pultry, that they are not worth the paper on which they are written; and on behalf of Indian journalism I crave your Lordship's protection against such vexatious treatment in the future.

Your Lordship knows that we Indians, irrespective of whether we are Muslim or Hindu, are proud of our connection with England, and our only political ambition is that our position as the integral elements of the Empire should be duly recognised. If India is going to remain a part of the British Empire indefinitely, her just and reasonable aspirations will have to be treated with greater consideration. A new class of men who have imbibed British notions of justice and freedom has sprung up. The very atmosphere of India is charged with the new ideas which the civilisation of Britain has imported to the East. We demand that we should be treated as British citizens. We demand that so long as we are true to the British flag, and are prepared to defend the supremacy of England in India against the world, we should be regarded as freeborn men. If Mr. William Digby can write "Prosperous British India," and yet remain loyal to the British Government; if Mr. Thorburn can make his famous pro-zamindar speech at Simla and still continue to be a well-wisher of the State; if Sir Edward Carson can even smuggle arms and ammunition into Ulster with the object of using it against the King's troops and still retain his seat in the House of Commons; if Mr. Rudyard Kipling, the quondam Sub-Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, can call Mr. Asquith and his illustrious colleagues "murderers," "swindlers," "liars," and "thieves," and, in the words of that paper, yet remain entitled to "the position he occupies as an instructor of the public"—I venture to think that the Editor of the *Daily Zamindar*, who is as much a subject of King George as any of these gentlemen, has at least the right of advocating the cause of his fellow-countrymen in humble and respectful language, without incurring the false charge that he is doing his "best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have mischievous results."

We Indians, who have borrowed our conceptions of journalistic amenities from the English newspaper world, do not lay claim when criticising the Government to follow the example of the *Daily Telegraph*, which has been speaking of the Ministers of the Crown in the following language:—

"Their whole course of action is an unutterable infamy. . . . This question of the relation of the army to the civil authority would never have arisen but for the Government's own stupendous blunders, the consequences of which they are now striving vainly to escape by a stream of cowardly insinuations against the very man whom they have injured. . . . Ministers who utter such pernicious and poisonous nonsense at such a crisis are not fit for the back benches of a suburban debating society. . . . These pledge-bound Ministers who have sworn on oath to commit the foulest treason against democracy that a Government ever conceived are entangled in the nets of their own making."

Like the *Daily Mail*, another pillar of the Fourth Estate, we do not ask for the unbridled license of calling Mr. Asquith a "bully," and expressing the "probability that a plot will be revealed, the disclosure of which, in a famous phrase of Sir Edward Grey's, will bring the Government to death, disaster, and damnation."

Owing to our peculiar temperament, we have too much respect for constituted authority to imitate the example of yet another representative of British public opinion, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which sets us the following example of what newspaper criticism of Government can be:—"The situation has become intolerable with a Ministry shamed and convicted, growing in malignancy as it declines in power. . . . Englishmen must look with less pity than contempt on the wild efforts of the Government to keep their balance in 'slippery places' by clutching at dirty handholds. Every day adds a fresh chapter to the story of treachery, failure and evasion. Each morning finds their credit more depreciated and their public honour more deeply soiled. . . . Hence the transformation from bully to juggler, the dental extraction of one damning fact after another, the explanations, and explanations of explanations that leave the country with a suffocating sense of bad faith and a universal impression of false coin. . . . Selfish and guilty fear is the only state of mind that will fully explain the wild rushes and collisions of their subsequent procedure."

We do not want to follow even in the footsteps of Anglo-Indian journalism as represented by the *Statesman*, which, flinging Section 4 of the Press Act in the teeth of its administrators, speaks of the "cruelty and folly" of the "interested" Viceroy, who is "wasting the resources of a comparatively poor people upon a luxurious toy," meaning the new Delhi.

No, we Indians have much too great a respect for our sense of propriety and decorum to abuse and denounce the Government in this frantic, irresponsible way. All we want is that we should not be called upon to pay a crushing fine when we happen to point out conclusively to the Government that their officials have recklessly demolished one of our temples; that our presses should not be confiscated when we casually suspect the moral rectitude of Piccadilly; that we should not be regarded as the enemies of England if we indulge in that hackneyed platitude that as compared with England India is poor; and that we should not be accused of "veiled treason" when we have only appealed to the liberality of the Government by crying out:—

"O giver-away of orchards grant me some boon, I pray thee."

In conclusion, while apologising for the inordinate length of this representation, I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to one outstanding fact. The past three years have synchronised with a period of unprecedented stress and storm in the annals of Islam. Outside India a series of the most awful catastrophes has befallen Muslim countries, shaking to its very foundation the integrity of Islam as a factor in world politics. While these calamities were producing convulsions of sympathy throughout the length and breadth of Muslim India, an incident occurred within India itself which went like a dagger through the heart of the Muslim community. The *Daily Zamindar*, in common with other organs of Muslim opinion, had its share in determining the temper of the community. Like a mirror it faithfully reflected their hopes and their fears, the poignance of their anguish and the strength of their determination to do nothing which might sully their traditional devotion to the Crown. When it looks back to the past it finds itself in the proud position of exclaiming with the rest of the Muslim Press that not one solitary instance can be cited in which anything was done by the Muslim community, severally or collectively, as a result of newspaper activity, to merit the slightest reproach. Even the Viceroy, in receiving the Muslim Deputation, admitted as much. Is it not rather late in the day for the Punjab Government, now that peace has been established in Europe and Asia, and normal conditions have been resumed in India, to accuse the *Daily Zamindar* of doing its best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by mischievous misrepresentation? Circumstanced as Indian journalists are, in view of their inability to retort in the vigorous language of the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Statesman*, it is cruel of the Punjab Government to apply such uncalled-for and unjustifiable remarks to me as "mischievous" and "autrue" and as being actuated by a desire to "arouse feelings against Government." Against these gratuitous insults I crave once more your Lordship's protection.

Trusting that the liberal traditions that your Lordship has inherited from all that is good and lovable in England will impel you to grant His Britannic Majesty's helpless Indian subjects greater scope in expressing their innermost thoughts as required by the British Constitution.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord, your most devoted servant,

ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Editor of the *Daily Zamindar* (Lahore),

13 Crossfield Road, Swiss Cottage,

May 15, 1914.



India and the Empire.

THE *Times* has published the following letter from Mrs. Annie Besant:—

Outside the domestic problems of Ulster and the women's war Great Britain is faced with two problems in the East which will tax to the utmost her political sagacity, and it is not too much to say that her success or failure in building a world-Empire will depend on the fashion of their solution.

The first is that of Indian emigration, and the right of Indians to travel freely throughout the Empire and to settle in it where they will. This chiefly affects the labouring classes of the vast Indian population, seeking an outlet for subsistence abroad, since many of the home industries have ceased to be life-supporting; to some extent their difficulties in gaining a livelihood in India may be diminished by the demand for labour in tea, coffee, and other plantations, where

wages tend to rise in consequence of the scarcity of coolies and by the improvement of village life by the spread of co-operation and the revival of weaving and other handicrafts. These remedial tendencies are, however, inevitably slow in their action, and the area over which they must spread for effective usefulness is so huge that, while they may slightly lessen they cannot obviate the necessity for emigration in search of livelihood. The educated class is touched by the question of the emigration of the labouring population mainly through sentiment—the feelings of kinship with those immediately affected, of indignation against unfair treatment meted out to fellow-countrymen, of race-pride smarting under the imputation of inferiority. The late agitation in India over the South African troubles—that had to danger-point when Lord Hardinge's statesman-like sympathy saved the situation by associating the Government with the popular feeling—joined all classes together for the first time in a national protest, and made India feel her strength as a united people; its practical success in gaining a large measure of relief is hailed as a sign that Indian public opinion is no longer voiceless and impotent, and that Indian public opinion is no longer voiceless and impotent, and that Indian feeling can be affectively aroused in defence of Indian interests. To the educated class this question of emigration is only part of the larger problem—the position of Indians in the Empire as inferiors or as equals; and it is this second question which is greatly the more important, although the emigration may seem to be more immediately pressing.

THE IDEAL OF LIBERTY.

Since the famous educational minute of Lord Macaulay, England has steadily held up before the eyes of the youths receiving English education in Government schools and colleges the ideals of English liberty, English constitutional government, English systems of local and national self-rule; she has aroused Indian admiration for her ordered freedom, for her warm sympathy with autocratically governed nations when they strove to win their liberty, for her shelter of political refugees, and her refusal to surrender to infuriated Government those who had taken sanctuary on her soil after the commission of political crimes. Several generations of Indians have grown up in the belief that England loved liberty, that when she saw political unrest she advised rulers to seek its causes and to remove them that repression of the voicing of complaints was folly, as it merely increased discontent by driving it under the surface, and further, that the repressive policy only deprived the Government of the advantage of knowing what its subjects were thinking, and thus of remedying grievances which might cause serious danger when concealed.

The events of the last few years have inflicted a rude shock on these beliefs: Indians who have been taught the value of liberty, that "taxation without representation is robbery," that "Government rests on the will of the people," find that what England treasures for herself she refuses to them. And they find, with still greater pain, that England, face to face with political crimes, adopts all the methods she has hitherto blamed in others—repression of free speech, prohibition of public meetings, securities from the Press forfeited by the arbitrary will of the Executive, house-searchings by the police, deportation without trial, detention in prison without trial, proclamation of districts entailing the necessity of obtaining permission for any public meeting, police espionage, &c., Russian methods used by free England and the forfeiture of the freedom of all law-abiding people because a few desperadoes have committed crimes. No one who does not live as a friend among Indians can know the deep resentment felt by them against such methods employed by a country they loved and admired. The suspicion of their loyalty shown by Government has bred suspicion in them, and there is a widening gulf between the officials and the educated class.

The growing sense of self-respect, of patriotism, and of public spirit, fostered by English education and by contact with Englishmen, will no longer accept benevolent patronage with gratitude; Indians demand to be treated as equals, and not as a "subject race"; they refuse to regard colour as a disqualification for any office in a coloured nation, and demand that Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858—India's Magna Charta, as they fondly call it—shall no longer remain a dead letter. The best men are standing out of Government service because they will not tolerate supersession by Englishmen inferior to themselves, merely on the ground of colour, and because they will not subject themselves to arrogance and discourtesy. They say frankly that the best men no longer come out to India, whether as Judges, civilians, or professors, and that fifth-rate Englishmen should not be preferred to first-rate Indians. They claim at least equality in Government service, and some say that where qualifications are equal the Indian should be preferred in his own country to the foreigner. Government service will be increasingly manned by an inferior class of Indians unless conditions are altered and colour ceases to be regarded as a mark of inferiority.

I leave aside here questions of social difficulties: the exclusion of Indians from clubs, the insults often offered to them if they travel first class on railways, the refusal to admit them to railway bedrooms at night, the readiness to strike men of the lower classes and even sometimes of the higher, the light punishments inflicted where a blow or a kick causes death, the keeping of Indian gentlemen waiting in verandahs sometimes for hours when they visit officials—a whole long list of social affronts which cause unending bitterness. The Indians say that social equality will only come with political equality, and I believe they are right.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

Their political demands are easily formulated. The National Congress and the Muslim League both demand self government—self government within the Empire. They demand that the representation granted by the Minto-Morley reforms shall be made effective, by not outnumbering the representatives on the Supreme and Provincial Legislatures with official members; the representatives are in a perpetual minority, and can only criticise, they cannot legislate. Gradually, all members of such bodies should be elected, and the Government should be responsible to the Legislature.

The Press Act must be abolished, and Press criticism must not be regarded as sedition. The sweeping clauses of the Act can catch legitimate criticism within the net of sedition, and every Indian editor lives under the sword of Damocles. The promise of protection by the revision of the High Court has proved to be a delusion, and amendment at least should be granted if abolition be refused.

Indian candidates for the Services should be placed on an equality with English ones by the establishment of simultaneous examinations; at present the Imperial Services, which give higher social position and higher pay—the Civil Service, the Medical, the Educational, the Bar, the Engineering—can only be entered by residence in England. When the youths come over to England they find difficulties placed in their way; the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge restrict admission, the Medical colleges are doing the same, the Bar has raised the conditions of admission, the Institute of Engineers demands higher qualifications from the Indian than from the English students.

The separation of the executive and judicial functions of the magistrates is needed for the fair administration of justice; counsel, witnesses, litigants have to follow an inconsiderate magistrate who fixes a place 20 miles away for a hearing, to suit his convenience for other work. The unfairness is admitted, but no remedy is found.

Representation on the India Council is asked for, and this will probably be granted, though to a lesser degree than is asked.

Now that there is talk of federating the Empire, this question of India becomes pressing. Great Britain, Ireland the Colonies, are spoken of as federated countries; India is always left out. If she is shut out of the Empire as a self-governing country, will she be to blame if she refuses to remain in it as a dependency? If her sons are shut out of the Colonies, will she be to blame if she shuts out all colonials? If the white man lords it over the Asiatic outside Asia, shall not the Asiatic be at least his own master within Asia? The educated Indian is a highly cultured, courteous, noble-hearted, patriotic gentleman; is he always to be shut out from the best in his own country? Is he never to be free among free men? Is he never to be estimated by his character, his brain, and his heart, but always by the colour of his skin? There is no finer class in the Empire than that composed of the educated Indians. They offer an intelligent loyalty, the loyalty of citizens and of free men. Will it be for the Empire if it rejects their love and disregards their loyalty. For India is awakened into national self-consciousness, and her tie with Great Britain can only be preserved by her freedom. Free, she will be the buttress of the Empire; subject, she will be a perpetual menace to its stability.



Lord Kitchener's Report on Egypt.

We reproduce the following extracts from Lord Kitchener's annual report on Egypt:—

THE CAPITULATIONS.

Very brief reference is made to the Mixed Tribunals and the Capitulations. In the concluding paragraphs of the Introduction we read:—

I have little to add to the remarks which I made last year on the subject of the Mixed Tribunals, though, so far as procedure is concerned, I am glad to be able to note that some little progress has been made of late. In my immediately preceding report I was able to record the introduction of certain reforms in the procedure for the recovery of mortgage debts, and for the seizure and sale of land in execution proceedings. Some further improvements in procedure, of a more general character, were effected in the past year. A new law has abolished certain dilatory proceedings, by means of which unscrupulous debtors were enabled to delay their creditors and retard the payment of their debts. The same law has

Also restricted third-party claims in execution proceedings, reduced delays in the service of writs, amended the regulations as to costs, and introduced some other minor reforms in the existing system.

But the main question of organisation remains unsolved. Nor am I able to foresee the possibility of effecting any radical improvement in a situation the faults of which are inherent in the existing system of the "Capitulations." The fundamental modification of this system has been urged in the annual reports emanating from this Agency for many years past, and it may be hoped that a settlement of the question will not now be much longer delayed.

PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

The Public Health Department receives much attention in the Introduction. It is noted that the Lunacy Section has been made into a separate Department, and that the Veterinary Section has been handed over to the Ministry of Agriculture, which will give the P.H.D. a "freer hand and more time to deal with problems appertaining to the health of the people."

The Ophthalmic Division has been strengthened by the addition of two inspecting surgeons, so that, in addition to the director, there is now a staff of four inspecting surgeons and thirty hospital surgeons.

So far as the central organisation is concerned, a Board of Health, composed of five members with the Director-General of the Public Health Department as president, is being formed. It is to be a consultative and advisory body without executive duties. The opinion of this Board will be taken on all important subject.

These additions and changes will enable the Public Health Department to take up the investigation of the more prevalent diseases, such as ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis, which are so widely disseminated through the Delta, and cripple so large a percentage of the population, thus seriously affecting the economic condition of an agricultural country like Egypt. The ova of bilharziasis have been recently discovered in the tissues of mummies of the Twentieth Dynasty, and it is therefore high time that serious steps should be taken to prevent the continuity of infection that has been going on so long in this country. Pellagra, infectious eye diseases generally such as acute ophthalmia and trachoma, typhus fever, and other kindred diseases, and the causes of the abnormally high rate of infantile mortality, will all be subjected to a most careful examination.

HEALTH IN THE VILLAGES.

The remarks upon the sanitary—or insanitary—condition of the average Egyptian village are full of interest:—

In the villages throughout the country we find conditions favourable to the life history of the parasites giving rise to such diseases as ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis, which depend for their spread on conditions of soil and water and insanitary surroundings such as are usually found in this country. It is only within comparatively recent years that sanitary reforms have been applied to Egypt, and these mainly in the large towns and health resorts. The results of these returns have been sufficiently encouraging to warrant their extensions in a modified manner to the villages.

The construction of the villages and their surroundings are generally such that a standard of sanitary excellence in accordance with Western notions can only be very slowly achieved. The houses are overcrowded congeries of mud walls, badly built and badly ventilated. There is generally an entire lack of conservancy arrangements, and man and domestic animals live in close relations. The water supply is mainly from canals which are open to all sorts of contamination, and as the subsoil water is near the surface, pools abound almost everywhere and a condition of thing exists which we find suitable to the development of ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis. Further, to build a village mud bricks have to be made, and the consequent removal of soil causes depressions round each village. These are subsequently filled with stagnant subsoil water polluted with organic matter of all sorts, thus creating a fruitful source of disease. These so-called "biraks" are gradually being filled up, with evident advantage to the health of the inhabitants. The land thus reclaimed is useful for relieving the congestion in the village and to provide open spaces for the inhabitants.

Within the last few years much has been done to improve the sanitary conditions of the country; and it is gratifying to note that the people themselves "have to some extent overcome their dislike of sanitary measures":—

The notification of infectious diseases is now general, and concealment is the exception and not the rule, as formerly. The people no longer object to be isolated for infectious diseases. They come willingly for medical help, and increased facilities are being afforded them to obtain first aid, especially in cases of infantile diseases. It is a very striking fact that a few years ago

it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to account for and medically examine pilgrims who return to their homes from the Hedjaz. This now proceeds quite smoothly, and instead of being run to earth with difficulty in their villages, they come of their own accord to be examined.

In this connection a remark elsewhere (P. 11) of the Report is of interest:—

Hospital accommodation in Egypt has been slightly increased, and a satisfactory feature is that a larger number of patients now come voluntarily into the hospitals. The prejudice which has existed for so many years in Egypt against hospitals of all kinds is gradually disappearing. This is chiefly due to the fact that the Egyptian medical officer who staff these hospitals are better educated and more efficient in their work than in years gone by. The standard of nursing has also been raised, and more attention is given to the training of the attendants.

As one of the means for improving the sanitary condition of the villages the Report suggests.

The organisation of a system of village sanitary inspection, consisting of about one inspector for ten villages, who would report to the Markaz doctor all that happened in regard to health questions and sanitary matters in the villages under his charge. A soldier who had served his time and become a non-commissioned officer in the Egyptian Army, with a little training in this kind of work, would probably make a very suitable sanitary inspector. The improvement in the villages themselves would then proceed on lines of proper conservancy (which would do much to prevent ankylostoma and bilharzia infections), the filling up of "biraks," the erection of decent, ventilated houses, and the arrangement of a purer water supply.

The measures already taken to combat ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis by means of a travelling ankylostoma hospital have met with marked success. An active campaign is also being carried on against ophthalmia and trachoma; and the establishment of maternity schools and children's dispensaries in the provincial towns are amongst the steps already taken to check the high rate of infantile mortality.

THE FIVE-FEDDAN LAW.

Regarding the Five-Feddan law, the Report remarks that "the prediction that the diminution of credit caused by the law would force sales of land and lead to evasion of the law has not been borne out by events. Sales of the land of the category affected by the law show, on the contrary, a decrease, while the number of cases of contracting out of the law have been so few as to be entirely negligible." A table shows that the number of properties of 5 feddans and less under debt is 619,107; their total area, 619,214 feddans; the total indebtedness of their owners, £E15,990,360—which gives an average of £25.828 per debtor. And the Report observes:—

It will be seen from the above table that the appalling weight of approximately £E16,000,000 of debt has to be borne by the poorest class of cultivators of the soil in this country, and is distributed amongst only 5 per cent. of the population. The fact that an average of over £E25 per feddan of debt exists on a very large number of properties, constitutes, when the high rate of interest is considered, a dangerous financial situation for a considerable number of their owners.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

The bulk of the section of the Report dealing with the financial situation of the country consists of extracts from the Financial Adviser's Note on the Budget (which was fully dealt with in *The Near East* of April 3). Lord Kitchener expresses his concurrence with that Note generally, and his opinion that the changes introduced this year "represent a very important improvement in the administration of the finances of the country," and that "great credit attaches to the officials who are responsible for their inception and elaboration." Regarding the Egyptian debt we read:—

On December 31, 1912, the total outstanding capital of the Debt was £91,349,680, and the charge on account of interest and sinking fund £E3,552,000. Debt to the amount of £147,140 was paid off during the year. The total capital therefore amounted to £91,202,540 on December 31, 1913, and the annual charge for interest and sinking fund to £E3,552,000.

It has, however, to be borne in mind that stock to the extent of £5,459,920 is held either by the Government or by the Commissioners of the Debt. The interest on this amount is £E200,000.

The total amount of Debt in the hands of the public was therefore, at the end of last year, £88,472,620, involving an annual charge of £E3,352,000

RAILWAYS.

The railways estimates provide for the completion of the Zifta-Zagazig line and the continuation of the Zayat-Menuf line. The new bridge over the Ibrahimia Canal at Assiut will be

completed, and that over the Nile at Embaba will be continued. Work will be begun on the new station at Alexandria and on the new Pont-Limon station in Cairo. Provision is also made for relaying of track, improvements to stations and signalling, construction of staff quarters, additional rolling stock, and improvements of the Upper Egypt auxiliary lines.

1913 has not been such a good year for the railways as 1912. There has been a decrease in traffic and a corresponding reduction in receipts, which are £E3,819,000, as compared with £E3,916,000 in 1912. The decrease is mainly in cotton and cotton seed, but also to a small extent in building material, sugar, and onions. The number of passengers travelling has decreased some-what, mainly owing to the new Cantonal Courts, which have enabled people to get their minor cases settled without travelling to the towns.

The auxiliary railways of Upper Egypt show a slight increase in earnings compared with 1912. Passengers have increased. This is mainly due to the opening of the Beni Suef-Lahun line. The Luxor-Aswan line has done well. There is a slight decrease in receipts, as in the other branches, but the reduction in expenditure more than counterbalances the loss in receipts.

The total length of the light railways of Egypt (*viz.*, the Egyptian Delta Light Railways, the Chemins de Fer de la Basse-Egypte, and the Fayum Light Railway) now open amounts to 1,280 kilom., an increase of 32 kilom. as compared with 1912. The increase is due to a new line from Sahib to Ballim, which has been constructed by the Delta Light Railway Company.

AGRICULTURE.

A table (page 28) gives the total areas under the chief crops in 1913 as being:—Cotton, 1,723,091 feddans; wheat, 1,305,578 feddans; barley, 369,158 feddans; rice, 212,367 feddans; maize, 1,632,556 feddans; millet, 220,204 feddans; and sugar, 48,168 feddans.

There is a growing demand for Government cotton-seed, 90,096 ardebs having been distributed to cultivators in 1912, as compared with 12,273 ardebs the previous year.

Cotton-seed breeding at Giza and Qorashia has resulted in the production of four new strains of cotton. These have been submitted to a committee of experts in Alexandria, who recommended one variety for propagation on an increased scale. By subsequent experiments it is hoped to obtain an earlier maturing cotton which can be harvested before the boll-worm has time to hatch.

By means of thirty-eight demonstration farms, during the past year endeavours have been made to show the small farmer how to improve the cultivation of the soil by employing the means and labour at his disposal in a more intelligent and economical manner than formerly.

The unduly large discharge outlets from the canals have been replaced by pipes of varying dimensions, according to the size of the area to be served. It is hoped that this change will tend to check the over-watering of the soil, an irresistible temptation to a peasantry who have for centuries had to contend with summer drought, and thus minimise the risk of over-saturation, which is as bad for the cotton crop as insufficient moisture. Experiments in the application of water on the soil have been continued, but with varying results in different localities, due, perhaps, to low flood.

The measures taken against the cotton worm, the common boll-worm, and the pink boll-worm are described in detail.

As to cotton markets (*halaqas*) we reap:—

Experience in 1912 has shown that certain of these *halaqas* were badly situated. These have been suppressed and others opened to replace them in more suitable localities. There has been a remarkable discrepancy in the results obtained by the *halaqas* in different districts. In certain places they have met with great success and evidently respond to a long-felt need; in others they have failed to meet with much support. On the whole there has been an increase of approximately 50,000 kantar entering the *halaqas* in 1913, as compared with the previous season.

An arrangement for the sale in the *halaqas* (by the Provincial Councils on behalf of the Khedivial Agricultural Society) of manure "has been an unqualified success, and is being extended."



Russia and England.

(By H. G. WELLS.)

[MR. WELLS has a faculty for observation among the best possessed by a modern writer. He has just been to Russia for the first time. He sees there a striking similarity in outward appearance between the English and the Russian, a similarity that America usually does not think of as existing between these races. But when it comes to essentials of character and thought he believes the Russians are very different from the English, simpler and more direct. And they care more for spiritual things.]

"And about our difference, that naturally is a large part of my aimful, for the first interest of the foreign visitor to any country is the making of comparisons. Are the English and Russian remarkably alike or remarkably dissimilar? So far as the look of things goes, it is the likeness surprises me. Russians certainly look more like Englishmen than any other people I have ever been among. They not only look like Englishmen but they move like Englishmen, they hold their hands, and arms and sit in chairs like Englishmen and their disposition in customs is English. And the Russian women are English too, with a kind of natural freshness and an inattention to smartness that contrasts vividly with the French or American women. They are far more English than the Americans in style and carriage and intonation. You can tell whether people talking in the next room are English or American, but not whether they are English or Russian. Coming to Russia as I did by way of Berlin this similarity of Russian and English was the more striking. In Berlin one could distinguish English people thirty yards off. In Russia they are indistinguishable. The audiences at the performances of the 'Three Sisters' and 'Hamlet' that I watched at the Moscow Art Theatre might have been the younger and brighter half of the London Fabian Society the people that poured out into the corridors, from the Ballet might have poured out of the Albert Hall. The crowd in the streets, more particularly in the evenings after the shop are lit, is exactly like an English crowd except that most of the men wear fur hats and caps instead of bowlers and that there are no soft felt hats at all. Only once or twice have I been struck by an un-English physiognomy in the population. One of these occasions was when I visited the St. Petersburg People's Place. At that popular assembly there were many Finns and also a number of Great Russian soldiers who had a peculiar broad facial type that is rarely seen in England.

"They reminded me of Gorky and like him they were tall men and they moved slowly and thoughtfully. But the mass of the gathering in its physique and manners was exactly like what one would see at a festival in the People's Place at Whitechapel except that there were far fewer Semitic faces. And the distinctive beards and caps of the cabmen in St. Petersburg and Moscow bring out the fact that many of them have pointed noses with incurved bridges, a sort of nose that is uncommon in Britain. But is it just the universal likeness that throws up peculiar individuals and peculiar little features of this sort. I find I sit easily with Russian even when we cannot exchange a word of comprehensible speech, I feel I know what their motives and what their movements are going to be and why they look at me and what they are going to think. Our English sources of information about Russia come from peculiar people who suffer from peculiar grievances. They had left me quite unprepared for this intimate resemblances.

"Subsequent experience have not removed this first impression of an astonishing resemblance and sympathy; they have only added to it something else. And that something else is realization of a profound difference. I perceive now more clearly than I did at first that not only are the Russian and the English as alive as two gloves but that they are as different as left and right. They are as different as east and west, as positive and negative, as midday and midnight, albeit the figures are the same. Or perhaps, to take a better image, they are as different as a wood engraving and a color print of exactly the same thing.

"I do not discover any explanation for this difference. I cannot even say whether it is something in the training and tradition or something in the race. It comes to me in a variety of aspect and all I can do is to tell just one or two of the chief of these. And quiet the chief is that the Russian is profoundly religious. Italy abounds in noble churches because the Italian are artists and architects; a church is an essential part of the old English social system; but Moscow glitters with two thousand crosses because the people are organically Christian. I feel in Russia that for the first time in my life I am in a country where Christianity is alive. The people I saw crossing themselves whenever they passed a church, the bearded men who kissed the relics in the church of the Assumption, the unkempt grave-eyed pilgrim with ragged bundle on his back and his little tin tea-kettle slung in front of him, who was standing quite still beside a pillar in the same church, have no parallel in England. In comparison England is altogether irreligious. The English churches in our city street and strand, as it were, apart and forgotten; Saint Paul's cathedral floats over London like a neglected ornament in a busy house; if you go in you will find the most beautiful music, the most appreciative of audiences—for it is an audience, not a congregation—and no sense of worship. Visibly as invisibly and all it symbolizes is made up of shadowy grays and delicate visibly as invisibly Saint Paul's cathedral in London lines and soft indistinctnesses, in supreme contrast with the

wrought brass, the burnished gold, the chanting and the smell of incense of Russia.

"Now it is remarkable that when I turn from the Russian altars to what I suppose is the pole of Russian life, to the intelliganza and to the life of the skeptical classes as I find it represented in plays and novels and the stories that are told to me, I still find exactly the same contrast with England. It is not therefore a mere difference of creed that we are dealing with. I still find the Russians earnest and simple and warm and religious. He still believes in a real presence. In the crisis of life the emancipated Russian stops to talk philosophy and weigh moral values as his orthodox brother prays or goes upon a pilgrimage. These things are more real to them than action. For both of them there is a tribunal where verdicts matter more than the bare facts, the practicalities of life, the superficialities of life. They may give that tribunal different names or no name at all, but it is there, inside them. 'But what is the good of talking now?' asks the Englishman in an extremity, confessing himself entirely engaged by practicality. In an extremity the Russian always talks.

"From plays and books I could, if I had the industry, extract a hundred instances to point this comparison. It is manifest even in suicide. The Englishman kills himself on practical grounds, because the game is up, because he is disgraced, because there is nothing else to be done. He kills himself, I admit rarely. Russians will tolerate misfortunes and ignominies and their own misbehaviour to an extent that Englishmen would declare intolerable and on the other hand kill themselves on a high theoretical score, because life is imperfect or will inadequate or love has gone astray. It is not that they are less realist than the English but because their sense of reality goes deeper. That I think, I must generalize, is the key to very many of the contrasts between us. The English seem to have no real beliefs, their church is a phantom, their monarchy a constitutional influence, their lives ruled by appearances and uncontrolled by conscience and heart-searchings. No man talks of his religion or discusses his aims in life it may be that Englishmen have no religion and no aims in life. In default there is respectability. In Russia things are taken seriously. The Russian's soul, just as his churches and his pictures and his children's toys, is done in stronger, simpler, more emphatic colors. His religion is real, his monarchy is real, his life is a business of passionate self-examination, because he has faith. Russia is full of faith, overflowing with faith, the ointment runs down upon the beard; and I who am an Englishman and have thought much of England all my life, do not know whether England has any faith at all or if only it is very subtly and deeply hidden."—*Harper's Weekly*.



Journalism in India.

In one of his earlier volumes Kipling has a vivid description of an Indian newspaper office on a hot weather night—a description calculated to give pause to the most enthusiastic aspirant to journalistic honours, says a writer in *St. Andrew*, the Scottish Church Magazine. Some of Kipling's pictures are doubtless drawn from his powerful imagination, but when he wrote about newspaper work in Lahore he was simply recalling his own personal experiences. For Kipling began life in a newspaper office, and I sometimes think it is a pity he ever sought a wider sphere of labour. It has sometimes seemed to me that Kipling is not a man of letters—he is only a glorified journalist. And, as everybody knows, there is a big difference between the literary man and the journalist. But I am disagreeing.

My first editor in India, by the way, was also the bear-leader of Rudyard Kipling. 'Yes,' he used to say, 'I was helping to run the—*Gazette* when Buddy Kipling came, an ugly duckling—a very ugly duckling he was, too—to Lahore.' And in proof of this, he showed me a little paper-covered book which afterwards, I suppose, became very valuable—a first edition of 'Departmental Ditties,' I think it was, on the flyleaf of which were written two verses, in Kipling's autograph, inscribed 'To A. M.' and beginning as follows:—

Between the paste pot and the hears,

The awful emblems of my trade—

First fruits of two hot Indian years—

These rhymes were made.

The second verse hails Macdonald (formerly editor of the *Englishman*) as 'pastmaster of my craft'—and Kipling never spoke a truer word. Andrew Macdonald was not only one of the most distinguished journalists who have ever laboured in India, but also the most brilliant and cultured conversationalist I have ever listened to.

UNDER THE PUNKHA.

Well, journalism in India is, like other occupations carried on in his country, a warm business. The electric fan has modified

that condition a good deal, especially at night; but there were few tasks more trying than writing paragraphs or reading proofs in the small hours of the morning when the *punkawalla* had gone to sleep, and you couldn't spare the time to go and wake him, because the printers were howling for copy, and the paper was going to bed in an hour or two.

The journalist who comes to India from an English paper must be prepared to find a moral atmosphere less robust than prevails at Home in England, if anybody ventured to go up to a reporter, and offer him money in order to hush up a case, that case would be reported with special headlines as a protest against the insult. But in India the reporters are just the other way. One speedily finds out that a great many cases are reported, or left out because someone has bribed, or has omitted to bribe the reporter. I have even heard of editors being 'got at,' but in such cases I feel sure that they must have been editors who had never served any apprenticeship to English journalism. Whatever charge may be levelled against the English newspaper man—of sensationalism, of partizanship, or of Daily Telegraphese—he is absolutely incorruptible.

THE REPORTER'S ARTFUL AID.

Then, again, some reporters have a festive way of introducing their own comments into the report of a case before the High Court. The very first night I ever took late duty in India I came across a proof of the report of a case in which the reporter had calmly inserted a gloss of his own in reporting a speech from the Bench! If that interpolation had gone in the paper would certainly have been committed for contempt of court, I struck it out.

Strange as it may seem, the English journalist in India may be said to wield a greater influence than his 'confrere' at Home. I mean he may exercise a more direct influence upon events. After all, the average statesman, or politician at Home is not often influenced by what he sees in the press—when he does see it. He is so accustomed to being blackguarded and found fault with by the journals which cater for the other side that he becomes case-hardened. The statesman, or official in this country, is in quite a different position. He seems to develop a curious sensitiveness on the subject of press criticism, and I have heard of high officials being so upset by things that have been said about them in the papers, that they have been known to drop their monocles out of their optics through sheer nervousness.

BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR.

The most remarkable instance in my experience of what can be done by a newspaper in the way of bringing pressure to bear even upon a high and mighty Government like that of India happened a long time ago when plague was a new experience for India—so new, in fact that it had not reached Calcutta at all. It was understood to be 'raging' in Bombay but it had not attempted to cross India and naturally the Calcutta people were not in the least anxious that it should. One fine day however the proprietor of the paper which then monopolised my energies received private information that the Government of India proposed to rail Haj pilgrims from the Bombay side down to Diamond Harbour, where a camp was to be established for them, and whence the pilgrim ships were to convey them to the Hedjaz. We knew there would be a row over this, if it became known because if any cases were reported in the camp at Diamond Harbour Calcutta would inflict a blow upon her trade. My proprietor accordingly made a determined attempt to interview the Viceroy who was then in Calcutta but was refused an audience as his Excellency was just about to start for Barrackpur. The Burra Sahib offered to go to Barrackpur to see him but this offer was civilly declined.

Then he got angry. 'Look here' he said to me, when his second attempt failed, 'we have now got to show this thing up. Just write me a strong article pointing out the madness of this scheme and see whether that will not have some effect.'

I wrote an article about it, accordingly pitching it fairly strongly and the result far exceeded my modest expectations. This article appeared on Monday morning. In an hour telegrams were speeding to the tea districts in Assam, the jute districts in Bengal, the coal districts—everywhere. At noon a special meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was held to protest against the idea; and this protest, together with similar resolutions passed at a number of centres in Assam and Bengal was forwarded to the Government before nightfall. Simultaneously the Home cables were set in motion. The protests were telegraphed to London and appeared in the evening papers. A question was put in the House of Commons that night; and the very next morning the Home Government cabled out orders to stop the business. A crowded 24 hours was it not? Experiences like this make one feel for the time being that one is not quite the fly upon the wheel that one is apt to imagine oneself generally. It makes up for a lot—for the climate, the low ideals which surround one, the difficulties of bringing out a paper at all, the feeling that one is remote from the full tide of political and social life which flows so strongly through the great arteries of Europe.

Supplement to The Comrade, Delhi, dated the 20th June 1914.

THE MOHAMMADAN TRACT AND BOOK DEPOT, PUNJAB. (Kutub Khana-i-Islami, Punjab,) Lahore.

This Depot was opened after long and careful consideration. Its main object is the publication of books the study of which would not only be a source of pleasure, but also afford moral and spiritual instruction, teaching men to hate vice and love virtue; to bear a good moral character; to shun evil company; to regard the Supreme Being with due awe and reverence; to kindle a desire for piety, to fulfil the duties laid upon man by God; to promote mutual sympathy and good will; to put away prejudice, malice, annoyance, irreligiosity, bigotry, disobedience, &c.; and especially to become perfectly acquainted with the Tenets of Islam, in order to be able to successfully cope with its opponents; and lastly to have a true and complete knowledge of our illustrious predecessors and their glorious deeds.

Though hundreds of valuable books and tracts treating of the above subjects have already been published from time to time the majority of them have the disadvantage of being bulky volumes dealing with abstruse doctrines in Persian or Arabic and are sold at very high prices. The general public can neither afford to buy them nor do they possess ability sufficient to master them or have time to search out important facts therefrom. In plain words, there are few books to be found in simple Urdu or simple English suitable to the tastes of the rising generation and the public at large. The promoters have, therefore, resolved to undertake the task of propagating such books as are capable of meeting the aforesaid wants; several of these having been translated into English for the benefit to those who possess a special taste for the language; and this plan will in future, always be observed. The books that are in both English and Urdu will, it is hoped, be of considerable help to students and those who desire to improve their English. Another advantage expected from the works in English is that such non-Muslims and others as are desirous of learning the principles of Islam and can read no language except English will study them, which while satisfying them will serve the purpose of spreading a knowledge of the tenets of Islam.

1. *APOLOGY FOR MOHAMMAD AND THE QURAN By John Davenport, the book is divided into four parts. (1) Biography of Mohammad; (2) the Quran and its Marvellousness; (3) The Charges against Mohammad refuted; (4) Beauties of the Quran. The author acknowledged the Holy Prophet to be the real Restorer of the Worship of the One True God; a great religious reformer and legislator, and one of the rarest and most transcendent geniuses the world has ever produced. From its contents it is apparent that the book is worthy of perusal by all lovers of truth ... 0 12 0

2. *LECTURES ON ISLAM, delivered at different places in India, by Mohd. Alexander Russell Webb, late American Consul. The able lecturer is an inhabitant of America, and convinced of the insufficiency of the Christian faith entirely renounced it, devoted years to the study of almost all other religious systems of the world, none of which satisfied him. Further search after truth led him to Islam, which he embraced after thorough study. This pamphlet would serve as a guide to all who seek truth ... 0 4 0

3. ISLAMIC PRAYERS, (Namaz) Islamic Prayers or Divine Services in English, with necessary instructions, Duas, Private Prayers, Sermons, a Table of Periods, and Names of Prayers, with a tract on prayer, &c.

4. MERITS OF ISLAM, OR THE PRIMITIVE FAITH. By U. B. H. Snow, M.A., a Catechism of Religious Belief with a compendium of notes based on reason and divine authority, founded on history, logic, science, philosophy and common sense, and recommended to the notice of conscientious, liberal-minded and sensible people of all classes and creeds ... 0 3 0

5. *MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF VARIOUS RELIGIONS OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABS, a useful book, giving an insight into the character of the Arabs ... 0 3 0

6. SABBAH MO-ALQA. The famous book of poems of different poets. Best English translation from Arabic ... 0 10 0

7. FAITH OF ISLAM. An explanatory sketch of the principal Fundamental Tenets of the Muslim Religion, by W. H. Quilliam, President of the Muslim Institute, Liverpool. 0 4 0

8. FANATICS AND FANATICISM. A lecture delivered by W. H. Quilliam on his renouncing Christianity and embracing Islam. He found that he was looked upon as a species of monomaniac and when he endeavoured to induce people to discuss the respective merits of the two religions he was either laughed at or insulted and was styled as a fanatic. In this lecture the author

has stated that there has been a number of different bands of men to whom from time to time the same opprobrious appellation has been applied, and cites instances of George Stephenson, Mr. Rowland, &c., &c., the pioneers of present day civilisation. The book should be in the hands of all who have a scientific turn of mind and wish religious truth to be practically proved to them. 0 4 0

9. POLYGAMY. A lecture delivered by Dr. Mohammad Abdul Gani, B.A. The lecturer has proved by good reasons that a man might have more wives than one if his object of the gratification of his desire, the purity of his mind, and obtaining good offspring—are not accomplished by marrying one wife provided his condition and bodily strength enable him to observe justice towards them all. He may have two wives or three or four, but he can never be a husband of more wives than four at the same time ... 0 2 0

10. OUR YOUNG GENERATION. By Dr. Mohammad, Abdul Gani, B.A. This lecture deals with the present time in a most suitable manner and supplies one of the wants of the age dealing as it does with our rising generation, on which depends the future of Islam to a great extent ... 0 2 0

11. EARLY MUSLIMS AND THEIR GOLDEN DEEDS. A lecture in which the lecturer dwells upon the God-fearing and truth-loving Caliphs, and what other celebrated brave, hardy and pious early Muslims after them did in the cause of faith and brotherhood, cultivating knowledge, sciences and arts. The lecture further compares the present deplorable condition of Muhammadans to what it was. A very instructive booklet, 0 2 0

12. ESSAY on the question whether Islam has been beneficial or injurious to human society in general and, in relation to the Moslem and Christian dispensations. The subject has been treated in an impartial spirit, free from illiberality, prejudice and acrimony. The subject matter is divided into four lectures—1 On the Advantages derived by Human Society in general from Islam, 2—Refutation of the accusation that Islam has been injurious to Human Society. 3—Benefits and Advantages which Judaism and Christianity derived from Islam. 4—Advantages derived from Islam by Christianity in particular, 0 3 0

13. WOMEN IN ISLAM. By Sayad Amir Ali, M.A., C.I.E., Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal, India, with the addition of the three articles from the *Musalliman* of India. From what has been said by the European world on the subject one is apt to draw a one-sided and therefore wrong conclusion, and

corrective becomes necessary, which our pamphlet supplies. In view of the importance of the subject we recommend the book to all impartial readers, coming as it does from such a high authority as Sir Syad Amir Ali ... 0 4 0

14. *PROPAGATION OF ISLAM. By Nawab Mohsan-ul-Mulk, translated into English. The love of the author for his religion is well-known and hence requires no introduction, suffice it to say that his reasonable proposals for the spread of Islam are worthy of study ... 0 4 0

15. THE DOCTRINES OF TRANSMIGRATION OF SOUL REFUTED. The lecture delivered by a Brahmo ... 0 1 0

16. THE HERO AS PROPHET. A lecture by Thomas Carlyle. No one is unacquainted with the proficiency with which Carlyle has dealt with the subject in his Hero and Hero Worship. It just became the learned author to take a general view of "heroism" and trace it in all Epoch-making men, and he touches the highest mark in his Hero as Prophet. The book is worth the study of Muslims, coming as it does from a Christian ... 0 2 0

17. MOHAMMADANISM. By G. W. Leitner, L.L.D. It is a lecture delivered by the author at South Place Chapel, London. The author is well known Oriental Scholar but what lends interest to the present work is that his views of Islam differ from those of Sir William Muir whom he accuses for misrepresenting Mohammadanism. Coming from such a learned man, the book assumes a particular interest for Muslims ... 0 4 0

18. PRAYER BOOK FOR MUSLIMS. By U. Hamid Snow, Author of the "Merits of Islam." Suffice it to say that the author being a convert to Islam has poured forth his enthusiasm in metres with such effect that even a Mohammadan reading that pamphlet cannot fail to be struck by the ethical spirit breathed in it ... 0 2 0

19. *FOSTER'S ESSAY ON DECISION OF CHARACTER. People have read Mr. Smile's work on Character, but the present pamphlet possesses a peculiar charm of its own and is recommended to all ... 0 2 0

20. TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. Many books, no doubt, have been written on Islam and different have been the views expressed by different writers but very few have represented it in its true light, and this is what the present pamphlet aims at doing. It serves as a truthful guide to a religion which counts upon millions as its adherents, and to the believers, dazzled by the western light if so it can be called, the worth of the religion they hold to how to practice it and how successfully to live it out. It is a book that none should really be without it ... 0 3 0

21. TOUCHSTONE OF PHILOSOPHERS By M. Ghulam Mohammad of Rander. This book was intended to be a present to the delegates of creeds at the Great International Exhibition at Chicago and now it becomes a present to all ... 0 4 0

22. PROOF OF PROPHET MOHAMMAD FROM THE BIBLE. We specially recommend this to Muslims, for although there have been dissertations on the life of the prophet by most important English writers, but it required special effort to prove his prophethood from the Bible and we trust our readers will appreciate the labour ... 0 4 0

23. A LECTURE ON FRIENDSHIP. A useful pamphlet on the subject ... 0 1 0

24. *A COLLECTION OF 252 AUTHENTICATED MIRACLES OF MOHAMMAD. By Mowlvi Inayatulla. Although the beauties of Islam lie in its preaching the unity of God, yet it is required to be borne out by the unique character of the messenger which must prove equal to all emergencies, and it is in this want which this booklet supplies for English readers ... 0 6 0

25. TREATISE ON JEHAD. By Mowlvi Abu Said Mohammad Hossain. In this pamphlet the noted author has taken great pains to prove that Jihad is not what Europe in its ignorance has understood by it but that personal safety and the propa-

gation of "faith" is chiefly meant thereby? ... 0 3 0

26. *TRUE MANHOOD. A lecture particularly suitable for students working up for a worthy name, ... 0 1 0

27. INTER-RELIGIONARY AMITY. The lecture takes up the question whether it is possible from the Islamic point of view for Muslims to be friendly and affectionate to aliens in religion? The answer is most philosophically borne home to the readers which renders the book interesting ... 0 1 0

28. FITRATULLA, a Lecture, (English Translation) delivered by Dr. Mowlvi Nazir Ahmad Khan, L.L.D., at one of the Anniversaries of the Anjuman-i-Himayet-i-Islam. We need not expatiate on the importance of this book being in the hands of Mussalmans, the author's name being a sufficient guarantee of the marked ability with which the subject has been dealt with ... 0 2 0

29. TREASURY OF PROVERBS AND EXHORTATIONS The value of the Treasury can hardly be expressed in words, it must be treasured up in mind, and well thought over to be of any use, being the outcome of a life's experience of wise men and prophets ... 0 3 0

30. THE ALCHEMY OF HAPPINESS OR THE KEY TO ETERNAL BLISS. This booklet affords a complete view of Theosophy as understood in these days. The author K. F. Mirza, Deputy Collector, Nowshera, has left nothing to bring on beauties of the Islamic Theosophy as compared with other theocratic religions. We recommend this book to every Muslim, ... 0 6 0

31. MATERIALISM AND ATHEISM REFUTED. By James Freeman Clarke. The necessity for such a work in these days cannot be sufficiently expressed and though from a Christian point of view, the subject is very ably dealt with ... 0 4 0

32. THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS, by Amina. The authoress is a European convert to Islam, and her antiquarian interests find an expression in these. In fact she tries to find the beginning of religious feeling in intuition, tracing it to ages backwards, ... 0 3 0

33. BACKBITERS AND SLANDERERS. This is much more an exposition of Surah 41 of the Holy Quran, the moral effect of which is admittedly enormous, and may be read with great benefit ... 0 2 0

34. WOMEN UNDER ISLAM THEIR SOCIAL STATUS AND LEGAL RIGHTS. By Miss Lacy. The actual experience of such souls as Miss Lacy who never rest satisfied unless they see things for themselves contribute much to clear away the mist of ignorance that hung before Europe's eyes for a long time and led to the condemnation of Islam off-handedly as a most "inhuman" religion. This Lady's residence in Turkey and personal contact with the harem enables her to speak with opinion in truly a contribution to Islamic literature ... 0 4 0

35. THE MUSLIM WARS. A Critical Exposition of the popular Jihad, by Mowlvi Charagh Ali. The author has most ingeniously tried to prove by historical facts that most of the Islamic wars were defensive, and waged on the same principle as now recognised by Europe itself "to save and keep one's own." As the question (of Jihad) disturbed the mind of the whole of Europe at one time and even still does, in some places, it would be well for the English educated to what our Prophet's Jihad was. They would do well to buy this handy, at the same time, authoritative, pamphlet ... 0 6 0

36. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ABDULLAH and MOHAMMAD SHAH. The method adopted in the discussion in explaining the Chief Islamic Tenets is just what would suit our present generation of young gentlemen. The book is an outcome of a long study of their novelistic turn of mind ... 0 4 0

37. FIFTY PRETTY STORIES WITH FIFTY USEFUL MORALS. How useful, and in cases necessary, such books are no one can deny, particularly where youthful minds are concerned. In fact such wholesome literature as would mould the character of the rising generation is a desideratum in the Islamic world.

At the end of this book is given an interesting lecture on Muslims in Spain by Mr. Amir Ali ... 0 4 0

33. **PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MOHAMMADAN PEOPLE**, English translation of Akhlaq-i-Jalali, from the Persian of Faqir Jan Mohammad Ashad, by W. F. Thompson. A single sentence of this book signifies as to its contents—"Strive ye, for every one may attain to that for which he has been constituted." It is the failure to attain this worthy goal that contributes, though indirectly, to so much human misery that we see around us. If all human powers were trained and allowed to develop in the direction naturally intended for them we may see less of this misery, and, to say the least, it is this—the training of the human faculties in the right direction—that this book has in view. We may recommend it to all who wish to lead an honourable and useful life. A very uncommon book ... 1 8 0

39. ***MANNERS AND MORALS OF THE PROPHET**. By Imam Ghizali. The very name of the Imam, so well and deservedly known and praised by Europeans, leaves nothing to be said on the subject, but we may say this much that we have had the book translated especially for our English educated gentlemen, who read of the Prophet of Arabia from prejudiced sources, and hence draw frivolous conclusions ... 0 2 0

40. **THE BEAUTIES OF ISLAM**. By Qazi Mohammad Sarfaraz Hossain. The author treats the subject under different heads, each of which is thoroughly gone into the light of the modern knowledge. He lays special stress on religious studies in the modern style ... 0 4 0

41. **SHAHNAMA**. The story of Rustam and Sohrab, by Firdausi, translated into English verse, by Robert Baker. The lively and charming style of the Persian poet loses nothing by the translation which speaks much for the translator. A very entertaining book ... 0 8 0

42. **ACCOUNT OF VEDAS**. Polytheistic Teaching of Vedas Explained and Refuted ... 0 7 0

43. **USURY** from the Islamic point of view. By Mowlvi Mohammad Ali, M. A. The author's ingenuity is remarkable, and as the matter has been discussed in different ways by different men, it assumes a particular importance in these days of progress when everything is required to be explained scientifically. Users and their opponents must study it ... 0 8 0

44. **THE PURITY OF THE TEXT OF THE HOLY QURAN**. By Mowlvi Mohammad Ali, M. A. It is next to impossible to do justice to the contents of the book in a few lines. The masterly way in which the author calls into question the authority of such noted writers as Imam Sayuti, &c., and compares traditions is a proof sufficient of his ability. As the subject is one which has exercised the brains of men of genius we recommend this book to every aesthetically minded Muslim seeking the beauty and truth of this Grand Book ... 0 9 0

45. **202 AEsOP'S FABLES WITH 202 MORALS**. No doubt the notoriety AEsop's fables have attained makes it unnecessary for us to dilate upon their usefulness, but each fable taken by itself leaves much in its true application, and it is with this view that this book has been got up. It might be useful to young and old with equal benefit, preparing the former for the life's struggle and testifying to the latter's experience in life, 0 6 0

46. **UNITY VERSUS TRINITY**. The question taken up in this book is a burning one as all would admit, and as such required a most delicate treatment. To avoid running to extreme, like Barnes, and other writers on the life of Christ and Bible, a close study of the subject was necessary, which we have not spared. As a result we invite the religious-minded—and where is the man who is not so—to take up this book and find out for himself which side the balance sways ... 0 9 0

47. **MR. SELL ON ISLAM**. Mr. Sell is but a recent representative of the school of Sprenger and Prideaux, who tried to "jump" upon Europe with their Islamic "enormities," using this as a cover to hide their crass ignorance while posing as authorities

on Islam. Time and the purity of Islamic principles have done enough to expose these antiquated views, but a refutation—not a light task—from our side was a necessity. A very handy book for Muslims ... 0 6 0

48. **AN EXHAUSTIVE DISCUSSION ON POLYGAMY PARDAH SYSTEM, DIVORCE AND SLAVERY IN ISLAM**. Those who are acquainted with the views expressed by European writers on the subjects at different times in different languages would at once admit the value of this book and hasten to read how these "biased opinions" have been disposed of in a most reasonable manner. Endeavours of Europeans—as an outcome of their ignorance of Islamic literature—have all along directed towards finding fault with whatever is Islamic and does not coincide with their own views. Moreover, as all the subjects treated of in this book have an important bearing on the development of Muslim Society, no Muslim should be without it ... 1 0 0

49. **ISLAM AS A MORAL AND POLITICAL IDEAL**. By Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M.A., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Lahore. It is a calling necessity that the young generation should take an interest in matters Islamic, and this lecture we deem as the direction which others able to tackle with the subject should take. Coming as this lecture does from an able gentleman well known to all, with remarks by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, M.A., we recommend it to the Muslim public at large ... 0 8 0

50. **BROTHERS OF PURITY**. English translation of Ikhwan-us-Safa (The contest between men and beasts). This book too commands great respect both among the Arabs and the Europeans, conveying as it does practical lessons of daily life which can hardly be learned through the whole course of a life. The beauty of this book consists most in preaching living truth in a most interesting and taking style to the readers. We have put this book within reach of the general public, and those will benefit great who would go the length of spending ten annas to possess themselves of it; it is a treasure of ages ... 0 10 0

51. **SARACENIC SCIENCE AND LITERATURE**. By M. Sala-ud-Din of Bankipore. To trace the development of the scientific and literary spirit from such a dusky period as the dawn on Arabic history is truly a work of patient study and toil and the success achieved by the author renders him in every way worthy of perusal by all interested in the progress of humanity in general and Muslims in particular. It also throws light on many other points of which Europe is still in the dark, 0 8 0

52. **THE BABI RELIGION**. By M. Mohammad Ali, M.A. After all that has been said on Babism by Count Gobineau and others the subject has never been approached from the Islamic side with such ability as has been done by the author. To have a full view of this modern 'imposition' one must read the pamphlet through ... 0 5 0

53. **SINLESSNESS OF PROPHETS**. The motif of this brilliant composition is to bring before the eyes of the reader, in a philosophical dress, those towering personalities which mark the turning points of the religious conscience of humanity, and, as divine agents to "gather the strayed sheep unto the Lord's fold," proves the sinlessness of prophets in a most convincing manner. Though treating of a somewhat difficult subject, yet the book is written in a light style and deserves to be accorded the highest rank in the Islamic Literature ... 1 0 0

54. **THE PEARLS OF THE ISLAMIC FAITH**. Islam, no doubt, is already known to some by its historical development, but its tenets have exercised the greatest brains—both for and against it—and in the publication of this pamphlet we simply meet the public half way in supplying a long felt want. The spirit of the time has obliged almost every religion to dress up "rotten bones" with new flesh, but the beauty of Islam lies in this that each one of its tenet carries conviction in a most simple manner:—**Question—** How? **Answer—** Read this book and you will find it ... 1 4

55. **THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE HOLY QURAN.** A Reply to the "Source of Islam." As logically proved in the book, Revd. Clair Tisdal Torgot, while writing his *Yasabi in Islam in Persia*, the time came that "those who live in the houses should not cast stones at others." How easily the *divine origin* of the Quran has been proved while saying Muir and Tisdal thread-bare will be torn by every one who reads this book. To say the least, we specially recommend this book to the attention of all reasonable men for the truth for its own sake. 0 10 0

56. **THE SWORD AS WIELDED BY ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY.** A COMPARISON—Comparison are truly odious but when the Christians for want of any other plea won't desist from advancing the long exploded accusation about Islam having been spread by the sword it becomes necessary to compare the two religions (Islam and Christianity) and show once for all as to which of them makes the best stand for the rights of humanity and this is done in a most satisfactory manner in the book. This manual is meant for those who love a comparative study of religions. 0 3 0

57. **THE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM.** By M. Mohammed Ali, M.A. How people generally grope in the dark for want of knowledge of the principles of a particular religion and how this lack again gives rise to notions quite contrary to what the religion is founded upon, is obvious in all literatures and it is to counteract this that this pamphlet is published. For English readers it is an actuality. 0 2 0

58. **HAS ANY BOOK BEEN REVEALED IF SO WHICH?**—In this age of Agnosticism the question—Can there be revelation at all—required to be answered, and not shirked over, but that Islam of all religions should choose to answer it, at once makes for it authenticity. The author has endeavoured to solve the problem from a religious point of view, and it is this which makes the book worth reading. 0 3 0

59. **DR. KURL KUMME'S ATTACK ON THE HOLY QURAN.** By Mr. Mohammed Timur. It was time that Dr. Kumm's vaunted Orientalism should have been put to test. With a very few exceptions European writers have always been inimically disposed towards each other, and the question

why? May be answered by ignorance of the former so far as this religion is concerned. A close study of the tenets of religion original and a mere second hand knowledge of them are two different things, and it is the latter disease that Dr. Kumm seems to be suffering from, but he finds a good expositor in M. Mohammed Timur, and with this object in view we recommend the book to our readers. 0 3 0

60. **THE DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.**—By M. Abdul Haq. For exposing the absurdity of this doctrine from the stand-point of Christianity itself the authority deserves particular credit, and those who have studied Christianity as a revealed religion will do well to read this pamphlet. It will lead them to truth. C 8 0

61. **ISLAM AND HINDUISM COMPARED.** With certain notes on certain Christian tenets. This book has not its equal on the subject and is very instructive and important. The study of this invaluable book is absolutely necessary. To a non-Muslim it will serve as a guide to know a false from a true religion and by curing his prejudice render him "citizen of the world," pages 372. 1 8 0

62. **THE SPREAD OF ISLAM.** An elaborate account of the advent and development of the Faith and the wonderful sacrifice and perseverance of the Holy prophet and his companions in propagating it. The book is very interesting and impressive, a cursory glance over it makes one believe that this religion is really from God and that the votaries sacrificed and perished gladly and wonderfully in its propagation. 0 12 0

63. **The Ideal of Womanhood in Islam.** 0 8 0

64. **THE RELIABILITY OF THE TRADITION OF THE PROPHET.** Very argumentative and important. 0 3

65. **JEWELS OF ISLAM.** Even the enemies of Islam have admitted this much that the founder of this Faith was a great regenerator of humanity and as such must be known. In this pamphlet attempt is made to instil into the minds of our student how to become religious as well as remain men of the world. 0 4 0

66. **Arabs and Their Intellectual Progress.** 0 1 0

67. **Endowment in favour of Children Relations and others** by Maulvi Abu Said Mohd. Hossain. 0 2 0

NEWS AND NOTES.

A great event of the history of 1857 is that an Englishman refused to save his life by repeating a phrase from the *Holy Koran*.

Four hundred years or so have gone since Bible stories were possible on the London stage. In recent years the censor or censors have persecuted the devil and all his ways to be treated freely by the dramatist, but any dealings with Bible themes have been sternly forbidden.

It is a fact, that a railway accident strongly touches the public imagination.

No plea of expense must be allowed to interfere with the installation of the method of signalling best calculated to give safety to the hundreds of millions who use the railways every year.

It is peculiar, that when the sinners are doomed they cry, "For God's sake help us out," but no one can rescue them from the wrath of God and man.

It would appear desirable, that at least for the future, the term "bank" "bankers", etc., should not be allowed to be used except by registered companies.

LIFE AFTER DEATH.

In his presidential address to the British Association, at Birmingham, Sir Oliver Lodge gave a very useful piece of advice to scientists. He urged the continuity of the life of matter, and appealed to scientists not to take a negative view of things outside their own special studies, but to endeavour to co-ordinate all sciences and establish some guiding and unifying principle for all to study the unknown as well as the known and to overcome their scepticism.

He concluded by declaring that he did not shrink from a personal note. Summarising the results on his own mind of thirty years' experience of psychical research by himself and his co-workers he was convinced that occurrences now regarded as occult could be examined and judged to order by the methods of science, and the facts so examined convinced him that memory and affection were not limited to that association with matter whereby alone they might manifest themselves here and now, and that personality persisted beyond bodily death.

Other works are under preparation. All communications to be addressed to—

THE MANAGER.

THE MOHAMMADAN TRACT AND BOOK DEPOT, 11, FAKRI GATE, LARNA.

Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor
of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar i-Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes : "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive in as much as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

THE ROYAL YAKUTI ANANGA VILAS.

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager, otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

London, June 17.

Sir Edward Carson stated in an interview that the only communication he had received from Mr. Asquith was a letter from the Premier before Whitsuntide, asking him to supply a map showing the positions of different parties in Ulster.

London, June 30.

Mr. Lloyd-George speaking at Denmark Hall said the Amending Bill would give every county in Ulster the option of voting itself out of the Home Rule until two general elections had occurred in England. Ulsterites had no need to shoot anybody. All they had to do was to go to the polling booth and record their opinion. A male suffragist interrupter was ejected during the meeting and thrown into a pond.

London, June 23.

The House of Lords was thronged to-day when Lord Crewe introduced the Amending Bill. His Lordship affirmed that the more they heard of the sentiments of Ulster, the more they were convinced of the profundity of religious difficulties. They made some form of exclusion imperative. He dwelt on the injustice of the total exclusion of Ulster. The Bill consequently embodied Mr. Asquith's proposal made in March for the exclusion by county. It provided for the necessary adjustments, financial and administrative, in this connection. He assured the Opposition that any amendments would receive careful consideration.

Lord Lansdowne expressed profound disappointment. He agreed that it was advisable to defer the debate. He pointed out that the Bill merely embodied Mr. Asquith's proposal which had been demolished and rejected now Lord Crewe had guilelessly submitted them as Government's utmost offer. Government knew the Bill could not prevent civil war. The House adopted the first reading.

London, June 23.

In the House of Commons, Sir Luke White (Liberal) announced that he would support Mr. Hayea-Fisher's amendment. Mr. George Roberts on behalf of the Labour members announced that his colleagues would abstain.

The Liberal dissentients to the Finance Bill have formed a group to shape the policy in the direction of economy.

London, June 23.

Though the Irish Unionist Members of the House of Commons declare that nothing will satisfy them short of clean out of the whole of Ulster from Home Rule, the general view is that a compromise is feasible and that there is no great difficulty except regarding the position of the disputed counties Fermanagh and Tyrone in comparison with which time limit is regarded as minor question.

Greece and Turkey.

Berlin, June 18.

Germany has agreed to the proposal of the Porte that the representatives of the Embassies at Constantinople shall investigate the position of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Bukharest, June 18.

The King in opening Parliament said that Rumania was determined to maintain the balance of power in the Balkans and to work for peace in Europe.

Constantinople, June 19.

The Porte's reply to Greece, though conciliatory, alludes to perturbation, produced in Asia Minor by the influx of two hundred thousand Moslem refugees from Macedonia, obliged to flee owing to persecution. The reply mentions the measures, taken to re-establish order and hopes that Greece will reciprocate in Macedonia. Nevertheless it evades Greek demands for the reinstatement of emigrants and the return of their property.

London, June 19.

The Turkish Embassy affirms that the Naval officials are here in connection with the dreadnoughts. The Embassy knows nothing about transports.

London, June 19.

Though there is still optimism in European capitals with regard to Greco-Turkish situation the lights of lighthouses on the coast of Asia Minor are not being shown and two classes of Turkish Reservists have been called out. A feeling of pessimism in Constantinople is growing. The Servian declaration supporting Greece has made a strong impression on the Porte.

London, June 20.

It is understood that the Porte may permit the return of Greek emigrants and pay an indemnity. This would mean a settlement of the difficulty with Greece.—Reuter.

Athens, June 20.

The Porte's reply is regarded in official circles as showing a desire for a friendly settlement.—Reuter.

Washington, June 23.

Greece is urging President Wilson not to oppose the sale of the battleship "Mississippi" and "Idaho." President Wilson is said to have favoured the sale if it meant the peace in the Mediterranean. Turkey has protested against the sale. The House of Representatives has voted in favour of the authorisation to sell the battleships to Greece.

Athens, July 23.

It is understood that Greece accepts Turkey's proposal for the reinstatement and compensation of refugees who have remained on the coast of Asia Minor, also the proposal for the exchange of property with regard to Turkish or Greek refugees who have left Turkish or Greek territory.

Albania.

London, June 18.

Dutch Major Droon arrived at Durazzo yesterday morning simultaneously with Malissori reinforcements over which he took command.

It was reported in Rome yesterday evening that the insurgents had surrounded and wiped out a thousand Mirdites and Malissori.

The situation at Durazzo is critical, the population being on the verge of a panic after the severe defeat of the Airdites and Malissori in the abortive surprise of the insurgents' position in the mountain when they were surrounded and mown down by quickfiring, losing 700 killed. They are poor defenders of Durazzo which was reattacked last night, the fighting lasting one and a half hours.

Durazzo, June 18.

All was quiet at Durazzo this afternoon: and reinforcements of Italian and Austrian blue-jackets were withdrawn. An Austrian ship, chartered by the Austrian Government, cruised off the coast this morning and bombarded rebel positions.

Durazzo, June 20.

Austrian and Italian warships have been instructed to fire if the Prince or Legations are endangered by a sudden insurgent attack.

The Insurgents declare that they are ready to recognise the Prince and ask for two day's armistice which has been granted.

Durazzo, June 22.

Government troops have been fighting the rebels at Karabunar and Luchina since Saturday. The Rebels drove them to-day to the River Semeni. Major Kroon has ordered a steamer to bring them to Durazzo.

Turkey and Persia.

Karachi, June 20.

The *Sind Gazette* learns from a reliable source that as a result of the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission Kasr-i-sh'rin and the oil-field of the Anglo-Persian Oil Coy., at Chia Surkab are now in Turkish territory. At Chia Surkab there is some difficulty in maintaining peace. The Turks who came to take possession of the place were repulsed by the Balian Kurds.

South Africa.

Cape Town, June 17.

The House of Assembly has passed the third reading of the Indian Relief Bill.

Cape Town, June 21.

The Senate is still discussing the second reading of the Indians Bill.

The *Natal Mercury* suggests that the Bill should be subject to the Indians having the alternative of returning to India or re-indenturing as by the repeal of the three pounds tax they are liable to become prohibited immigrants. It quotes the *Indian paper, African Chronicle*, as declaring that the state of the Indians will be worse than ever.—*Reuter*.

Cape Town, June 23.

The Senate has adopted the second reading of the Indian Relief Bill without division. The speakers expressed doubts as to whether it would effect a lasting solution of the Indian question. Some advocated that inducements should be given to Indians to return to their country.

Replying on behalf of the Government, General Smuts said that the contention that peace would not result should not prevent the Parliament from doing its plain duty in carrying out the recommendations of the commission. They could not contemplate the continuance of the policy of shooting down citizens and thereby setting distant parts of the Empire ablaze.

Writing to Senator Campbell, Mr. Gandhi denies any knowledge of the agitation against the Bill expressing that no responsible Indian has taken exception to it. He does not consider that the Bill makes Indians affected thereby prohibited immigrants. Mr. Campbell has also received an assurance from Mr. Smuts that the freedom of Indians whose indentures have expired will not be interfered with as suggested.

Cape Town, June 23.

The South African Union Assembly, debating the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Bill, has reduced the

penalties throughout. An amendment was moved by Sir Thomas Smartt making deportations applicable only in cases of persons actually convicted. The amendment was accepted by Government. A mass meeting outside the House burned a copy of the Bill.

The Baghdad Railway.

London, June 17.

The Anglo-German agreement regarding the Baghdad Railway deals with the navigation of the Tigris, the irrigation of the Mesopotamia, and the spheres of influence on the Baghdad railway and zones of prospective railway. The Anglo-Turkish negotiations are also approaching completion. Conventions delimit the Aden Hinterland. It is understood that there will be no important changes in the boundary.

The Hedjaz Pilgrims.

Bombay, June 19.

The Report of Dr. Abdul Rahaman on the Haj for the year 1912-13 states that Mecca was infected with cholera from the outset: and though it is impossible to estimate the total mortality even approximately, from 800 to 1,000 are known to have died on one day alone and this death-rate continued for a week. Dr. Abdul Rahaman believes that many of the thousands of deaths that occur in Mecca every year can be prevented with more care and forethought. The Report says that if Indian Muslims decide to come to Arabia they must do so without any idea save that of a resolute performance of religious duty in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hardships and not unlikely death. Dr. Abdul Rahaman points out that no funds will suffice to provide passages annually to such large number of pauper pilgrims, especially as that number is increasing every year; and he is convinced that the system of compulsory return-tickets is the only possible solution of this difficulty.

Mr. Tilak.

Poona, June 17.

Mr. Tilak, who arrived here this morning at 12-45, was brought by the Madras Mail up to Madapsar station where he and the party of Police officials accompanying him got down. From thence he was motored to his residence in Poona city in company with Mr. Guider and Inspector Sadawartay.

Poona, June 17.

A continuous stream of callers from early morning waited on Mr. Tilak to-day as the news of his arrival in Poona spread through the town. All the chief Police officials went through the city to see that there might be no disturbance but nothing out of common occurred. The fact that Mr. Tilak was to be released was kept secret. Mr. Tilak says that he left Mandalay on Monday afternoon, the 8th instant, and reached Rangoon early next morning. He was immediately taken on board a launch which conveyed him to an R. I. M. steamer sailed for Madras the same day. The voyage to Madras occupied nearly eight days and on landing Monday night, the 15th instant, he was put aboard the mail train for Poona accompanied by a Police escort. Instead of coming on to Poona the mail train was stopped at Madapsar, a small roadside station a couple of miles from Poona, last night and Mr. Tilak was asked to alight. He was met by Mr. Guider, Asstt. to the I. G. of Police and the head of the C. I. D. who with another officer took him in a motor car to his residence in the city which he reached about 1 this morning. It was only this morning that the people in the city learned that Mr. Tilak had returned. Further enquiries go to show that there is, however, no truth whatsoever in the report that Mr. Tilak spent two days on board the steamer at Madras. While at Mandalay he devoted most of his time to reading and writing and he has written two or three volumes of works which are still incomplete.

Bombay, June 17.

The *Advocate of India* understands that Mr. B. G. Tilak will be proceeding to England shortly to instruct Counsel in the appeal that is now pending before the Privy Council in the well-known Tai Maharaja's adoption case in which Mr. Tilak was one of the Trustees. In connection with this case Mr. Tilak was once sentenced to imprisonment for six months but was acquitted on appeal by Sir Lawrence Jenkins who was then the Chief Justice of Bombay.

Bombay, June 17.

It is expected that Mr. Tilak will spend several years in Germany devoting the remainder of his life to writing books.

It is stated that Mr. Tilak has written three books during his detention at Mandalay and they will be published at Poona.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 18.

Owners of "Komagata Maru" have emphatically cabled recalling vessel.

Victoria, June 18.

The Captain of the "Komagata" will ask for a hundred marines from the Japanese cruisers to keep order on the return journey of the rejected Indian emigrants.

Victoria, June 20.

There is no immediate prospect of a return of the "Komagata Maru" to the East. Indians are controlling the situation and refusing to allow the captain to sail. They are determined to test the exclusion of Asiatics in the courts.

The Government of British Columbia is entertaining the Japanese cruisers "Asama" and "Azum" Rear-Admiral Kuroi paid a visit to the Lieutenant-Governor and was given a public welcome with a guard of honour. The crews of the vessels have been given a civic banquet.—*Reuter*.

Ottawa, June 23.

The Dominion Government has received a telegram from Mr. Stevens, member for Vancouver, intimating that the situation in connection with the Hindus on board the "Komagata Maru" is so serious that it may necessitate the calling out of the Militia. Sir Robert Borden is giving the matter his personal attention.

Victoria, June 23.

At a meeting of eight hundred Vancouver Hindus and two hundred White sympathisers it was urged that the Dominion Government should save the Indians from the highbanded action of the Immigration Department. The Hindus would never forget nor would they forgive the authorities if the immigration situation was not remedied. The meeting decided to send telegrams to Mr. Borden and Lord Crewe to this effect.

Meanwhile further orders have reached Mr. Yamamoto, the Captain of the "Komagata Maru" to return to Kobe immediately but the problem of getting the ship away is now nearer solution.



Our London Letter.

London, June 5.

MR. JINNAH AND THE COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL.

I have already sent you Mr. M. A. Jinnah's interview in the *Daily Telegraph*, which was given prior to the formal introduction of the Council of India Bill in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe. Since the provisions of the Bill have been disclosed, bitter disappointment is being felt here by many leading representatives of Indian opinion. Lord Crewe's request last autumn for suggestions from responsible Indian quarters was heartily welcomed, but the hopes thus raised have been shattered by the publication of the text of the Bill.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in conversation with a *Daily News* representative, has emphasised some points in the new situation which has been created.

"True," is Mr. Jinnah's comment, "the Bill does propose to introduce the elective principle, but it is only a principle on paper, so to speak. Should the Secretary of State be led to select from the panel nominated by non-official members of the Legislative Councils, our position will actually be worse than at present, for we shall be told that the men selected under this system are our representatives, a pretence that cannot now be made. It should be remembered that nominated non-official members often display less independence than official members, because they are eager to show the Government how keenly they appreciate the honour of nomination."

Something, or somebody, in Mr. Jinnah's opinion, must have "frightened" Lord Crewe, for the Bill practically sets aside the principle of election admitted by eminent statesmen as far back as 1858, when the only objection urged was that there was no electorate, an objection which can no longer be raised.

"We are confident," adds Mr. Jinnah, "that the Secretary of State for the time being will do what is right if only he has the right information before him. But how can he expect to obtain correct information from the representatives of the Indian people who do not really represent anybody but themselves?" The Press Laws, the passage of a measure for compulsory elementary education, and the separation of the executive and the judiciary are three subjects upon which Mr. Jinnah feels that the Government of India is specially in need of advice from those who are in close touch with the mind of the nation.

The *Times* of last Wednesday also publishes a long statement by Mr. Jinnah in connection with the Bill. "India," says Mr. Jinnah, "is perhaps the only member of the British Empire without any real representation, and the only civilized country in the world that has no real system of representative Government."

"The news of the intention of reform and reorganization of the Council of the Secretary of State for India raised great hopes amongst the people of India, and a very moderate and reasonable demand was put forward that one-third of the total number of the Council should be Indian members, to be elected or chosen by ballot by the elected members of the various Legislative Councils in India. This demand was embodied in the resolutions that were passed by two of the most representative and the greatest organizations of public opinion in India—viz.; the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League—at their Sessions last Christmas. Further, the Indian National Congress, in response to the express desire of Lord Crewe, who was good enough to say that he would welcome any

criticism or fresh ideas which might be brought forward on the subject, sent a deputation, which waited on him last month, when I had the honour to place our views before him.

"Now that the Bill to amend the laws as to the Council of India has been introduced and gone through the first reading, I cannot but say that the provisions contained therein are most disappointing, and I feel sure that that is how the people of India will receive it. What hope can measures like this inspire in the people of India who are looking forward to bigger and more substantial reforms in time to come when in matters such as the reform of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, which is, after all, more advisory in its character than anything else, the just proposals of the deputation appointed by the Indian National Congress have not been accepted.

"First of all, there will be only two Indian members, and not one-third of the total number; the minimum number being seven and maximum 10: so the demand for three Indian members is rejected.

"Secondly, the Bill denies the election of the Indian members for all practicable purposes. The Secretary of State for India, under the provisions of the Bill, shall select Indian members from amongst the persons whose names appear on the list of persons domiciled in India, chosen for the purpose by members (other than the official members) of the Legislative Councils. The Governor-General, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and the Chief Commissioners, in such manner, subject to such conditions and restrictions, and in such number as may be prescribed by regulations to be made by the Secretary of State for India in Council or by directions issued by the Secretary of State thereunder.

"Now, there is no doubt that what appears at the first blush on paper to be some sort of principle of election is for all practical purposes illusory; and the so-called list, or, to put it in other words, panel, is to be formed by the choice of non-official members of various Councils. This sounds as if the officials will have no voice in the choosing of the list or the forming of the panel, but anyone who knows the actual constitution of the various Legislative Councils will see at once that the non-official members means elected as well as members nominated by the Government in various parts of India (that is, the officials in the country), and there is a large number of such members in various Councils who are bound in the very nature of things to follow the behest of the official class, and this class of nominated members will have a very potent voice in the formation of the panel; to say nothing of a certain element of even elected members who will not be able to exercise free and independent judgment for personal reasons. The consequence of this will be that a large number will get on to that list or panel who would be pure creatures of the official class and not the representatives of the people, and this might be worse if the rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions mentioned in the Bill are not most carefully framed. Therefore, what appears on paper to be a list of men chosen by the people will be so in name only; nay, worse, because at present the Indian members are nominated, whereas under the Bill it will be said that they are the representatives of the people, although the selection of the Secretary of State for India might fall on those of the list who may be pure creatures of the official class.

"If the principle of election is to be accepted, why whittle it away by adopting the most circuitous and clumsy methods? By far the simplest way is to form an electorate which is ready-made, consisting of all the elected members of the various Councils referred to in the Bill and let them elect the Indian representatives by ballot. If there is any fear of any undesirable man being elected, for which I do not think there is the slightest ground, I should be willing, if necessary, to give the Secretary of State for India, who is always an eminent statesman whichever party he belongs to, the power to veto it and direct a fresh election in that particular case; but anything short of this will, I feel sure, not satisfy the people of India.

"With regard to the other provisions of the Bill it is not very clear as to exactly what is intended, because in introducing the Bill Lord Crewe did not make any statement.

"They require some further explanation before one can deal with the provisions contained therein, and therefore I do not propose to say anything about them now, but it is most important to see that proper rules and regulations are framed as contemplated by the Bill."

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA.

Indian matters have been very prominent this week in the London Press. Mrs. Annie Besant's striking letter in the *Times* has drawn a lengthy but feeble reply from the pen of Miss Cornelia Sorabji, whose line of argument cannot fail to impress those, who are keenly following the controversy, with the fact that she seems to be altogether remote from the very spirit of the people of India. The *Times* has also written a leading article on the subject and, though naturally it does not find itself in agreement with Mrs. Besant's views, it tries to treat the question seriously, but curiously enough, not too seriously, as has been the traditional custom of this journal.

Mrs. Besant has likewise contributed a remarkable article to the *Nation*. "It is a remarkable comment," she proceeds, "on the curious indifference of England to her 'great Dependency' that, in all the discussions now rife on the question of the Federation of the Empire, India is quietly left on one side..... There is a general vague idea that India is a conquered country, that she is held by the sword, that she is more or less barbarous, and does not count when Imperial questions are to the front..... So the British nation blunders along after its wont and is risking the loss of the noblest opportunity a people have ever had of building a world-Empire so mighty that it could impose peace on the world, and is tending steadily towards a war of white and coloured, in which Asia, indignant at long exploitation and injustice, shall be pitted against Europe and America..... Now India does not desire to shatter her allegiance to the Crown, but she passionately desires the removal of the laws which cramp and fetter her; she demands self-government within the Empire, and she is resolute to win it..... Will not Great Britain consider what Indians ought to do? If they are to be shut in within the limits of India, and to be denied the ordinary human right to travel freely in other lands, may they not fairly claim at least to have their own land to themselves and to shut all white men out of it? Is it surprising that a murmur is making itself heard to shut out all Colonials? ...

..... The only intelligent loyalty to the British Government in India is that of the educated classes; they desire self-government, but self-government within the Empire. England has taught them to love liberty, to admire free institutions, and they look to England to carry out in India all that she elsewhere declares is essential to national and individual self-respect. Their faith in her professions is shaken, but is not yet destroyed; they are still willing to be guided in their building-up of free institutions by the experience of the English, but they demand that the building shall proceed. How is this educated class being treated? There is the Press Act, to which their consent was gained by a promise that the High Court would redress any wrong—a promise shown to be illusory. This Act is administered harshly against Hindus and Mahomedans, but is a dead letter when English-edited papers stir up hatred against Indians..... There is nothing in all this which borders on sedition, which deservedly causes suspicion and distrust. Nothing is more dangerous, more disloyal to the Empire, than the flouting of this splendid class of patriotic men, and the constant misrepresentation of their aims and conduct. For the sake of England as much as for the sake of India, their co-operation and advice should be sought and welcomed; for the stability of British rule in India depends on them."

Mrs. Besant has also written an equally forcible article in the *Daily Chronicle* on the same question. She has roused the innermost conscience of the British public by her splendid and brilliant advocacy of the Indian cause—for which we cannot be too grateful. Mrs. Besant is delivering a special lecture on "India's plea for justice: Shall India be a buttress or a peril to the Empire?" at Queen's Hall on the 11th instant.

MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE ON "INDIAN NATIONALISM."

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque delivered an address on "Indian Nationalism" at a meeting of the London Indian Association at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on the 30th May, Dr. J. N. Mehta presiding.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who was received with great enthusiasm, said that he had not intended to indulge in public speaking during his visit to this country, but he had felt unable to resist the temptation which the Association had put in his way. He was conscious that he had chosen a difficult subject. The word Nationalism had somehow acquired a sinister meaning in India. The moment an Indian called himself a Nationalist, he was apt to be branded as disloyal by the Anglo-Indian Press of the country. ("Shame.") Still, he was speaking that night in a free country, and he proposed to be both blunt and direct in what he had to say. (Cheers.) By Indian Nationalist he meant an Indian who put the welfare of his country before any other consideration, who longed to see his motherland not only self-respecting but respected by other nations, who, when the time came, would be ready for any sacrifice. He had not been more than a few weeks in England, and he was proud to find his fellow-countrymen here and hoped that when they returned to their motherland, they would lose none of the enthusiasm which now animated them. What was the obstacle in the way of Nationalism in India? He wished to blame no one, but they must blame themselves. The wretched sectarianism which was rampant in India—he did not care whether it was Hindus or Mohomedans who were responsible—had done much to injure the advance of Nationalism. It had been his lot to fight sectarianism all his life and he would continue the struggle until his last hour. He was not there to apportion blame between Hindus and Mohomedans. In his view they were equally at fault. If the history of India for the past fifty years was studied, it would be found that it was principally made up of a political see-saw, in which Hindus and Mohomedans went alternately up and down. In 1857 the Mohomedans were in the bad books of the Government; then came the turn of the Hindus; and, finally, the awakening represented by the Congress movement. It was possible that the Congress had not made such progress as some would wish; and he himself would like it

to advance much more. But let them not be ungrateful or forgetful of the fact that when their leaders started the Congress movement, India was otherwise without a voice.

India, he felt, underwent the deepest humiliation when the Mohomedans stood aloof from the movement. It was a great mistake on their part. As they knew, he had appeared on the platforms of both the Congress and the Moslem League; and his sole object in belonging to both bodies was to bring them together. He felt it to be the bounden duty of his community to join in the work of uplifting their common motherland. The Mohomedans were utterly mistaken if they thought that they would always remain the pampered pets of the Government. He was afraid also that his Hindu friends would fall into the same error, if they were not careful. He would speak plainly. During the last two years when the Mohomedans had been down upon their luck, he had come across those who were jubilant over their misfortunes. They must guard against such a falling back upon the old ways. Why had the two communities any quarrel with each other? He knew of no substantial reason to account for it. There was no question in India—no political question at all events—in which the interests of both communities were not equally involved, and with regard to which they differed. There was too much intemperate language on both sides. He remembered an occasion when a great leader of the Mohomedan community issued a manifesto in which he declared that if special consideration was not shown to Moslem interest, millions of them would turn their backs upon India and emigrate. On the other hand, it was common talk among Hindus that the Mohomedans were foreigners in India. Such wild talk was greatly to be deprecated. What Hindus rightly objected to was the separation of the two communities. They must unite. If one took a step forward the other should take two. As far as he himself was concerned, he would much rather be represented on Council by his friend Mr. Gokhale than by anyone else. Their interests were practically identical. India stood in need of a single organization which would unite all Indians, of whatever caste and creed, in a common bond. A struggle was certain to come between the bureaucracy and the Indian people. It was, unfortunately, the case that on every burning question there was a marked antagonism between the people and the ruling class. Englishmen could be found who were sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and supported their demands. But, generally speaking, from one end of India to the other, Anglo-Indians and Indians were in opposite camps. Every demand was met by an immediate negative. And yet there could be no going back. Some said that it was a mistake to give India national education; but education had to come, whether Western or Eastern, and when once education entered, there could only be one result. Equality of treatment must be insisted upon, and until the ruling class in India modified their attitude—of which he had little hope—the struggle would be bitter, and it was not far off. Let Indians, therefore, prepare themselves for it by creating a solid wall of united public opinion which could not be broken. At present there seemed to be too many leaders. No one could foresee how many years it would take to raise India to the place which she ought to occupy among the nations of the world. But the work would never be accomplished without determination, enthusiasm, and sheer force of character. It required courage in these days of Press Law to stand up against injustice in India. But that was the spirit in which he hoped those before him would return to their country. He looked forward with confidence to the future which lay in their hands; and he wished them all success. (Cheers.)

MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE ENTERTAINED IN LONDON.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque left London yesterday morning for Paris en route for India. On the eve of his departure, he was entertained at a largely-attended reception by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan at Caxton Hall on Wednesday afternoon. Among those present were Princess Sophia Dhuleep Singh, Sir Henry Cotton, K. C. S. I., Mr. Skeine, Mr. Samarth, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Roy, Col. and Mrs. Warliker, Col. and Mrs. Bhola Nath, Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin, Mr. Sarferaz Hossain, Mr. F. D. Ahmed, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Syed Hossain, Dr. John Pollen, Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell, Mr. L. S. Pershad, Mr. Jelal Shah, Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, Mr. H. W. Nevins, Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. W. Douglas Hall, Mr. Polak and Mr. Sinha.

The guest of the afternoon was garlanded by Mrs. Bhola Nath, which graceful act was supplemented by an eloquent tribute to Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque by Mrs. Naidu, Mr. O'Donnell, Dr. Pollen and the host also paid suitable tributes to the disinterested and honest work which Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque has been doing for several years in India and particularly to his persistent efforts in the teeth of opposition, to bring about the desired unity between the two great communities of India. Mr. Haque, who spoke with no little emotion, briefly returned thanks. The guests dispersed at 6-30 p. m.

LECTURE ON THE "GOSPEL OF ISLAM."

Mr. Sarferaz Hossain, who has come over to this country to help the Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work, is giving his first public lecture on the "Gospel of Islam" at Caxton Hall next week. Mr. Ameer Ali will be in the chair.

TETE À TETE



In continuation of the correspondence which we have had with the Private Secretary to H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, we publish the following letter which we addressed on the 25th instant to him in reply to his letter of the 20th.

Another Unfounded Imputation.

If our suspicion that once more a translator has misled Sir Michael O'Dwyer proves to be well founded, we trust His Honour will make an example of the miscreant who seems to be so determined an enemy of the Press. This the Punjab Government owes to its own reputation for fair dealing with its critics.

"Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 19th instant and your confirmatory letter of the 20th.

2. As you may have noticed, I published your telegram in the *Comrade* of the 20th instant, but your letter was received here too late for insertion or notice in that issue.

3. In para. 3 of my letter of the 17th instant, I had requested you to be good enough to specify on what occasions other than the one now alleged the *Comrade* had published the insinuation that the *Zamindar* was "not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, goes back to the days when, at his instance, as British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were "dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of having "lamponed Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister."

4. We are glad to note that, although you have not directly stated so, you have practically withdrawn your previous statement that the "insinuation" had "appeared on other occasions" also in the *Comrade*.

5. But while withdrawing that statement you have substituted another, that the "insinuation" had "appeared also in other papers," and in your letter of the 20th you refer us to the issues of the *Hamdard* of 25th and 26th April and of the *Zamindar* of the 12th May last, which, I understand you to mean, are the "other papers" where the "insinuation" had also appeared besides appearing in the *Comrade* of 2nd May.

6. I am not concerned with what appeared in the *Zamindar*, but, being the Proprietor and Editor of the *Hamdard* as well as of the *Comrade*, I am very much concerned with what appeared in that journal.

7. To the best of my recollection the *Hamdard* had never even alluded to the rumour that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services had been dispensed with by the late Nizam at the instance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer; but on perusing your very definite reference to two issues of the *Hamdard*, I looked into them very carefully and my recollection of it was fully confirmed.

8. The name of Sir Michael O'Dwyer does not occur even once in the two issues referred to by you, nor does that of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, and naturally there is no allusion either to their respective positions at Hyderabad when they were there. In fact, I also read the next succeeding issue of the *Hamdard*, dated 28th April, which concluded the *Hamdard's* comments on the warning to the *Zamindar*, and found nothing even remotely suggesting the "insinuation."

9. Under these circumstances I am compelled to request you to make your reference still more definite and quote the passage where the "insinuation" alluded to by you is published by the *Hamdard*.

10. In the issue of the 25th April, (page 4, column 3), however, the following passage occurs:—

زمیندار کی ساتھ جو طرز عمل پنجاب گورنمنٹ کا ایک رہا می اور جو سلوک اوسکی
ساتھ کئی جاچکی ہیں اوپر نظر کرنی ہوی یہ خیال مضحکہ انگیز اور قطعاً ناقابل تسلیم معلوم
ہوتا ہے کہ اسکی ساتھ گورنمنٹ کی جانب سے کوئی عمل حدودی اور قلعہ کی طور پر
ہونا ممکن ہے *

11. This is the only passage in which there is a direct reference to the Punjab Government in the course of these articles, and it may be rendered into English as follows:—

"Keeping in view the attitude hitherto observed by the Punjab Government towards the *Zamindar* and the treatment "that has been meted out to it, the idea that it is possible "for the Government to show any sympathy towards it or "do it a favour appears to be ridiculous and unacceptable."

12. We have no reason to believe that the above passage could have been in your mind when you suggested that the *Hamdard* also had published the insinuation that the *Zamindar* "is not likely to "receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, goes back to "the days when, at his instance, as British Resident at Hyderabad, "Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late "Nizam on the suspicion of having lamponed Mr. Walker, the "Finance Minister." But if it was indeed this passage that was in your mind when you wrongly imputed to the *Hamdard* the publication of the above insinuation, I trust the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer will be pleased to take steps to teach a salutary lesson to the official who was responsible for misleading him with a grossly inaccurate translation, presuming, of course, that it was on a translation that His Honour's understanding was based, and that it was not his unaided judgment that betrayed him into such an imputation against the *Hamdard*.

13. We have repeatedly invited attention to the evil of undue dependence evidently placed by Government on the official translators, and in particular we have written at length on the gross inaccuracy of the "Abstract Translation" of the *Badr* article on which the order of Sir Michael O'Dwyer requiring a deposit of Rs. 3,000 as security from that paper was based. Now that we are ourselves a sufferer from this evil we have all the more reason to invite His Honour's attention to the matter. We shall be doing bare justice to Sir Michael in believing that he is as anxious to avoid being misled by wrong translations as the papers that suffer through them. It is, therefore, in this belief that we have taken the liberty of appealing to His Honour to be pleased to take such steps as he thinks fit to teach the translator in this case a salutary lesson.

14. From the foregoing statements you will be able to see that the imputation against the *Hamdard* contained in your last letter has even less foundation in fact than the imputation against the *Comrade* contained in your first letter, and we hope and trust that you will be good enough to withdraw both at an early date.

15. We also trust that you will kindly forward copies of our letters to you to the newspapers to whom you have forwarded your letter of the 16th as amended by your letter of the 20th. This is an act of such obviously bare justice that we foresee no objection or reluctance on your part.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI,
Editor of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*."

We have received a copy of an appeal by 22 Mussalman gentlemen of Behar urging "Brother Moslems" to come forward and found a "Behar Moslem Association."

The promoters of the Association think that "the majority of the Moslem community in Behar do not look with satisfaction upon the aims and ideals which, perhaps noble in themselves and no doubt fascinating to the young, form the chief plank in the All-India Moslem League platform oratory." They say that the majority of the Moslems in the province "hold that an administration based in India on the lines of the self-governing colonies may be a blessing; but agitation for such ideals is beyond the pale of practical politics in India for some-time to come." They would have, therefore, an Association to safeguard Moslem interests, which would keep away from anti-Government agitation and refrain from making "demands at a time or in a manner which might embarrass Government." The promoters of the new "Behar Moslem Association" are at liberty to have their own views about the needs of the Mussalmans of Behar, and they may adopt any methods they please to promote the interests of their co-religionists. We would ask them only one question. Are they sure that the "policy" they have discovered will not condemn them to utter inactivity and impotence from the start? They want to keep away from anti-Government agitation. Will they give us a single instance in which the Moslem League has wantonly embarked on such a course? They will not make a demand that might embarrass Government. Can they think of any circumstances in which a demand from a subject people has not been in some way or other embarrassing to those in power? These self-denying ordinances virtually mean that the Mussalmans of Behar should never have a grievance at all, or should refrain from ever adopting the most effectual methods to remedy it. We had hoped that time had passed for such inanities to be seriously preached anywhere in this country. If the Moslem League ideals are noble in themselves and may sow the seeds of future blessings, we fail to understand what it is in their texture that has

scared the new band of "moderates" in Behar. The Moslem League has never asked for self-government on colonial lines, and it has never declared that it could be attained soon and without devoted work and sacrifices by generations of patriotic Indians. According to the brand-new "moderation" of these gentlemen of Behar such ideals will never come "within the pale of practical politics," for practical results have never been the serious concern of the extremists of the "moderation" cult. The world is unfortunately in the habit of moving on, and the hands of the clock can not be put back by every Rip Van Winkle who wakes to find himself out of tune with his surroundings. Among the signatories to the Behar manifesto we find the name of the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda. He seemed to hold quite different views when he asked a string of questions relating to the Cawnpore Mosque affair in the Imperial Legislative Council. He would not now think of "embarrassing Government." May we ask to what this change of front is due?

The *Pioneer* has just lighted on some election irregularities of which a mention has been made in the annual report of the Cawnpore municipality, and taking this as a convenient text, it delivers a mild homily on the need of Indians fitting themselves before they claim "a much larger share in the Government of this Empire." It thinks that the civic spirit in India needs much fostering, but is evidently of opinion that Indians cannot yet be trusted to do the "fostering" themselves. It illustrates its conclusion by the example of children learning to swim. They can not be thrown into deep water to learn the art themselves lest they be drowned in the process. "Indian local rulers are at present still kept in the shallow water with life-belts round them, and so far very few boards show signs of using their limbs in a way that would justify taking them out of their depth." But are they really free to use their limbs? They have not only life-belts round their waists, but veritable mill-stones round their necks and the freedom of their limbs is carefully controlled by sundry other devices. Weighted and bound as they are, they can have little hope of learning to swim till Doomsday. It is ridiculous to deplore the absence of the civic spirit in Indian municipalities because election scandals occasionally come to notice. Much graver scandals come to light during election campaigns among people whose civic spirit and capacity to manage their own affairs are held up to the admiration of Indians. It is equally absurd to suppose that in the existing conditions of so-called local self-government, municipalities offer any scope for the development of a strong and healthy civic spirit. A municipal commissioner, who shows a habit of taking genuine and independent interest in civic affairs, is frequently pulled up through the leading-strings to his senses and he speedily learns how dangerous it is to take himself and his responsibilities seriously. A recent incident at a meeting of the Delhi municipality, when the Vice-President was subjected to a gratuitous insult by Major Cooke-Young, J. M. S., a paid official of the municipality for having dared to suggest economical administration of the department under the charge of that official, shows what risks an independent member must be prepared to face. Again, the recent behaviour of the official chairman of the same municipality, who in a meeting of the committee tore into shreds the report of certain municipal commissioners on some urgent matters relating to municipal economy, in road-making shows how far the municipal "children" in the capital of India are allowed to use their "limbs" in "shallow waters." To make municipal administration in India something of a reality it is absolutely necessary that men of education and independence should enter the boards in larger numbers. They alone can know what use to make of the "life-belts" and the "leading-strings" that a grandmotherly Government has provided for their safety. In the presence of members of this type, the Delhi Health Officer would have been sent about his business, and we are sure Mr. Connolly, the chairman, would have brought into use his best set of manners instead of the worst. But perhaps the *Pioneer's* conception of civic spirit would not exactly be like that of such members.

DR. ABDUR RAHMAN, Vice-Consul of Jeddah, is evidently the official expert engaged in the solution of the Haj question. The latest report that he has furnished to the Government on the subject, a summary of which is published elsewhere, gives

The Hedjaz Pilgrims.

some measure of his fitness to be entrusted with a task of such delicacy and importance. The report deals with the traffic of the year 1912-13, when, it is stated, Mecca was infected with cholera. It says that from 800 to 1000 pilgrims "are known to have died on one day alone." It further says that "if Indian Moslems decide to come to Arabia they must do so without any idea save that of a resolute performance of religious duty in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hardships and not unlikely death." We do not know if anything could exceed the fatuity and presumption of this egregious warning. Does this consular official, who is apparently a Mussalman, think that Moslem pilgrims go to Mecca for any idea other than "that

of a resolute performance of religious duty?" Most of the pilgrims are poor; in many cases they part cheerfully with their worldly possessions; they willingly risk their lives and are ready to face the dangers of a perilous journey. Do these thousands of devout worshippers, whose inner faith lights their path to distant Ka'ba that they may come nearer in worship to their Creator, go there to hunt for safe emoluments or conduct an underhand lucrative business? To warn a Mussalman of the danger of death in this connection is a gratuitous insult which this Moslem doctor of all men has dared to offer. Had he known Islam and the spirit that moves the thousands of Mussalmans who annually go to the holy places, he would have refrained from uttering a warning that every Mussalman would resent. To quote Iqbal:

تخابہ اجل میں جو عاشق کو مل گیا * پایا نہ خضر فی مئی عمر دراز میں
دین اور کو حضور یہ پیام زندگی * میں موت ڈھونڈتا ہوں زمین حجاز میں
آئی میں آبِ لیلیٰ شفا کا پیام کیا * رکھی میں اہل درد مسیحی سی کام کیا

The Vice-Consul recommends the system of compulsory return-tickets to obviate the problem of "pauper pilgrims." We have already said more than once that such a system will not meet the needs of the situation and in any case it would never be acceptable to Mussalmans. We trust the Government would avoid all such actions as are sure to create misunderstandings and may possibly lead to undesirable consequences. We are awaiting the publication of the results of the Government inquiry into the Haj question, and may only hope at present that no decision will be taken on the basis of the report of a Vice-Consul who happens to be a Mussalman, but has apparently no knowledge either of Moslem feelings or of the requirements of Hedjaz pilgrims. He was thanked confidentially by Sir Edward Grey last year for unknown services. Now he has been made a Khan Bahadur by the Indian Government. Is it because his peculiar interest in the Haj question and his views on the subject have met with official approval?

THE Honours List of 22nd June is more than usually a featureless document, and contains few distinctions that are likely to excite public interest. The

Honours. *Statesman's* lament over the Government's habit of mainly decorating its officials on such occasions is a tame echo of the general public feeling in India, which is at least as old as the habit itself. The *Statesman's* chief concern, however, is to press the claims of the non-official Europeans of Calcutta for official recognition. With a wider outlook it could not have failed to be impressed with the systematic ignoring in this respect of most of the Indian public men who enjoy the respect and confidence of the country and are spending their lives in its service. But this is an old complaint, and we need not think the Indian Honours Lists have now much power left in them to surprise anybody by the extent of their omissions. They are no better than they are generally expected to be, and one feels genuine consolation after one has run through a List without meeting many "sins of commission." The latest honours, however, contain certain names which cannot be passed over without some notice. Among the newly created Khan Bahadurs there may be many persons who have deserved their titles by useful services to the State, but we will be delighted to know what services have earned for M. Mohamed Ali Khan, retired Deputy Collector of Cawnpore, his Khan Bahadurship. This gentleman acquired some notoriety during the Cawnpore mosque troubles and the local Mussalmans viewed his conduct with considerable mistrust. There were strong rumours, which gained much credence at the time, that his agents were the authors of letters received by the *mutawallis* of the mosque urging them to accept the plot of land offered by the Government in compensation for the portion of the mosque that was demolished, because otherwise the plot in question would be acquired by the Hindus for their temple. Whether the retired Deputy Collector and Hon. Magistrate had any hand in the game we can not positively say, but it is certain that his attitude aroused the strong suspicions of the Mussalmans, and he has never enjoyed their confidence. In any case we would like to know what new services have been rendered by this old official of Government, who retired on a pension some years ago and whose services were not considered worthy of a Khan Bahadurship even on the eve of his retirement. Similarly the gift of a Khan Sahibship to the present Tahsildar of Cawnpore is a reward for services about the nature of which considerable curiosity is bound to be felt. More Mussalmans rejoice perhaps in the title of Sardar Sahab conferred on Mr. Ganda Singh the Cawnpore Jailor whose humanity touched the accused in the Mosque Case deeply. Another Khan Bahadurship, that gives one food for reflection, is that conferred on Dr. Abdur Rahman of Jeddah fame, whose Vice-Consular exploits are noted elsewhere. Frankly, the Mussalman public will have to considerably revise its notions of public service before it understands the true inwardness of the merits of these gentlemen. If the real servants of the public are not deserving of generous official recognition, one can hardly see the propriety of honouring such Government officials whose conduct has often given rise to widespread public mistrust.

We warn the C. I. D. that a terrible conspiracy is being hatched at Delhi under the very nose of the police the members of which are exceedingly numerous and fairly well off. A sinister feature of the

Another "Plot."

movement is that all communities are adequately represented. The object of the conspirators is clearly homicidal, and so bold have they grown that they have thrown off all secrecy and openly announce their murderous intent. In fact, the sentence beginning with: "The man I want to kill", is a sort of password of the Society. But they do not name the object of their hatred. They generally describe him, and he seems to be the miscreant who cuts off electric power that works their fans at odd intervals every day. As a rule it is somewhere about two in the afternoon, when they have just begun to enjoy their seista, or later when they have just come out of the bath and are dressing to go out or dressing for dinner. It is rumoured that Mr. Griffin, the Manager of the Electric Tramways Company, which is responsible for this playfulness, was so often tempted to join this homicidal movement himself that he betook himself to Samla to keep half the Himalayan range between himself and temptation. But such self-control is not within the power of all. Mr. Griffin's company gets its dues just the same and probably he gets, besides his regular salary, a good round sum as a bonus at the end of the year. But the other would-be homicides pay for the power as well as for the playfulness of the Company's men, or machines, or whoever, or whatever it be that cuts off the power and leaves the fans in the ceiling like so many stable aeroplanes on a small scale. And the rate is ruinous. In Calcutta the company charges six annas a unit for light and three annas a unit for fans. But in Delhi, with its "salubrious climate during seven months of the year" and its "health during the other five, the Electric Tramways Company charges six annas a unit for fans as well. This is just the way to tempt people to commit murder. We must frankly tell the Company's management that if they insist on being nasty, they shall at least be cheap.

A CORRESPONDENT whose deep interest in, and wide study of, Indian history are well-known, refers to an episode recorded by Manucci

Aurangzeb and the Sati

which throws light on the attitude of Aurangzeb towards that ancient Hindu institution, the Sati. Some chroniclers, moved by hatred and bigotry, have depicted Aurangzeb as a religious zealot who carried on throughout his reign a systematic persecution of Hindus. The falsehoods of history have, by facile and frequent repetition, come to be accepted as verified statements of fact, and the character of one of the most enlightened and just rulers and earnest reformers of his times has been revealed in its true light to the driven, credulous and uncritical generations of modern India. If one could freely detach himself from the prejudices and belief, noisy faction cries of the day and try to see Aurangzeb as he actually was apart from the monstrous myths that have grown up round his name in later times, it would not be difficult to see the greatest of the Great Moguls in his vast stature as a man and a ruler, conscious of his vast burden, of the growing distemper of the age, bracing himself up, alone and without any hope of finding men of equal resolution and foresight to help him, to pull a great empire together and strengthen its foundations by inspiring the ruling class and the people alike with a sense of duty, by social purification, by defining civil rights and ensuring justice. The incident recorded by Manucci relates to a case of Sati which ultimately led Aurangzeb to issue an edict totally prohibiting the practice. It was not an act of a bigot, but of a humane ruler who could not but be moved by the horror of such a social practice. The episode related by Manucci is as follows:—"During my stay in Agra I went one day to make an excursion into the country on horseback, in the company of a young Armenian. We came where a Hindu woman had begun to move round her pyre, which was already blazing; she rested her eyes on us, as if she appealed to us for help. The Armenian asked if I would join him in saving the woman from death. I said I would. Seizing our swords, and our servants doing the same, we charged our horses into the midst of the crowd looking on, shouting 'Mata, Mata!' ('kill, kill!'), where—at the Brahmans, being frightened, all took to flight and left the woman unguarded. The Armenian laid hold of her, and making her mount behind him, carried her off. Subsequently, having had her baptised, he married her. When I passed through Surat I found her living there with her son, and she returned me many thanks for the benefit done to her. When the King returned from Kashmir, the Brahmans went to complain that the soldiers did not allow women to be burnt, in accordance with their customs. The King issued an order that in all lands under Mogul control never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt. This order endures to this day." As our correspondent says, Manucci is not an historian of any merit, but he was a confirmed hater of Aurangzeb and it is, therefore, something to find him noticing Aurangzeb's action in this instance with evident satisfaction.

The Comrade.

Aligarh and its Present Official Patron.

We read in the *Tribune* of the 26th instant that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces will visit Aligarh from July 16th to 18th as Patron of the Aligarh College to discuss with the Trustees "complications which have recently arisen regarding the Shihh-Sunni question," and Government's special building grant.

So far as the Government's grant is concerned, it may perhaps be useful to mention that His Honour had recently deputed Mr. Gaskell, a U. P. official, to examine the finances of the College—a proceeding that has never had a precedent—before permitting the College to avail itself of the Government's special grant allotted to it as long as three years ago for constructing a new school building. We should have thought that the official deputed by His Honour would have satisfied him that there was no harm in permitting the College to draw that money; but it would now seem that His Honour must himself take the trouble of coming over to Aligarh and discussing the matter with the Trustees.

We shall discuss the Budget Estimates of the College for the year 1914-15 in some detail in a subsequent issue. But we may mention here that the actual revenue during the year 1913-14 was Rs. 2,40,844, while the actual expenditure was Rs. 2,56,135, resulting in a deficit of Rs. 15,291. But it should be noted that last year the College had budgeted for a deficit of Rs. 14,478, and that if three annual grants of Rs. 10,000, Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 1,200 of H.H. the Aga Khan, the Khairpur State, and Messrs. Jamal Brothers respectively, had been paid in when due, there would have been a small surplus instead of a deficit. For the current year the Honorary Secretary, who has laboured incessantly at financial reform and deserves the genuine gratitude of all interested in the Aligarh College, estimates the revenue at Rs. 2,93,268 and the expenditure at Rs. 2,88,260. There will thus be a surplus of ten thousand rupees as against a deficit of fifteen thousand rupees last year. It is, however, true that the estimated surplus is due to the expected payment within the year of arrears of various grants some of which we have mentioned above, and that in reality the revenue proper of the year will be short of the year's expenditure by some fifteen thousand rupees.

This is by no means a satisfactory state of affairs; but those "friends of Aligarh" who offer it their advice in season and out of season must console themselves with the reflection that this unhappy result is the direct outcome of their persuading the Secretary of State to announce through the Government of India his so-called final decisions about the Moslem University two years ago. The University project had thrown the daily increasing needs of the College into the background; but the Trustees had found ample compensation for this temporary embarrassment in the hope and belief that in a year or two the College would blossom forth into a University with an income of five lakhs. Well, the University is not yet within sight, and if you go to a Mussalman to get even a small contribution for the College, you hear some very nasty things even if you escape battery and assault.

But is it kind of Government to inflict on the College the further injury of withholding grants allotted more than three years ago on the plea that the finances of the College are not as flourishing as they should be? Well may the Trustees say: "Thou, too, O Brutus!" But perhaps this was only to be expected when proposals had been put forward, though happily in vain, for closing the College for a year and stopping the Government grant because some Trustees of the College had not approved of the Cawnpore Sacrilege about this time last year.

Well, we think the Mussalmans can dispense with doles so grudgingly given, though we claim the grants of the Government as the patrimony of the people, rather than as largess doled out by official almoners. Let the Government tell the Mussalmans plainly enough that they need expect nothing from it so long as they grieve over demolished mosques, and we are certain that money will be found by those who hold their mosques as sacred not only to re-build their mosques but also to erect schools and colleges.

There is one Mussalman, however, whose disillusionment must by now be complete, and that is the Honorary Secretary of the College. This is no time for mutual recriminations but for solidarity and co-operation. The Mussalmans in general and the Trustees in particular must offer unstinted support to him, for we feel sure he needs it and would be genuinely grateful for it. He could never have expected that within the short space of a year the whirligig of time would bring him face to face with such difficulties, most of them assisted if not created by the very people to win whose support he had come into conflict with the public opinion of his community.

But the financial embarrassment of the Honorary Secretary is as nothing compared with the embarrassment due to the new sectarianism with which he has to deal. We have already had to refer

to this new difficulty more than once, but we have preferred to offer no opinion on the merits of the question for the simple reason that the Trustees still have the matter in hand. As we pointed out in our issue of 23rd May, a sub-committee consisting of three Shiah and three Sunni Trustees has been appointed by the Trustees to go into the matter most thoroughly, and we still believe that the Moslem public would do well to reserve its comment till the Trustees have formulated their own solution of the problem. There would then be time enough to criticise, and the criticism is then likely to be both informed and useful. Our appeal to the Mussalmans that their good-sense will be fully equal to the delicate nature of the work which the Trustees have in hand has so far been amply responded to, and we trust the same response will continue to be made hereafter when the difficulties of Trustees have every appearance of increasing.

The question, we may explain, arose out of a pamphlet prepared and circulated by the Secretary of the Shiah Conference some three years ago, in which he had set forth complaints under various heads about arrangements alleged to be prejudicial to the Shiah students and Shiah members of the staff. Most of the Trustees of the College who had received this pamphlet were of opinion that no notice should be taken of it, because in their opinion it betrayed a spirit of dissension to be created by means of preposterous demands likely to give rise to bad blood between the two great sects of the Mussalmans, rather than a desire for unity to be maintained by means of removing all causes of sectarian friction. Others, however, held that whenever complaints about College arrangements were seriously brought to the notice of the Trustees, it was their duty to look into them and to dispose of them according to the result of their inquiries. The Shiah Conference was a body of recent origin, and, so far as outsiders could judge, a strong body of educated Shiah opinion, more than usually independent of Shiah theologians in judgment, had appeared to show considerable distrust of this body. But what would have passed in a Shiah as independence of judgment might possibly have been condemned in a Sunni as sectarian prejudice, and we think that the Trustees were right to be persuaded by a minority of theirs which included Sunnis as well as Shiahs that the complaints set forth in the pamphlet of the Secretary of the Shiah Conference should be examined and reported upon to the Board of Trustees. A sub-committee, consisting of Nawab Naseer Hussain Khan Sahib *Ahyal*, Mir Ashiq Ali Sahib, Khalifa Syed Hamid Hussain Sahib, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan Sahib, Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib Shirwani, and Mr. Mohamed Ali, was therefore appointed in the Budget Meeting of the Trustees last year, and apparently met with the approval of both the Shiah and the Sunni members of the Board who had voted on the motion.

It is a matter of deep regret to us and must be so to the entire Moslem community that no meeting of this sub-committee has yet been held. First of all two members of the sub-committee, Nawab Naseer Hussain Khan Sahib *Ahyal* and Mr. Mohamed Ali were out of India for a time. But when on their return a date was fixed in January this year, Mir Ashiq Ali Sahib resigned on account of old age. His place was filled by the election of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, and a date was fixed in March last for the first meeting. This time Khalifa Syed Hamid Hussain Sahib resigned on the ground of the exigencies of his service, and on the initiative of the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib Qazilbash was appointed to fill the vacancy with his own previous consent.

After this a date was fixed in April last for the meeting, but in the meantime a most regrettable incident occurred in the College. On the *Chiklam* a meeting was held there, which was addressed by Maulana Syed Sibt-i-Hasan Sahib, a well-known and gifted Shiah divine. At something that fell from the speaker, which is alleged to have had some reference to the comparative merits of the Imams in the Shiah hierarchy and others, a matter on which differences of opinion do prevail between the two sects, the Sunni Head Clerk of the Principal is alleged to have left the Hall with an insulting reference to the reverend speaker. On the following Friday in the course of his sermon after the service, Maulana Syed Sulaiman Ashraf Sahib, the Sunni teacher of divinity and preacher in the College, is alleged to have dealt with improper asperity with the above-mentioned remark of Maulana Syed Sibt-i-Hasan Sahib. This incident was instantly dealt with by the Trustees resident at Aligarh, and we understand that so far as the Shiah students and resident Trustees were concerned the incident was closed after the explanations and very proper expressions of regret by the Sunni preacher and Head Clerk.

Probably in ignorance of this settlement, Nawab Syed Naseer Hussain Khan Sahib *Ahyal*, a Shiah gentleman with whom no one who knows him would associate any sectarian bias, expressed a desire to resign his membership of the sub-committee for the formation of which he had himself moved the Trustees, unless one of the two alleged Sunni delinquents was suspended and the other dismissed. On learning this the Honorary Secretary, very rightly we think, pressed the Nawab Sahib not to resign, but to visit Aligarh

and to acquaint himself with the real facts of the case, and requested him in no case to mix up with the inquiry into a series of complaints of a more permanent nature his natural resentment on hearing allegations about an isolated incident however grave. Nawab Naseer Hussain Khan Sahib visited Aligarh, and on the 12th April as many as 17 Trustees, including the Hon. Justice Hasan Imam, met and considered the question. We are happy to note that perfect unanimity prevailed, and with the consent of Nawab Naseer Hussain Khan Sahib the 11th of May and following dates were fixed for the meeting of the sub-committee.

But if the Trustees believed that at last there was nothing more between this decision and the inquiry of the sub-committee, they were doomed to an early disappointment. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib Qazilbash was informed of the date of the meeting along with other members of the sub-committee, but failing to get an acknowledgment of this intimation, the Honorary Secretary repeatedly telegraphed to Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib, and when on his return from Rampur he stayed at Aligarh for the day, he was informed by the Honorary Secretary personally also. Even on this he only promised to communicate his decision subsequently by letter. Finally, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami was requested to obtain his decision by corresponding with him, and succeeded in doing so. The Nawab Sahib fixed the 25th and 26th May for meetings of the sub-committee in a letter which he wrote to Major Bilgrami on the 1st of May. But in a letter addressed to the Honorary Secretary two days later he for the first time re-opened the whole question, and it is necessary that we should refer in detail to his new demands.

His first demand was for a fresh inquiry into the *Chiklam* incident and the punishment of the delinquents as a condition precedent of his participation in the sub-committee's inquiry. His second demand was the appointment of a fresh sub-committee the Shiah members of which, whether Trustees or not, were to be only those whom the Shiah *Ulama* were to accept. This was to be presided over, he it noted, by a non-Moslem Visitor of the College or by its Official Patron. But if these proposals were not acceptable, the Nawab Sahib said that he would work on the sub-committee already appointed by the Trustees, provided that the numbers of Shiahs and Sunnis should be equal—which, in the light of existing facts, we can only interpret as a disapproval of the Honorary Secretary's membership of the sub-committee *ex-officio*, on the ground that he would be the fourth Sunni as compared with only three Shiahs—and provided that guarantees were given that the Board of Trustees "on which there was a majority of Sunnis" would accept the recommendations of the sub-committee.

It is indeed regrettable that a Trustee who had opposed every reform in the Constitution of the Trustees and had thus repeatedly expressed his confidence in the existing Board of Trustees should so readily denounce it now as a body of narrow-minded and prejudiced sectarians who could not be trusted to do justice to the recommendations of a sub-committee appointed by themselves. But what shall we say of a Trustee who allows a sub-committee to be appointed, and probably votes for it, consents to his candidature for a vacancy on that sub-committee, and more than a month afterwards turns round and for the first time suggests drastic changes in the principles underlying the formation of that sub-committee, and endeavours to set up a string of conditions precedent to his working on it each more staggering than the other? What is wholly unpardonable is that when the Honorary Secretary replied at length to this communication, explaining in a courteous letter how impossible it was for him to alter the decision of the Trustees arrived at in one of their formal meetings, the Nawab Qazilbash did not even condescend to acknowledge his letter, nor even his express telegraphic message requesting him to intimate whether he would participate in the inquiries of the sub-committee on the date which he had himself suggested. A lot of malicious nonsense has been uttered ere this about the irreverence of young Mussalmans towards their elders. Well, we have come across far greater irreverence on the part of the elders towards each other and their seniors, the real patriarchs of the community, and when the official mentors of the "young hotheads" next discourse very solemnly on the duties of the young and the respect and support due to the Honorary Secretary of the College, it is not unlikely that some of the young people preached to would ask if Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib Qazilbash is to be regarded by them as an exemplar in good manners and discipline as well as in the noble art of "offering prayers for his grandfather's soul on the confectioner's shop."

We have given all these unsavoury details because we are afraid that it would not be possible to understand the drift of things without an intimate acquaintance with them. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib, who is not only a Lahore grandee, but also a considerable landlord in Oudh, had been peregrinating a great deal in the United Provinces in March and April, and, among other places, Allahabad, Lucknow and Rampur were visited by him before his letter to the Honorary Secretary of the College with its staggering suggestions was evolved. If it is true, as the *Tribune* states, possibly on the authority of the Lahore Nawab himself, that His Honour Sir James Meston's projected visit to Aligarh is in connection with the so-called "Shiah-Sunni complications" of the College, then it is certain that the

suggestion of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb that a non-Moslem Visitor of the College or its Official Patron should preside over the Shiah-Sunni sub-committee, has borne fruit by His Honour's practical acceptance of it in spite of the fact that it has had no chance yet of being considered by the Trustees themselves. Nay, some people may even suspect that the Nawab Saheb's suggestion itself had been inspired.

Now that it is announced in the papers that His Honour Sir James Meston is visiting Aligarh to discuss this question with the Trustees, the thought that is uppermost in one's mind is the one so well expressed in a question by the Poet :

حضرت ناصح گر آئیں دیدہ و دل فرس راہ * ہر کوئی اتنا توسعہ دے کہ سبھائیگی کیا

(If the counsellor condescends to visit us, our eyes and hearts must carpet his path. But some one must explain this much: What will he counsel?) His Honour is a staunch Christian and it is not unlikely that he could preside over a Church Conference, organise a Mission or manage a diocese with as much ease as he administers a Province of India. But in the Cawnpore Mosque affair we have painfully realised how little His Honour knows about Moslem divinity, and if the settlement of sectarian difficulties demands an intimate acquaintance with the beliefs of the sects concerned, the intervention of His Honour Sir James Meston will clearly not do.

It may, however, be said that his want of such intimate acquaintance is his chief merit, as that would argue unquestionable impartiality. But we submit that that does not necessarily follow, and even if it did, the question still remains: Have the Mussalmans come to that stage of incapacity to settle their religious differences themselves that a non-Moslem must be brought in to make peace between them? What has happened to suggest that the relations of the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs are so bad that they cannot put their heads together and settle the matter among themselves?

What has really happened has gone to make the path of such settlements far easier than before. Education has always tended to deface sectarian prejudices, and in recent years they were so thin that one could have safely ignored them. When the integrity and independence of Persia were being threatened by England and Russia, Sunnis vied with Shi'ahs in India to save that kingdom of splendid memories. When the Turkish Government was alleged to harbour designs on the treasures of Kerbala and Najaf, even though for providing educational facilities and improving the sanitation of these sacred places, Sunnis were as anxious as the Shi'ahs to dissuade the Turks from touching these treasures without the full and willing consent of Shi'ahs. Similarly, ever since the troubles of the Turks commenced, Shi'ahs vied with Sunnis in protesting against European and Christian aggression and in assisting the war sufferers. Again, when the Cawnpore Mosque affair occurred, Shi'ahs and Sunnis were equally exasperated, and it is significant of the spirit of the times that the names of a Shi'ah Taluqdar and a Sunni *Alim* were chiefly associated with the Moslem agitation against the high-handedness and cruelty exhibited by the officials at Cawnpore. Nor was it a meaningless co-incidence that of the two Mussalmans that went to England as Moslem delegates, one was a Shi'ah and the other a Sunni. The same solidarity of Mussalmans has been evident in the way in which Sunnis have in recent years proved their confidence in such leaders of Moslem opinion as H. H. the Aga Khan, the Hon. Sir Ali Durrani, the Hon. Justice Hasan Inan, the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bilgrami, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, all of whom are Shi'ah gentlemen. It is no exaggeration to say that at no time have the relations of Sunnis and Shi'ahs in India been more truly Islamic, and therefore brotherly, than they are to-day. And yet what has never once happened in the course of the last forty years, during which Aligarh has been the one hope of Islamic solidarity, is, if we can believe the report in the papers, now going to happen, and the non-Moslem Patron of the College deems it necessary to act as the *deus ex machina* and settle sectarian disputes at Aligarh. Leaving aside the questions whether His Honour has the authority to interfere, and the ability to assist the Mussalmans out of whatever sectarian difficulty that may exist, we say, and we say it as emphatically as we know how, that His Honour's action would have all the appearance of a gross and an undeserved insult not only to the Trustees of the College but to the Moslem community itself. If the Mussalmans are really incapable of settling such questions without official meddling, then the time has come, not for Sir James Meston to recommend the closing of Aligarh for a year, but for the Mussalmans to close it for ever. The College gates must be shut and the following legend should be inscribed thereon as the epitaph of a thousand aspirations and dreams.

ای بسا آرزو کہ خاک شدہ

(Oh the many hopes that have turned into dust!)

We have no desire to prejudge the demands of a class of Shi'ah gentlemen who still control the Shi'ah Conference, but we trust we shall be permitted to mention just a few to enable our readers to judge what it is that has merited so much official attention. When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, optimist of

optimists, had felt compelled to capitulate to the demands of the present and construct at his College two mosques, one for the Shi'ahs and another for the Sunnis, it was his Shi'ah friend and co-adjutor, Khalifa Mohamed Hasan, who demanded his surrender to the deserts of the past and the claims of the future. Islam was one and indivisible as the Prophet of Islam had preached it, and those who shared one Allah, one Prophet, one Ka'ba and one Quran could not think of two Mosques, one for Shi'ah and another for Sunni worship. This is not a grandmothers' tale of the 'splendid past' of the Mussalmans, but a living tradition at Aligarh, and howsoever keenly the Shi'ah and Sunni students may believe in their own interpretation of those minor points which have evolved two sectarian labels, not one of them to our knowledge has desired to see at Aligarh a separation that does not exist at the Ka'ba and that did not exist when Syed Ahmad Khan and Khalifa Mohamed Hasan built up the mosque of the College. We do not minimise the difficulties of such unity, but we stand on the firm ground of past achievement. We now ask those who have so often differed from the views of their co-religionists in order to please their official patrons, where is now their boasted adherence to the principles and policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan? And we appeal to their community to demand from its Shudis, Shaikh Abdullahs and Abdur Raufs whether they still pretend to follow Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Let each of them now explain his position.

A mere recital of a few more demands would, we think, suffice. Four of them run as follows:—

"(1) The office-bearers and managers of the College and all its departments, whether honorary or paid, should be taken from the two sects in equal proportions, and such offices as can be held only by a single individual should be filled alternately by Shi'ahs and Sunnis.

"(2) Shi'ahs should fill as many seats on the Board of Trustees as Sunnis.

"(3) Salaries and other emoluments (of Shi'ahs) should be equal to those of Sunnis) and Shi'ah employes should receive proportional increments (or promotions).

"(4) In scholarships (or *waqifas*) Shi'ahs should receive an equality in every way."

Whether these demands are just or unjust we shall leave the sub-committee to decide. But the drift of the demands is obvious and our readers will judge for themselves what effect the unsolicited intervention of Sir James Meston is likely to have on the discussion of such demands among the Trustees.

Chapter XII of the Rules and Regulations of the College consists of the powers of the Local Government and the Director of Public Instruction, and after clearly specifying these powers concludes with Rule 147 which runs as follows:—

The Government and Director of Public Instruction shall have no power to interfere in the internal management of the Education, and the Boarding House and the appointment, dismissal, and transfer of the College staff except as provided in Rule 144, and the matters connected with religious instruction.

This ought to be plain enough, and we do not see how the Local Government can justify any interference in such intimate concerns of the Mussalmans as sectarian differences. But perhaps Sir James Meston is availing himself of Rule 41 according to which "the Patron of the College (the Local Government) may inquire into every matter relating to the College and give such advice to the Trustees as he may deem fit about the improvement, management and welfare of the College." But he could not have ignored the conclusion of that Rule which lays down that "it shall be the duty of the Trustees to take such advice into consideration, and either act upon it or record their reasons for abstaining from so doing." We remember only two occasions in a quarter of a century on which such advice was offered by the Patron. On the first occasion the "elders" were quarrelling in an unseemly manner about office, and Sir James La Touche had no difficulty in persuading the late Nawab Mobsin-ul-Mulk to be re-elected. That was early in 1902. Seven years later Sir John Hewett "advised" the Trustees to retain Mr. Archbold as Principal after he had sent in his resignation, not to his employers, but to the Lieutenant-Governor, on the suggestion, as we believe, he explained later on, of the Chief Secretary to Government. Well, the Trustees had a strong man at the helm and they were not inclined "to act upon it", but were willing enough to "record their reasons for abstaining from so doing." Sir John Hewett was a shrewd man of business and was unwilling to test his kingly power over the waves of an angry sea. He wisely retired and put a cheerful face on the matter. That precedent is not very encouraging in any case, and as Sir James Meston showed at Lucknow on the 16th of August last, he does not unfortunately possess Sir John Hewett's capacity for putting a cheerful face on such discomfiture.

What Sir James Meston will ask the Trustees to do, and how they will act, we are not in a position to know or state. But we honestly believe that he is not empowered to interfere, that he is not qualified to mediate, and that, in any case, the time for mediation has not yet come. The matter has not been considered by the Trustees as yet, and even their sub-committee has not yet met. When the sub-committee has met, inquired into the matter and reported upon it, and when the Trustees have taken some action upon it, and it has proved of no

avail, the *deus machina* may then make his appearance. At present it will be as premature as some "unrehearsed effects" on the stage. And we are sure that of leisure His Honour has none too much. A famine-stricken Province of half a hundred million souls cannot be considered a light charge for a Lieutenant-Governor without his long expected—we had almost said his long promised—Executive Council. But even if His Honour has some time to spare, the Hindu-Muslim *entente* must surely be held to be a first charge.

The Allahabad University Results.

The results of the various annual examinations held by the Allahabad University have recently been published, and it seems desirable to estimate their bearing on the general state of education in the United Provinces. One need not too often repeat the truism that the problem of Indian education is of superlative importance to the future of the country. No well-wisher of India can, therefore, remain indifferent to the work and achievements of the various State Universities, which are primarily responsible for the solution of the problem. The Education Department of the Government of India stands for the unity of Government educational policy and one of its functions must obviously be to keep a close watch over the work of the Universities and see that their activities are to some extent co-ordinated and lead to progressive results. However, in the peculiar circumstances of India, the Education Department can not adequately meet the needs of the situation. Its standpoint is inevitably different from that of the people. As a State organ, its activities are naturally mixed up with general administrative and political issues, and its treatment of the educational problem of India is apt to be governed on occasions by considerations that are not purely educational. It is, in view of this, of the utmost importance that the people themselves should keep a watchful eye over the Universities and their work should receive a constant, close and careful study from the Indian Press and public men. In the interests of a rapid and wholesome educational advance it seems necessary to organise public opinion and create in every province a sort of people's educational bureau, which would be in close touch with the people's needs, formulate the people's point of view on current educational questions and, after a thorough study of the ways and means, press for necessary reforms in the objects and methods of work of provincial Universities and provincial Education Departments. Without some such organisations the Universities would remain as indifferent to public requirements as they are to-day. Public criticism to be effective must be searching, intelligent and organised. Casual notices in the Press after the publication of the annual examination results of the Universities and hurried references to the character of question papers, text-books, examiners and so forth, usually prove of little avail. The Universities pay little heed to what a somnolent public is pleased to say after it has been roused to a sense of duty for a brief space by the grim tales of the "slaughter of innocents." They live apart in a world dominated mostly by politicians disguised as educational experts and men possibly having every other qualification except a knowledge of India's educational needs. To hope for reform of the Universities from within is manifestly absurd as long as their constitution remains what it is. Some good, however, may be expected to result from the pressure of enlightened public opinion strongly and ceaselessly exerted from without.

These considerations suggest themselves with the last annual results of the Allahabad University before us. Before analysing their actual significance we would like to give the figures relating to the various examinations held in March, 1914. According to these it would appear that 26 candidates went in for M. Sc. (Previous), out of whom 21 have passed; 9 out of 11 have passed in M. Sc. (Final); 68 out of 140 have passed in M. A. (Previous); and 46 out of 61 in M. A. (Final). The passes in the B. Sc. examination are 68 out of 163, i. e., 41.7 per cent.; in the B. A., 115 out of 246, i. e., 43.8 per cent.; in the F. A., 859 out of 1919, i. e., 44.5 per cent.; and in the Matriculation, 1649 out of 3904, i. e., 42.2 per cent. It would be readily observed that, excepting the results of examinations for the M. A. and M. Sc. degrees, the percentage of passes in every other examination is in no case higher than 44.

Taking these figures as criteria, the general state of secondary and higher education in the United Provinces does not seem to be in any way satisfactory. The proportion of those under instruction in the secondary and higher stages to the general population of the Provinces is disappointingly meagre and calls for serious public attention. We reviewed some two years ago the educational position of the Provinces with reference to the economic and social needs of a community of about 48 millions, and we pointed out the utter inadequacy of the numbers then undergoing a process of organised training in public schools and colleges. The position has not appreciably changed since then. There have been slight increases in the numbers of candidates that have appeared this year in the various examinations, but they are practically negligible, and the problem of the growth of secondary and higher education in the

United Provinces remains as serious as ever. The educational efforts in the Provinces fall miserably below the standard required for the daily growing needs of the community. The paltry results of both Government activity and private enterprise are best illustrated by the fact that a community of about 48 millions faced with enormous tasks of social reconstruction and economic development can provide for the intellectual training of only less than 7,000 of its youths, a number represented by the Matriculation, F. A. and B. A. candidates combined. This is a state of things that is creditable neither to Government nor to the educational reformers of the community. We need not set about to analyse the causes, but it is incontestable that the Provincial Government will have to change its existing attitude if matters are to be improved. What is needed chiefly is the provision of greater facilities and therefore of greater expenditure for the growth of provincial education. The educational "expert", who professes a passion for efficiency and invariably seeks to attain it by increasing inspecting staffs and making education generally expensive, is the one obstructive individual who has to be cured of his reactionary theories and illiberal doctrines.

Apart, however, from the fundamental question of the growth of provincial education, the nature of the Allahabad University results has, for several years past, been very disquieting. It is evident from the figures we have given above that, excepting the results of the M. Sc. and M. A. examinations, the percentage of passes is in no case higher than 44. These results have been repeating themselves with astonishing regularity for some years past. It means practically that appreciably less than one-half of the students preparing annually for Matriculation, F. A. and B. A. are fit to receive the hall-mark of the University. The wastage is enormous and frightful and calls for a prompt and searching inquiry. Probably in few other Universities in India and certainly in no other University in the rest of the world such an alarming state of things is known to be going on from year to year. It should not at all be difficult to find out the causes to which such a wastage is mainly due. The question is one that in the interests of the provincial education can not be allowed to wait indefinitely. Obviously, there are three chief factors that make up the question, viz., the standards of the University tests, the standards of the school and collegiate teaching, and the standards mentally set up by individual examiners. Only a definite and systematic inquiry can show which of these factors is responsible for such results. If the school instruction and collegiate teaching are defective, the University should take drastic action and disaffiliate such schools and colleges as do not make efficient provision for teaching up to the various curricula prescribed by the University. If examiners are proved to be erratic in their methods and judgments, steps should be taken to see that they rigidly adhere to the University standards and do not give way to individual freaks. But if the University itself is to blame, if its standards are shifty and its methods capricious and indeterminate, if it has neither traditions to cherish nor fixed educational ideals to popularise, if, indeed, it is a chaotic concern in which nobody is particularly and genuinely interested and which anybody that can successfully manipulate votes and patronage may claim to run, then it were high time for somebody to rise and deprive this cumbersome, aimless and mischievous institution of its powers to play fast and loose with the destinies of the hapless youths in the U. P. schools and colleges. It is really surprising that the University authorities can afford to sit still while this grave evil has continued unabated for years. From their apparent indifference it would seem as if they are not conscious of the existence of the evil itself. We are, of course, familiar with a certain frame of mind of the educational expert, who regards the keeping down of the percentage of successful candidates at University examinations as a wholesome measure of "efficiency." The idea underlying this attitude is somewhat this: "The Indian University products are more or less an administrative evil. The greater their number, the louder will be the clamour for posts in Government service. By keeping down the number, you would mitigate the nuisance of the unemployed and consequently help in thinning the ranks of potential agitators." We would like to know if the logic of some such argument has impressed the University of Allahabad. On no other ground can we understand its superb indifference to the fate of hapless hosts whom it annually succeeds in branding as "failures." Why continue the farce of fixing curricula and courses of instructions and terms of study, when more than half the candidates are seemingly unable to satisfy the University tests? It would be far simpler and much more logical if the respective periods of study in schools and colleges were raised to suit the requirements of the majority of students who annually fail and have to continue their study for one year more if they desire to get the University hall-mark.

Coming to the relative position in education of the major communities in the Provinces as disclosed by the University results, we find the Hindus to claim as usual the higher percentage of successful candidates. According to the figures the percentage of Moslem youths in the total University passes is 9.5 in M. Sc. (Previous); 29.4 in M. A. (Previous); 28.2 in M. A. (Final); 5.8 in B. Sc.; 24.8 in B. A.; 18.2 in F. A.; and 14.9 in Matriculation. No Moslem candidate

seems to have appeared for M. Sc. (Final). Excepting the M. Sc., the B. Sc. and the Matriculation results, the percentage of Mussalmans in all other figures seems to be higher than their proportion in the general population. But this apparent excess loses all its significance when we take into account the position and character of the college at Aligarh. The students of this college are drawn from every part of India and the number of such as come from places outside the United Provinces should obviously be eliminated from all estimates relating to the educational position of Mussalmans within the Provinces. When it is remembered that the other provinces of India usually contribute about one-half of the total number of students at Aligarh, and that the Allahabad University figures relating to Mussalmans include mostly Aligarh men the educational backwardness of Mussalmans in the U. P. becomes glaringly manifest. The state of things appears still more disquieting when one studies the figures relating to results in what are known as "modern subjects." It will be seen that the Moslem candidates show the poorest results in the Faculty of Science. It is not due to any accident this year; the records of the past years disclose a dismal tale that has been repeating itself with alarming regularity.

The results of the Aligarh College, while maintaining a fair level in the Arts Faculty, sink to discreditable figures in the Faculty of Science and fall much below the University average. In M. A. (Previous), M. A. (Final), B. A. and F. A. the Aligarh percentage is 60.8, 85.7, 51.1 and 43.3 respectively against the University percentage of 48.5, 75.4, 43.8 and 44.5. In all these examinations the Aligarh results have been satisfactory, though in F. A. the percentage falls a little below that of the University. But the results in M. Sc., B. Sc., and in the School Final examination are such as should furnish food for anxious thought to the authorities of the college. Three students went in for M. Sc. (Previous), out of whom one has passed in Physics, yielding a percentage of 33.3 against 80.7 per cent. of the University. Out of the two unsuccessful candidates one had taken up Physics and the other Mathematics. It appears that no student was prepared this year for M. Sc. (Final). Twelve students appeared at the B. Sc. examination of whom only two have been successful, i. e., 16.6 per cent. against 41.7 per cent. of the University. In M. A. (Previous: Mathematics) two students appeared both of whom have failed, while the solitary candidate that went in for M. A. (Final) in Mathematics and has passed is an Assistant Professor of Mathematics in the college who took his B. A. degree in 1907 and had already made two unsuccessful attempts for his M. A. In the School Final examination only five students have passed out of 30.

The points demanding a searching investigation in relation to these results are various. The School Final results cast an ugly blot on the teaching of the Aligarh School and we trust no effort will be spared to elucidate the causes to which they are due. We understand the Honorary Secretary of the College Trustees has decided to make a thorough inquiry into the matter. The results of his inquiry will be awaited with deep concern by those interested in the progress of the Aligarh School. Whatever the causes, we hope they will be speedily removed and the repetition of this year's scandalous results will be rendered impossible. As regards the Prince of Wales' School of Science and the paltry work that it has been doing, an equally searching inquiry is called for in relation to its organisation and teaching. Its maintenance is costing the Moslem community an enormous amount of money. The actual expenditure on its working in 1913-14 was Rs. 32,348-2-10 and the estimates for the 1914-15 come up to Rs. 35,700-5-4. It has an expensive staff consisting of three senior professors of European qualifications with a considerable number of assistant professors, who are all graduates of the Indian Universities, and large sums are spent annually on the equipment and upkeep of its laboratories. In these circumstances it is really a matter of the utmost urgency to inquire if such a bloated establishment involving huge expenditure has any justification for its existence. In actual fact, two B. Sc.'s represent the annual output of the Prince of Wales' School of Science, for the M. A. in Mathematics was a failure of the two previous years and had therefore no necessity to avail himself of the School's teaching in the course of the last year. It means, then, that upwards of Rs. 32,000 have been spent last year in manufacturing two Bachelors of Science! Could anything be more grotesque? And such results have been the normal feature of the work of the School since its establishment. Clearly a searching inquiry is called for, and we trust the Honorary Secretary of the college, who has already made up his mind in this matter, will ensure a speedy and thorough investigation. The scope of the inquiry should include the quality of the Science teaching and the work of individual professors. It should also extend to an investigation of the causes that keep the undergraduates from joining the M. Sc. and B. Sc. classes in appreciable numbers. We hear that many of this year's failures in B. Sc. intend to take up the Arts course. If some accounts are to be believed, it would appear that boys hesitate to take up Mathematics because Dr. Zia-ud-Din, the senior professor in charge of the subject, is said to be in the habit of paying insufficient attention to class work. It is rumoured that very few lectures are given by him, and to save himself from results such as fell

adoption of necessary measures to remind those of the college professors, to whom a sterile and senseless spinning round college "politics" has proved an attractive occupation, that their duties lie in the classroom and their talents would be better employed in looking after the work and progress of the undergraduates than in trying to make a mess of affairs with which they have no concern and which they are scarcely competent to handle. The Prince of Wales' School of Science has got to be reformed. There has been enough waste of money and of the time and energy of students already, and it can not be allowed to go on any longer. We await the result of the inquiry that the Honorary Secretary has initiated and we only trust it will eventually result in a thorough reorganisation of the work and teaching of the School. But this requires a firm hand and resolute heart and the Honorary Secretary will have to be very persistent before he can achieve any results.

A U. P. Civilian and the Calcutta High Court.

A FOOLISH TIRADE AGAINST THE BAR.

A WRITER who signs himself as "Ignotus," a well enough known pen-name in the *Reviews*, contributes to *The Asiatic Review* (formerly *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*) an article bearing the notoriously sensational heading: "The Indian Peril". It is in reality a foolish tirade against the Bar in India based on the secondhand information to be found in M. Joseph Chailley's book translated by Sir William Meyer. The article teems with references to "our critic" and "our author" and with numerous quotations from his book, and the dull monotony of the thing is broken only by the amusing references of equal frequency to "the leading journal" which is none other than the one we knew as "the paper for thinking people" when it catered ponderosity for the English breakfast table at threepence and latterly at twopence a day, and has now come down to the commonplace penny. The writer brings together "all the talents" in order to condemn the Bar, and we particularly note that on July 23rd, 1912, "the leading journal" declared that "the working of the Chartered High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court, has been a secret nuisance in the Indian administration for more than a century". Our old friend the creator of "the Indian Peril" of last December is also quoted as saying: "The High Courts and Chief Courts have stereotyped a jurisprudence which rests on the strict and literal interpretation of the law. (Pray, what have the Chief Courts done to deserve such censure? Ed. *Comrade*). In the older provinces this evil is irremediable: legality and formalism have triumphed and the people are resigned." Not content with the evidence of these witnesses, the writer puts some more into the witness-box. Here is Mr. Carstairs, and if you want to be sure that he is wholly disinterested you have only to look at the letters "I. C. S." at the end of his name. He is the author, as also perhaps the denizen, of "*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*", and his testimony is as follows:—"A most discouraging feature is our singular want of success in getting anyone punished for the crime of dacoity. We had a judge prone to acquit. If I remember rightly, he acquitted in every case sent up except one, and in the one case where he convicted the accused were let off on appeal to the High Court..... When we saw the reasons for acquittal, it did seem as if no mortal evidence would have satisfied the High Courts." After Mr. Carstairs, I. C. S., Sir Bamfylde Fuller, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., steps in and repeats the evidence he gave on the 7th October last before the "thinking people" who read the "leading journal" that "the authority of the Indian Civil Service has been partly undermined by the Calcutta High Court," as if it meant the same thing as the authority of the King having been undermined. Even Mr. Fielding Hall has been sub-penned to swear the irrelevant statement that "the Courts are but collecting agencies for money-lenders; the people despise them", as if the Judiciary as well as the Executive had usurped legislative functions and created the *bunya's* arcadia. Wonder of wonders, even Sir Henry Cotton is dragged in to support the claims of the I. C. S. that law and procedure, rules and regulations, precedents and rulings are all forms for which fools alone contest, that whatever they administer is administered best, and that the good old rule which said: "Whatever pleases the Prince has the force of law", with a short Amending Bill originating in the Home Department, declaring that the Civilian magistrate and judge are "Princes" within the meaning of the Act, would set everything right. The comments of "Ignotus" on "the testimony of all these unimpeachable witnesses"—Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Bamfylde Fuller both on the side of and among the angels!—are worthy of perusal. "Can we wonder," he asks, "at the increase of lawlessness and the powerlessness of police and magistrates under a system where the Bench (one in training, sentiment and sympathy with the Bar, its progenitor) orders acquittals wholesale if Western chicane and Oriental astuteness can find a flaw in the indictment, an oversight in the procedure, or a contradiction in a witness's evidence? The Indian Peril proceeds from a régime of sophists..... These defects are, briefly,

"condemned by practical experience..... Symptoms are not wanting that a strong movement is being engineered with the cry, "Complete Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions." This slogan has just that appearance of consistency which masks its real purpose. That purpose is to throw the blame of the present discontent on the alleged defective knowledge of those occupants of the Bench who are not under the sign of the Inns of Court."

A SUBJECT FIT FOR MOLIERE.

Well, we only wish Indian Courts had half the disease that "Ignorance" has attributed them. But that's another story. Our purpose here is to invite the attention of those who write like this to a recently reported case from that worst of Courts, the High Court of Calcutta—and may it long remain as bad, though we pray there may not be any 'better' or 'worse' in our law courts in future. Such writings of which no Local Government takes the least notice under the Press Act for "bringing the administration of justice into contempt" in spite of their grossly libellous character, though Judge Mackarness's Pamphlet on the methods of the Police has long been declared forfeited, are clearly bits of special pleading for a type of Civilian unfortunately only too common in Northern India to whose love of Justinian's *dictum* we have alluded. Need we wonder then that Calcutta found unusual attraction in the proceedings of a case in which a Northern India District Magistrate belonging to the Primer Service gave evidence before the Bar-trained Bench of the Calcutta High Court and was cross-examined by that "humble Barrister," Mr. Eardley Norton? No wonder the papers bore the headline "Civilian Witness" in bold letters, for was not the subject fit for Molière?

THE CAMEL AT THE FOOT OF THE HILL.

The Civilian surrounded by the halo of prestige is one of the great planets of the bright official firmament of the U. P. when he sits in a costume generally associated with polo to mete and dole unequal laws unto a savage race of black bipeds clustering round the Collector's *Cutcherry*. As the Press Act does not apply to words which are likely or have a tendency, in all possible and impossible ways, to bring into contempt anyone so insignificant in these days as God, we have no hesitation in repeating the blasphemy of the editor of the *Zamindar* who wrote:—

اسکی قدرت کا بیان کسی طرح کری
میں تو اللہ تعالیٰ کو کثیر سمجھا

(Others may describe His omnipotence as they please;
I regarded God Almighty to be a Collector.)

But the U. P. Civilian is not in his proper setting in the Calcutta High Court. He certainly shows to no better advantage than Sir Ali Baha's Political Agent beyond Aden. He is something even less luminant than the A. D. C.-in-waiting when he has doffed his scarlet uniform and donned *Mufti*. He doesn't even bear the marks of earlier refulgence which are noticeable on the charred stump of a rocket. How have the mighty fallen indeed. The nearest approach to him is the proverbial Camel when he gets to the foot of a Mountain and receives the first shock in connection with his unsurpassable altitude the thought of which had contributed so greatly to the development of a *nonchalance* and mighty disdain no less noticeable than his hump.

THE MEANEST OF MORTALS.

These stray reflections are merely by the way and have no application to Mr. A. F. Fremantle, Deputy Commissioner of Barabanki during this hot weather as he was of Unao during the last. As everybody knows, Rajputana Politicals and Oudh Civilians are the meekest of mortals, and wear their great powers, whether conferred by British Indian law or Native State and Taluqdari usage, generally with the same ease and absence of display as a Copper or Oil King's consort wears her diamonds. With this preliminary explanation let us begin. At the Calcutta High Court before Mr. Justice Chandhuri, Mr. A. F. Fremantle was examined *de bene esse* on behalf of the defendant in the suit brought by Babu Russick Lall Mullick, an attorney of the High Court, against Pandit Jay Kishen Tewari to recover damages for alleged malicious prosecution. The defence was that the defendant did not prosecute Babu Russick Lall Mullick but that the prosecution was instituted by the Magistrate upon certain information. The report says:—

Mr. Allan Frederick Fremantle examined by Mr. Sircar, counsel for defence, said: I am a member of the Indian Civil Service. I have been so about thirteen and a half years. I am at present Deputy Commissioner of Barabanki. I was Deputy Commissioner of Unao from 19th March to 1st October last year. I know the defendant. I think he called upon me in May 1913, at my house. My impression is he came generally to call on me as Deputy Commissioner and also to complain about some people in his village. In May 1913 when he saw me he made no complaint against Russick Lall Mullick.

Did he at any time ask you to issue any process against Russick Lall Mullick?—No.

Neither verbally nor in writing?—No.

Continuing Mr. Fremantle said: I issued a warrant against Russick Lall Mullick.

Did you issue that warrant on your initiative?—Yes, entirely.

Mr. Ghatak, counsel, appeared before you at Unao for Russick Lall Mullick?—Yes.

Mr. Fremantle next said: When the case came on before me I suggested I should transfer the case as I presumed the accused wished to avail himself of his rights under Section 191 of the Criminal Procedure Code, clause (c). The case was not actually transferred for the reasons stated in my order. Ultimately the accused was discharged.

Had Pandit Jay Kishen Tewari beyond being a witness for the prosecution anything to do with the prosecution of the accused?—None whatever.

"PROMOTION IS SO BAD!"

After this the cross-examination began, and we note that Mr. A. F. Fremantle was quite bright and almost gay when Mr. Norton opened it.

Witness said he had been a Magistrate since he came out to India, thirteen and a half years ago.

And how long a District Magistrate?—Recently. I have generally been reverting in the cold weather. Promotion is so bad (laughter).

Thirteen and half years out in India and not yet a *pukka* Collector? Promotion must be bad, for does not four or five years' service often entitle a Civilian—an English Civilian—to officiate in the rank of the Almighty Collector of a district in the U. P. with a million souls, including both dotards and "hotheads"? Let us proceed.

May I take it that in the course of your experience as a District Magistrate you are familiar with the Criminal Procedure Code and its various provisions in regard to the taking of cognisance?—Yes.

Have you thought carefully over the facts of this case in so far as your action in it is concerned?—Yes.

Do you think you made any mistake in law in your proceedings?—I think I had very good grounds for issuing the warrant.

That is not my point. I am asking you whether you consider in the course of your proceedings you have at any time been guilty, so far as you recollect, of any contravention of the Code?—No.

"RATHER BAD GRAMMAR."

So far so good. A clean conscience is a valuable asset, though a bad memory is often a serviceable substitute. We have after this declaration a compensating confession touching in its candour, the admission of a combination of good law and bad grammar.

Had you known the defendant in this case Pandit Jay Kishen Tewari for some time personally?—No.

Had you known him before he came to you with a letter in December 1912?—He came to me in May 1913.

I will tell you why I put that question. In his statement to yourself the present defendant has made this statement: "I received a letter—"

Mr. Fremantle (interrupting): I know what the difficulty is. If you read that sentence out, I will explain it. It is rather bad grammar on my part (laughter).

Mr. Norton: I have not come to the bad grammar as yet (renewed laughter).

"FATHER OF A FAMILY."

Indeed we are shocked at Mr. Norton's want of appreciation of such witty confessions. But perhaps he may improve later on.

Do I understand you were not personally acquainted with the defendant at the time he gave you the letter?—No.

Is it not a fact that this man brought you a letter purporting to be written by the plaintiff?—He gave me a letter.

When?—In May 1913.

Where was that given to you?—In my office in my bungalow.

At your private residence?—Yes.

Had you known the defendant before that date?—No I had not seen him. I knew nothing about his antecedents. I don't think I made any enquiries about his antecedents. He spoke to me in Hindustani, I understand Hindustani.

In handing you the letter did he do so voluntarily or at your request?—Voluntarily. As far as I remember he said there was some person or persons in his village who were harassing him and as an example of the harassment he received he showed me this letter.

He came to you as a sort of father of a family (laughter)?—Yes.

Not as District Magistrate?—The same thing.

Are all District Magistrates fathers of families (laughter)?—The people of the district generally call them their "ma bap." I don't know what they mean. They know what they mean.

A QUESTION OF IDENTITY.

This is really very interesting. Mr. Fremantle is "father of a family" without knowing the reason why. We wonder whether he is the same gentleman who, in the exercise of his rights as a somewhat precocious "father of a family" entered the *Zenana* of an aged zamindar in the district of Pilibhit, where he was doing settlement work, and dragged him out to his office in the presence of his tenantry, when he had regretfully declined to attend on the ground of indisposition.

THE "HEIGHT" OF THE HIGHER STANDARD.

But we need not tarry over so slight an incident in the midst of another *Ma-Bap* story. Mr. Fremantle deplored that in a short interview lasting five minutes Pandit Jay Kishen Tewari, whom he did not know before, and into whose antecedents he had not inquired, handed him the attorney's letter, sought his help against those who harassed him and obtained the promise of assistance from this "father of a family." This happened on the 3rd May, 1913. On the 18th June, 1913, Mr. Tewari was examined by Mr. Fremantle. Then the following evidence was given in connection with the examination of Mr. Tewari and the subsequent proceedings. Readers will please note the subtle distinction made by Mr. Fremantle between the Higher Standard and the Higher Proficiency and the complete humiliation of Mr. Norton whose ignorance of Persian contrasted so glaringly with Mr. Fremantle's ability to read Urdu—with assistance.

After that interview between the 3rd May and the 18th June, did you make any record whatever anywhere that you were taking up this case of your own volition—either in the order sheet or any other document?—I think I did not. I was afraid he might get wind of it.

Did you start any order sheet in connection with this case? Until I get the record from Unao I cannot say. It is very difficult to remember.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Is everything in connection with this matter on the record? Whatever you did does everything appear on the record to the best of your recollection?—Yes, except probably a confidential letter I sent to the C. I. D. with respect to getting a copy of a signature.

Except a confidential letter written to the C. I. D. everything else you think is on the record?—I think so.

Mr. Norton: I take it that you read Urdu?—I cannot read it very well without assistance. I may be able to read it. It depends on the script.

Are you in a position to read your own order sheet?—I usually cannot without assistance. I can read this (shown).

I understand you have passed the Higher Proficiency in Persian?—No, only the Higher Standard.

What is the date of the first entry in the order sheet?—The 1st July, 1913.

That is obviously incorrect because you examined this man on the 18th June?—Yes.

Where is the reference in the order sheet to the examination?—I don't know where the first order sheet is. This may be the first.

Will you kindly look. I am ignorant of Persian. There is no order sheet of your examination of Tewari on the 18th June?—No.

TAKEN BY SURPRISE.

Now we come to something more interesting, though one has to wade through some details in order to get to the land of "Surprises".

I have certain certified copies of the proceedings of June 18th here. I want to bring these to your notice. Who puts the entitlement on the papers in your court? Do you do it yourself?—I write it in English.

(Copy of title of case shown "King-Empress, through J. K. Tewari" etc.) May I take it that this charge and this portion of the entitlement are in your handwriting?—No, I will not say that it is in my handwriting.

Is any portion of it in your writing?—I don't think so.

That was written on the paper when you received Tewari's statement?—No, I will not admit that.

Then what do you admit?—I admit that I received his statement. Subsequently when the criminal file was prepared it was made part of the criminal file.

The entitlement is part of the proceedings of the court?—I don't think so. It is not. It might have been done in the Copying Department.

That entitlement was put on. It is not a forgery. It must be part of the proceedings of your Court?—It might have been added in the Copying Department. Supposing you put in an application for a copy of a statement made in the case of the King-Empress &c. so and so, the Copying Department would put on the words "copy of a statement made in the case of" etc.

I think you will admit that part of the official record of the statement which you took in this matter?—That heading?

Yes.—I have just said I don't admit it. It may be so, but I don't think it is.

Have you ever seen this statement with this heading before or have heard it read to you?—It has taken me by surprise.

CIVILIANS AND "OBVIOUSLY BAD ENGLISH".

Well, we are fast coming to the conclusion that Mr. Norton is a bad man. He takes undue advantage of official surprises and even presumes to allude to candid confession about "bad grammar" made in a gay communicative mood. The following will show what we mean:—

What portion surprises you, will you point it out?—The words "in pending." This is obviously bad English and the words "Through Pandit Jay Kishen Tewari" is a pure mistake, because it is suggested that he was the complainant when he was not.

Mr. Norton: I say that Civil Servants are quite capable of writing bad English.

Witness: It is incorrect and the proper designation of the case is King Emperor &c. (Russick Lal Mullick).

This is the first time that this has been brought to your notice?—Yes. I have never seen this paper as far as I recollect it.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Your attention was not drawn to it?—No.

Mr. Norton: If you saw it you did not correct it?—If I saw it I did not correct it.

Are we to take it that since 18th June up to date, bearing in mind the letters you have written to this court, you have never taken the trouble to verify the records in this case?—I have never sent for the records. No I did not.

You are taken by surprise that the entitlement of the proceedings lends colour to the statement that you were taking down the statement of the complainant?—It certainly does lend colour to that.

"HUMILITY DUE TO OUR RESPECTIVE SITUATIONS."

Then we come to some more details about Mr. Fremantle's intentions and the official record thereof or its absence, and some technicalities of law that are evidently as distasteful to some U. P. District Magistrates as to the lay man. But the reader would no doubt mark how humble the mere barrister has to be when pitted against a Civilian Magistrate.

At that date, the 18th June, had you made up your mind to try the case or to transfer it?—To transfer it.

It follows from what you have stated—in the absence of any order sheet—that there is no order sheet which evidences your intention to transfer on the 18th?—No.

Is there any letter of a private character from you to Tewari or anybody else evidencing such an intention on that date?—No, because the law obliged me to transfer if the accused exercised his right of asking for the case to be transferred and I never doubted he would not ask for that right.

That is begging the whole pith of my cross-examination. You have sworn in this Court that on the 18th June you were acting under clause (c) of Section 191 of the Criminal Procedure Code?—I think I said Section 190 clause (c), not Section 191.

Mr. Norton: I am not a Magistrate (laughter). I may be wrong.

Did you on the 18th June intend to act in strict conformity with the Procedure Code?—Yes.

And in fact did you?—As far as I know I did.

Take the statement of the 18th June. From every point of view it is meant as evidence?—Yes.

And you took it?—Yes.

Is that in compliance with the Code? I don't know of any section of the Code which is against it.

Will you allow me with all humility due to our respective situations to call attention to Section 190 (laughter)?—Yes.

That shows you violated Section 191? It appears I did.

I am going to suggest this is inconsistent with your dream that at that time you were acting on information (laughter). My point is that you were acting on a complaint. If you were acting on a complaint what you did was right; if you were acting on information what you did was wrong. I acted on information but I thought it was only fair to the accused that I should not send a warrant for him 700 miles away unless I got some evidence on satisfactory affirmation against him.

That is an amplification of the Code? It is an interpretation of the Code. Will you point out any section which justifies your action? The section which justifies my conduct is, I think, Section 191.

What portion of it justifies your conduct?—The first words "When a Magistrate takes cognizance of an offence."

That is an amplification of that Section?—I would not call it an amplification.

Substitute a better word?—Interpretation.

Do you think that is correct legal interpretation?—I do.

The section says: "When a Magistrate takes cognizance of an offence the accused shall, before any evidence is taken, be informed that he is entitled to a transfer."—Yes.

You did take evidence before you gave information?—Yes. That is a matter for argument. I don't know as much about law as you do, Mr. Norton (laughter).

"THE WAY BUSINESS IS CONDUCTED."

This last confession was not obviously as gay as that one about "bad grammar." It certainly encouraged even an Indian Bar-trained Judge to put some distinctly unpleasant questions to our U. P. District Magistrate. The light it throws upon U. P.'s fear of "Ye Manne of Law" will no doubt gladden the hearts of the humble Vakils who never appear before a Civilian Magistrate except in the condition of a jelly, a shaking mass of sweetness.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: When you thought it would be fair to the accused to have the informant's statement on oath why did you not ask him to put in a complaint? It would have thrown the burden upon him and not upon you. I thought he would be afraid.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Oh Mr. Fremantle! Is that the way business is conducted? A man comes into Court and gives evidence in open Court on oath making charges against one. Do you think a man who does that is afraid to put in a petition of complaint?—A great many people in my part of the country are very much afraid of making complaints.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Why? You did not want to help him to get out of the consequences of the complaint?—No.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: What was present to your mind?—That if any kind of criminal action was to be taken against an attorney of Calcutta I ought to take the full responsibility of it because he would be afraid to do so being only a small Zaminbar.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: But surely you understand the position, don't you, Mr. Fremantle? A man makes a charge against another man; why should he not make that charge upon a petition of complaint before you, and why should you as the Magistrate of the District help him in not making that petition of complaint?—He did not make any charge against Russick Lal Mullick. He merely gave me certain information.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Information on which you were going to issue a warrant?—Yes.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Don't you think that for the protection of other people the information should be on a petition of complaint? Why should he make statements on which you as a Magistrate were going to issue a warrant, and be protected?—Because he did not wish to have Russick Lal Mullick prosecuted.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Did he say so to you?—No. I did not think he desired to make an enemy of any one so influential as an attorney of the High Court, Calcutta.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: But he did not know Russick Lal Mullick. Russick Lal Mullick was only a name to him. It is common knowledge how afraid country people usually are of anybody who has got anything to do with the law.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: That is no reason why they should be encouraged in that feeling?—It exists.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: I know it exists, but your duty is to remove that misapprehension from the minds of these people. If they come to a criminal Court they ought to do so with a full knowledge of the responsibility that their action entails.

A FRIENDLY SUMMONS.

After this we get an interesting glimpse into the procedure of Mr. Fremantle when summoning a person to his court of which we shall see something more anon.

Mr. Norton (to witness) How did you get this man Tewari up before you on the 18th?—I think I issued a summons, but I am not quite certain.

Will the record show it? You said the order sheet does not?—I cannot remember.

I want to know how he came before you on that day to be examined as a witness. Did you send for him officially or as a friend or how? Did you issue a summons or did you write him a private letter?—I cannot remember.

You would not be averse to writing him a private letter? I would not be averse.

In fact in this case you have written private letters to Tewari in connection with this matter? Certainly, I have.

So that in the absence of any record you may have summoned him by private letter? It may be.

AN UNCKAING CURRENT.

Then we come to the entitlement of another order. Witness was shown his own order sheet and Mr. Norton asked if the entitlement of the order which read "King-Emperor through Pundit Jay Kishen Tewari" was in his handwriting. He replied in the negative and said that though he read it he did not alter it. It was a mistake. Then comes the entitlement of a summons. Witness then admitted to Mr. Norton that the summons contained the statement "Babu Jay Kishen, complainant." He admitted that this statement surprised him.

Did you experience any sensation of surprise at the time when you read it?—I don't read summonses when I sign them.

Why I lay special stress upon that is that you yourself have admitted that an incriminatory suit against an attorney living 700 miles away required a certain amount of prudence and care?—Yes.

Did you exhibit that prudence and care?—Yes.

Did you sign that summons before you signed it?—No.

To whom do you attribute that unceasing current of the word "complainant"? The Peshkar thought that he must be put in as complainant.

This is the third document I have shown you in which this singular fact appears—the word "complainant"?—Yes.

CO-OPERATION.

We have already had a glimpse into Mr. Fremantle's procedure in summoning witnesses. Now we have the full view of the *Ma-Bap* procedure in the management of evidence. By the way, may we ask Mr. Fremantle what exactly is the vernacular form of address of which "My dear"—was a very free translation, but of which the "Commander of my Kindness and Favour" was the "nearest approach" in English? Anyhow, lucky Jay Kishen Tewari, to be the commander of so exalted a personaged kindness and favour.

On the same date you wrote a private letter to Tewari? It was written in Urdu by my Peshkar. What one would call demi-official. I don't admit it is private because it is written by my Peshkar or the other clerk of my Court. It was dictated by me in open Court.

It begins "My dear Jay Kishen Tewari"? That is a very free translation.

What is the translation? "Commander of my Kindness and Favour." It is very difficult to put it into good English.

You are suggesting to this gentleman that he should turn up with his witnesses to prove his alibi?—Yes.

You assure us that you did not see this gentleman between the 18th June and 4th July? I don't think I saw him between those dates.

On the 18th June all that you elicited on oath from this man was upon the question of alibi. Where did you get the facts upon which you made the suggestion that he had three or four witnesses to prove that fact? I thought that he would have some people of his household or some persons from the village to speak.

I am on the number. Who told you that he had three or four witnesses to prove his alibi?—Nobody.

Did you suggest to him that he should get three or four witnesses?—Yes.

Without knowing whether they were truthful or not?—I did not wish him to produce untruthful witnesses.

What made you suggest that definite number? That is not definite.

What do you mean? I mean a few.

How many?—I cannot say. I don't necessarily mean three or four.

On what information did you base that number?—I thought three would be sufficient to prove an alibi.

Why did you suggest three?—All these subtle considerations did not enter into my mind.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Leaving aside the number, why did you suggest at all that he should bring witnesses?—Because I thought his evidence alone was not sufficient to prove an alibi.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: On the 18th when you examined him why did you not get from him the witnesses?—I forgot it.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: It is a curious lapse of memory on the part of a District Officer. You examined a person on oath and I want to know from you as to why on that date you did not ask him to name his witnesses?—It was a lapse of memory. At the time I took his statement I should have asked him what witnesses he could have brought.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: I think you will agree with me that it was not proper to write demi-officially or otherwise to a person of that character asking him to bring witnesses?—I must defer to your judgment.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: I ask your opinion?—You have already given your opinion and I don't like to give any other opinion contrary to your Lordship.

MORE SURPRISES!

This respectful deference to the Judge's opinion was truly touching. It suits well for Barabanki. But that's another story. Mr. Norton,

it seems, unearthed some more of the braud "Emperor through Jay Kishen Tewari", and asked:—

Did you write the whole of this entitlement (document shown)?—I am certain I did not read this entitlement.

This is your fourth surprise?—Yes. I don't think I read that. I am certain I never put it down all this.

You have a double surprise in the other paragraph?—Yes.

I put it to you that you are acting under a complete delusion in this case, and I will tell you what I suggest to you, that in fact you did act on a complaint given to you by Tewari?—I certainly did not. If it was so I would have told him to put it on stamped paper.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: He did make a verbal complaint to you?—No complaint against Russick Lal Mullick. He complained against persons in his village.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: And he wanted you to take action upon that complaint?—Yes.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: And it was upon that you took whatever action you thought fit?—It was certainly in consequence of information received from the present defendant.

EXPLANATIONS AND THEIR VALUE.

With reference to Mr. Fremantle's examination of Russick Lal Mullick, the attorney whom he had called to his Court under a warrant as the accused all the way from Calcutta and then discharged, we have the following interesting dialogue:—

The witness said he examined the accused under Section 361 Cr. P. Code.

Mr. Norton: Will you just look at Section 361. It is merely adjective. 312 is the section which entitles a Magistrate to examine an accused person for the purpose of enabling him to explain away any circumstances that may appear to be against him?—Yes.

You examined this man under Section 361 and you are a Magistrate of considerable experience on your own showing. You claim that you did not consciously violate the law. I have shown one instance where, argumentatively you have under Section 190, clause (c). Under what right did you examine this man unless you were trying him?—The proceedings were rather irregular, for this reason that I was going to take the ordinary course of transferring the case to another. Then Mr. Ghatak put in an application and said that he did not want it transferred because there was no case. I thought before I would grant the application or not that it would be quite fitting to examine the accused and take his statement.

I want to know under what authority you did it?—I was trying the case until I actually passed an order transferring it.

If you made up your mind to transfer the case how did you examine the man?—Mr. Ghatak made me change my mind.

He cannot make you violate the law. He is only a humble barrister?—The accused can waive that right.

I want you to explain to his Lordship what inherent right you had under the Code to examine this man if you were only going to transfer the case? It was my intention at the time to transfer the case when the accused put in an application, and when he would not do what I expected him to do a new situation arose.

What right and you to examine him if you were not the trying Magistrate?

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: You need not labour the point.

Mr. Norton: I am giving him a chance of explaining.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: His explanations are worth nothing.

MOST UNFAIR!

Promotion is indeed very bad in the U. P. But it seems presumption is equally great. It begins rather early as we shall see. Here's a brush with counsel on the subject of comparative veracity.

Mr. Norton: I want you to recall a little occurrence in your Court on the day you discharged the accused. Is it not a fact that the Court Inspector or the Sub-Inspector was present that day?—Yes, he was the Court or Assistant Court Inspector.

And Tewari was there?—Yes.

And did not the Inspector inform Mr. Ghatak and my client that Tewari wanted to put some questions?—That I certainly cannot remember.

And don't you remember that you yourself turned round and said: "You have got me into this mess."—Said to whom?

Either to Tewari or the Court Inspector in the presence of my client and his counsel?—I certainly cannot remember saying anything of the kind. Of course if Mr. Ghatak chooses to go into the box—

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: Don't say that.

Witness: It is unfair to cross-examine me on that if the gentleman won't go into the box.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri: How do you know he will not go into the box? You are not competent to say so.

A "SALUTARY LESSON."

After this comes the admission about presuming to teach a "salutary lesson" to an attorney.

Later on you wrote a letter to my client, dated the 6th January, this year?

—Yes.

That was in consequence of a conversation between Tewari and yourself?

—Yes.

He also came to you and asked you to extricate him from this civil suit?

—Yes.

You wrote to my client and stated that he brought himself within the ambit of the criminal law in instituting this suit?—I said that because I thought he understood perfectly that I was completely responsible for the unlawful arrest and malicious prosecution of which he complained.

You have gone further in your letter and you say that the proceedings against him before you were a salutary lesson?—Yes.

Yes, promotion is dreadfully bad in the U. P. But what about a pension?

Supplement to "The Comrade", June 27th, 1914.

The Karachi Sacrilege.

AN UNINFORMING TELEGRAM.

We had been informed that the Karachi Film Case would come up before the Magistrate on the 15th June and awaited the result of his inquiry; but in spite of our telegraphing for the result to Our Own Correspondent at Karachi we learnt nothing before the following telegram appeared in the papers of the 27th instant:—

"Karachi, June 25.

"In the case in which a cinematograph proprietor is charged with 'outraging Mahomedan feeling by exhibiting a film imputing gross 'immorality to the Prophet Mahomed, the Magistrate after a prolonged 'hearing and inspection of the film, gave the complainant an opportunity to withdraw the charge, but he refused. The Magistrate then 'dismissed the case.

"The *Sind Gazette* states that the film had no relation to the Prophet, but represented the French idea of modern life in Morocco. 'The film has not been exhibited again."

This telegram was most unsatisfactory, as we could not understand on what grounds the Magistrate had dismissed the case. In view of the clear statement made by the complainant, Mr. Mohamed Hashim, before the Magistrate it was difficult to believe the *Sind Gazette's* interpretation, nor was there any indication that the Magistrate believed that interpretation either.

THE "SIND GAZETTE'S" APOLOGIA.

But the *Sind Gazette* of the 25th instant had also arrived by the same post and it contained the following apologia:—

"The City Magistrate of Karachi has dismissed the charge 'brought by some Muhammadan gentlemen against Mr. Greenfield, 'the managing proprietor of the Karachi Picture Palace, in connection with the exhibition of the film entitled 'Azim.' The 'decision, if we may so say, is characterised by that 'solid good sense and strong love of fair play which are discernible 'in all Mr. Richardson's judicial pronouncements. Had this film 'been a blasphemous distortion of Muhammadan sacred history and 'had Mr. Greenfield exhibited it in a Muhammadan city in order 'either to wound Muhammadan feeling or to lower the veneration 'in which the great Prophet of Mecca is deservedly held in the 'world by a hundred million people, we should not easily find 'words to reprobate his malevolence. Even if the film had cunningly preserved historical accuracy while maliciously singling out 'for representation an episode least favourable to the reputation of 'Islam's founder, we should still condemn it as a gratuitous outrage. Whatever the attitude of Christianity may be towards the 'other great religions systems of the world, and particularly towards 'the splendid monotheistic religions, it is certainly not an 'attitude of insult and contumely. But in this case, on the 'contrary, both the elements of guilt were utterly wanting. There 'was no affront and there was no intention to affront. As 'to the first point the film was wholly unrelated to Koranic themes. 'The wonder is that Muhammadans should not have been the first to 'recognise this. Everybody, even among non-Muhammadans, is 'aware that Muhammad when his mighty task was done died a 'natural death under conditions of majestic dignity. This film 'represents the central figure as being slain like a dog by the 'avenging husband of the love-persecuted lady. In numerous other 'respects the disparity of events and of conditions similarly removes 'the film from suspicion of anti-Meccan sacrilege. A very learned 'and cultured Muhammadan gentleman, Mir Ayub Khan, declared 'in the *Sind Gazette* that the film appeared to him to portray a 'French fancy of modern life in Morocco. Let us say at once, 'before quitting this part of the subject, that we do not at 'all regard the film as blameless, though on quite other grounds. 'If the identical film were transformed and produced in a purely English guise at a picture palace in England it would surely be held to 'offend against English canons of good taste. And if this supposed 'Anglicised film were to be produced in an Indian managed picture 'palace in an Indian city it would probably be suspected by many 'Englishmen to imply motives of racial friendliness. But that

"carries us to a very wide field of thought, and space will not allow us 'to involve ourselves in a general discussion of the character and influence of cinematograph exhibitions at large. The second point in the 'case immediately before us has to do with intention. The learned magistrate was very positive in deciding that there had been no offensive 'or hurtful intent; and indeed, when we reflect that Mr. Greenfield 'is professedly here not to propagate views but solely to make money, 'we can see how incredible it is that at a time when his Palace is enjoying considerable Mohamedan patronage he would go out of his way to 'import a film that must drive every Mohamedan away from him for 'ever. What happens, we take it, is that the Karachi Picture Palace, 'like other Picture Palaces, subscribes to a universal syndicate of film-providers, who circulate films like a circulating-library circulates books, 'so that Mr. Greenfield usually has no knowledge of what is coming 'to him until it has arrived, and what he receives from a picture palace 'in Bombay he passes on to a picture palace in Lahore. As a fact the 'learned magistrate commended Mr. Greenfield for the tact and good 'feeling shown by him all through this case. To conclude, we think 'that even the hot headed Muhammedans of Ahmedabad, who lately 'demanded Mr. Greenfield's head on a charger, when they come to 'reflect in cooler moments over what has happened, will agree that 'this has been a case of "much ado about nothing".

THE NEVER FAILING MOSLEM WITNESS.

This long apologia also failed to enlighten us and the characteristic fashion in which this Anglo-Indian lullaby was sung roused our suspicions. This is not the place nor the time to discuss "the attitude of Christianity towards the other great religious systems of the world, and particularly towards the splendid monotheistic religions," nor need we join issue at present with our Anglo-Indian contemporary when it states that "it is certainly not an attitude of insult and contumely." This can wait for another occasion, and it is a source of grim satisfaction to a Mussalman that the evidence of Christianity's attitude towards his "splendid monotheistic religion," including the attitude of the Press of Christian Europe during the recent Balkan war, cannot be easily destroyed. To return to the Magistrate's judgment, even the *Sind Gazette* had failed to throw light on the question whether the Magistrate held the film to be free from all objection from the Moslem's religious point of view. All that it had done was to clutch at the alleged end of Salika's would-be seducer and to show that it did not tally with the historical facts about the passing away of the Prophet of God, as if anything else tallied in the "romance" of the film with the facts of undoubted history. But this was not the solitary piece of reasoning on which the *Sind Gazette* relied. The never-failing Moslem witness of Anglo-Indian truth was found in Mir Ayyub Khan Sahab of Las Bela, a Barrister of Karachi. If we remember rightly, this gentleman was a good deal in the public eye of Sindh lately on account of his having freely abused Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan for his "advanced" political views and opposed the apprehended Moslem participation in the Congress at Karachi last December, and then having suddenly changed his convictions and joined the Congress himself. But there was nothing in all this to make any one disbelieve the evidence of Mr. Ayyub Khan Sahab, and we unhesitatingly telegraphed to him as follows:—

"Please send at our cost by press message your honest opinion 'about 'Azim' film exhibited by Greenfield in Karachi Picture 'Palace. Refer *Sind Gazette* leader of 25th. Do you believe 'film to be French fancy of modern life in Morocco and not portrayal of licentiousness of Holy Prophet alleged by Christian 'critics? If so, please state reasons in detail. Also wire exact 'wording of printed description of 'Azim' film published by Greenfield for attracting visitors that day."

We sent another telegram to our own correspondent, who is a prominent and distinguished citizen of Karachi, noted for his public spirit, asking him "if Karachi Mussalmans now agree with Mir 'Ayyub Khan Sahab and the Magistrate's judgment". We also requested him to state their reasons if they did not agree and to post full copy of the judgment and copies of the depositions in the case.

Late on Saturday night when we were going to the press we received the two telegrams which we reproduce below.

MIR AYYUB KHAN'S REPLY.

Mir Ayyub Khan Sahib's reply was as follows:—

"Karachi, June 27th.

"I saw the film 'Azim' the very first evening it was shown by Mr. Greenfield. More than half the audience was Mohamedan. Many educated men were present, but none objected. I never for a moment believed it was a portrayal of the Holy Prophet Mohamed, and took it for one of the several silly films prepared in France portraying life in Morocco as the French from their own notorious religious and moral standard fancy it. The programme and the description in the papers stated 'Azim: a Dramatic Film.' The word 'prophet' makes the film most hurtful to Moslem feelings. Therefore further exhibition of it in India should be prohibited, specially after the Karachi incident."

OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT'S REPLY.

Our Own Correspondent wired as follows:—

"Karachi, June 27th.

"The Magistrate held the film to be objectionable but discharged Greenfield for want of deliberate intention. Greenfield admitted that he examined the films before exhibiting them publicly, and the film 'Azim,' he thought, would not be objected to because it had been exhibited in Bombay, Meerut and Calcutta, where no objection was raised. Greenfield expressed regret and undertook not to exhibit the film objected to, and to request the Film Company's Bombay Agents, J. Pearson & Co., to withdraw the film 'Azim' from circulation in India. A public protest meeting is fixed for Sunday evening. The Mussalmans are dissatisfied with the judgment and disagree with Mir Ayyub Khan's views because the film depicted an Arab scene, Arab prophet, harem attendants and slaves, and exhibited a miracle wrought and a war waged by the prophet. Greenfield contended that Mir Ayyub Khan and others had seen the film prior to the case but had not objected. Hence Mir Ayyub's defence that he too thought the film to be objectionable but did not openly object, because he thought the film might mean to represent the French idea of Morocco. Mir Ayyub Khan now holds the film to be objectionable and joins in calling a protest meeting and forming a deputation to wait on the authorities and send representatives to Government praying for the proscription of films under the Press Act. Copies have been applied for but the record is with the District Magistrate and will be sent on receipt."

FURTHER INQUIRIES BY THE "COMRADE".

These telegrams at least showed that the Magistrate did not consider the films unobjectionable; that he discharged Greenfield for want of evidence to prove deliberate intention to wound the religious feelings of the Mussalmans on the part of Greenfield himself; that there was a reference in the films to some "prophet" even though Mir Ayyub Khan Sahib understood the film to be a French fancy of modern life in Morocco; and that the Mussalmans of Karachi disagreed with the Mir Sahib's interpretation and were dissatisfied with the judgment of Mr. Richardson, in spite of the fact that our Anglo-Indian contemporary of Karachi states that "the decision, if we may presume to say so, is characterized by that solid good sense and strong love of fair-play which are discernible in all Mr. Richardson's judicial pronouncements". But it was not clear where the word "prophet" had occurred, whether there was any clear reference to the Prophet of Islam, and whence the complainant, Mr. Mohamed Hashim, had taken the description of the film embodied in his petition of complaint. So we sent another wire to Mir Ayyub Khan Sahib as follows:—

"Many thanks for message. But it is not clear where the word 'prophet' occurs. Does it occur in the body of the film in the course of descriptions indicative of the scenes depicted or in the programme or some of the document for which Greenfield was responsible? The whole matter hinges on this even if it escaped the notice of educated Moslem audience. Whence did Mr. Mohamed Hashim complainant, take the description in his petition in the Magistrate's Court? Was our Prophet referred to by name or otherwise in any docu-

ment published by Greenfield? Please wire immediately. I am delaying the paper for Sunday purposely."

MIR AYYUB KHAN'S FINAL REPLY.

A similar inquiry was addressed by wire to Our Own Correspondent at Karachi. His reply has not yet been received, but Mir Ayyub Khan's reply makes the thing much clearer, and we think it supplies sufficient data on which to base a *prima facie* case against those who are responsible for the preparation and exhibition of the film. The reply runs as follows:—

"The word 'prophet' occurs in the body of the film in the course of descriptions indicative of scenes depicted and not in the programme or otherwise, which would make Greenfield responsible. Our Prophet's name was not at all mentioned. Mr. Mohamed Hashim must have taken the description from the film when shown on the screen during the show, because Greenfield never published in any other form whatsoever a description of the film. We are holding a mass meeting to-day requesting Government to stop further exhibition of the film in India and if possible to get it destroyed."

AN APPEAL TO THE DENIZENS OF A UTOPIA.

We think all pretence about the "French fancy" and "modern life of Morocco" must be dropped after the admission that the description of the scenes in the body of the film itself which is there to indicate what is meant to be depicted in the pictures that succeed it contains the word "prophet". We hope we are not imitating the spirit of the Pharisees in thanking the Lord that we are still free from the mental squint which is developed through too much use of the Press Act, with its "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise." But we appeal to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, to say whether any of his proscriptions and confiscations have been based on half as clear an evidence as the film supplies to the Mussalmans; and we ask Sir Alfred Kensington, Chief Justice, and Justices Johnston and Rattigan of the Punjab Chief Court to state whether Mr. Bevan Petman's services would have been needed at all to prove to their entire satisfaction that the film referred to the Prophet of Islam, and was not a French fancy of modern life in Morocco, if in a foolish Utopia of our own creation, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Judges and the Government Advocate were all Mussalmans, and a Christian Zafar Ali Khan had added to his list of offences against the public tranquility the exhibition of such a film besides the publication of libels on the fair fame of a Moslem Piccadilly?

CHARITY AT HOME.

We shall however, await further information before dealing with Mr. Richardson's judgment and acclaiming either as a Daniel come to judgment or denouncing him as a prejudiced Magistrate. And if charity begins at home, Mir Ayyub Khan Sahib of the "French fancy" and expert in interpreting "silly films" of "modern life in Morocco" prepared in France according to the "notorious religious and moral standard" of the French has at least as strong claims as Mr. Richardson on our silence for a while.

SHOPKEEPERS AND PROPAGANDISTS.

As for Mister Greenfield, nothing can plead for him more than the fact that he belongs, as the *Sind Gazette* reminds us, to the category of shopkeepers. The Mussalmans are equally notorious *tamash-beens*, and it is preposterous to suppose that Mr. Greenfield was not there solely to make money but "to propagate views" at the risk of losing the "considerable Mohamedan patronage" which his picture palace was enjoying. We shall not, therefore, imitate the "hot-headed Mohamedans of Ahmedabad" who are alleged to have demanded Mr. Greenfield's head on a charger. But there is bigger fish in the sea than there is out of it, and our Sind contemporary may take our word for it that our net is going to be widespread. Of course the film won't be exhibited again and our poor dear respectable Press Act may be found accommodating enough by the Local Government to deal with the film "Azim" and declare it forfeited to His Majesty. But the matter can not stop there. We have yet to trace this stream of "wanton scurrillity and offensiveness" to its source and dam it there once for all. We shall, therefore, say to Mr. Greenfield's friends "wait and see!"

P. S.—Our Own Correspondent confirms Mir Ayyub Khan Sahib's statement. The description of the film in the complaint is taken from the film itself, all except the name of the Prophet Mohamed, and it is admitted by Greenfield to be correct. But the word "Prophet" occurs repeatedly in the headings of scenes in the body of the film. Our Correspondent concludes thus: "It is for you to judge Mir Ayyub's views." We think it is for his co-religionists—and for his God!

The Last Page of the Diary of a Suicide.

I WAS walking by the river Seine one evening and as I was waiting for a friend of mine to meet me near the Port Neuf, I began to pass the time by looking into the numerous bookstalls that line the river embankment. The face of one of these second-hand booksellers attracted me. He looked so woe-begone and helpless that I there and then made up my mind to buy something from him. This is what I picked up there for 3 francs. I look upon it as an extremely original though a very pathetic document and I am not ashamed to say that I was much moved when I read it:—

"MY LAST DAY."

"I am sitting by myself in a tiny room on the fifth floor of a miserable house in this town of Paris. It is 10-30 p. m. Why am I here? It is to put an end to my life, not because anything particularly sad has befallen me, but because I am sick of the hypocritical life which we have to lead now-a-days if we wish to pass for civilised beings. I have made up my mind to leave this record of the feelings and the emotions of a man who is on the point of committing suicide. It may be of help to those cold-blooded tyrants who pass under the name of scientists. Well! here I am and I hold my revolver in my right hand. The muzzle has a peculiar attraction for me. It fascinates me. From this little tube will come my release. The little bullet which will pass through it will discover to me the mysteries of the world beyond. I kiss my revolver. The wind outside howls and the snow-flakes fall on my panes with a rhythmic thud. Their colour is the colour of the shroud which will so soon envelope me. The elements sympathise with me. They urge me to become one of them. Oh! for a life without body! How I long to be wafted in the air! Shall I really kill myself? What will my sister do? She will mourn for a few days, then forget me. She has her children to look after. Will I really see my love, my sweet-heart who was killed in the railway accident last year near Lyons? What does it matter though the clock strikes eleven, I raise my revolver to my head. Shall I really kill myself? Am I really sick of my life? What will the grave show me? Will I have the power of seeing things without being seen? How delightful! What will my three friends with whom I dined to-night say when they hear of my suicide? Has my life been sad? No. Am I really sick of life? Yes. Why? I do not know. I only know that no form of existence can be sadder than the one I have now. This is all a dream, the awakening will come through the muzzle of my revolver. I now raise it to my head and shall count ten and then pull it. Good-bye! good-bye! good-bye! One!..."

The next day I again went to the bookseller from whom I had bought the book on the inside of which I had found this writing. I asked him as to how he had come to possess that book. He told me that it was bought together with many others in an auction near the Place Pigalle and that it was the property of a very talented young artist of the name of Gaston Remonet who had committed suicide. The chief events of whose life were as follows:—

His origin was not known, but he was believed to be well connected and well off. He had been in love with a very pretty actress who had been killed in a railway accident. He was very hardworking. One day he was found trying to carry on a conversation with a picture which he himself had painted. The servant who used to look after his studies was surprised at first, but he was promptly told to go out of the room as his presence disturbed his master's meditation. For six months more the artist went on painting one beautiful picture after another and amassed quite a fortune, which he subsequently bequeathed to a fund for the aid of poor artists. He was then found shot in one of the many rooms which he used to rent in different quarters.

I asked the bookseller whether he knew where his grave was situated. He told me that he too had visited it as the writing on the book had made him very curious to see something more connected with the author. The grave was in the Pene Lachaise cemetery. I went there and after very great difficulty found it. The writing on the tomb-stone was:—

"Gaston Remonet"

"age 26."

"I searched for Beauty and found it not".

Who erected the tombstone I could not discover.

ESSAY.



The Rikabganj Gurdwara.

THE following Press Communiqué has been sent to us for publication by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Delhi:—

As is generally known there has for sometime been a certain amount of agitation in regard to the Gurdwara Rikabganj at Delhi. This Gurdwara which is believed to contain the ashes of the Guru Tegh Bahadur, is situated at a short distance from the site of the proposed Government House and Secretariat in the new Capital.

It is needless to say that there has never been any intention to interfere with the Gurdwara itself, (which Government has refrained from acquiring), or with its free use by worshippers. The small walled enclosure containing the Gurdwara is, however, situated within a much larger enclosure of about seven acres which is surrounded by a high wall. The local authorities felt that it was undesirable to leave in private hands a walled enclosure of this size, in proximity to the chief Government buildings, and in circumstances in which it would be difficult to control the use to which it might be put. The outer enclosure was, therefore, when acquisition proceedings commenced, taken up by Government, and it was intended to remove the enclosure wall and make the Gurdwara the centre of a park or garden. Up to this stage no opposition had been offered, either in Delhi or elsewhere, to the proceedings of the local officers; but when one side of the wall was demolished, protests were made from various *Sabhas* in the Punjab, and the Chief Khalsa Dewan also interested himself in the matter. With a view to clearing up the position the Chief Commissioner requested the Chief Khalsa Dewan to deal with the matter and that body decided to call a representative meeting of the Sikhs specially to consider the question. The meeting was held at Amritsar on the 3rd May and was largely attended by delegates from local units throughout the Punjab. It decided by a majority to appoint a committee to deal with the improvement of the Gurdwara itself, it being held desirable that the shrine should be made structurally worthy of the important position which it will now occupy. As regards the outer enclosure and its wall, the meeting expressed a preference for leaving them in their present condition, but added that "if for the exigencies of the State Government considered a change in the shape absolutely necessary then, keeping the area of the land equal to what it was originally, its rectangular shape may, in the opinion of the committee, be accepted by which the newly granted plot of land may abut on the two new roads on two sides and the Gurdwara may occupy almost a central position of this new plot; provided that all this change be carried out by the Khalsa Committee of the Gurdwara and Government be pleased to help that body in meeting the expenses of the said change."

There was nothing in these resolutions which was inherently opposed to the objects for which Government had acquired the enclosure. As soon, therefore, as they were received, the Chief Khalsa Dewan was informed that the local authorities would be glad to treat with the Committee which it was prepared to appoint; and that an area equal to that of the outer enclosure would be restored to the Gurdwara subject to the conditions that (i) the boundary of the enclosure would be realigned so as to fit in with the two roads mentioned in the resolution (ii) that no buildings should be erected in this area without the consent of Government; (iii) that any wall or railing erected around this area should be subject to similar approval. The Dewan was further informed that the financial aid necessary to effect this change would be forthcoming.

It will be generally acknowledged that the Chief Khalsa Dewan and the representative meeting of the 3rd May have dealt with the question in an eminently reasonable and responsible manner. The Dewan had to face and will no doubt still have to face some opposition from a band of extremists who advanced the contention that any alteration of the outer enclosure was an act of sacrilege. The contention was untenable, for it was not pretended that the outer enclosure had ever been reserved or utilized for religious purposes. But the prompt acceptance of the resolutions of the meeting of the 3rd May should suffice to remove any further excuse for agitation; and to convince the Sikhs generally that Government had no intention of impairing the dignity of the shrine. On the contrary, the net result will be no small gain to the Gurdwara. The piety of the Sikhs will no doubt see to it that the shrine itself will be embellished in a manner fitting its position; it will stand in the midst of an enclosure bounded by two main roads, instead of in the corner of the present unsightly compound; and the finance of the institution will profit from the fact that Government has agreed to assign to it an area of canal land equal to the agricultural lands purchased for its use by the Jhind Dabtar, which it has now been necessary to acquire for the purposes of the new Capital.



The Feminist Movement in Turkey.

AMONG all the various phases of the modern feminist movement, the awakening of the Mohammedan women in Turkey is perhaps the most remarkable. The true nature of this movement, however, has been but little understood, because only one side of the life of the Turkish woman has been given to the public. In the many books on Turkish life that have been published she has almost invariably appeared as discontented, to be sure, with her lot in life, but as showing this discontent only by making a helpless, futile attempt to evade the custom and the law to which centuries have

made her subject, with intrigue and cunning as the only weapons at her command.

It is not thus, however, that progress is made. The successful attempt to effect a change must be positive as well as negative, constructive as well as destructive. The old law and the old custom must be changed, not simply avoided, and this is a necessarily slow and difficult process, requiring infinite tact and courage and perseverance. This aspect of the woman problem in Turkey has not been dealt with to any great extent, and yet this phase of the movement is very alive and active in Turkey to-day. Constant evidence of this is seen in the more liberal Turkish newspapers, where, in addition to special articles on questions affecting woman and her social or economic life, more and more frequent mention is made of the part taken by individual Mohammedan women in the affairs of the city or country. Every week also there appears in Constantinople the *Kadınlar Dünyası* (*Woman's World*), now in its first year, edited entirely by Mohammedan women and dedicated to their interests. In this paper very full expression is given to the protests of the Turkish women against what they are more and more looking upon as the injustice of their lot, as well as to their aspirations and ambitions to bring about a change. This paper is the official organ of the *Mudafa-a-y-Houkouki Nisvan* (*Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women*). The aims of this society are as follows:—

1. To transform the outdoor costume of Turkish women.
2. To ameliorate the rules of marriage according to the exigencies of common sense.
3. To fortify woman in the home.
4. To render mothers capable of bringing up their children according to the principles of modern pedagogy.
5. To initiate Turkish women into life in society.
6. To encourage women to earn their own living by their own work, and to find them work in order to remedy the present evils.
7. To open women's schools in order to give to young Turkish girls an education suited to the needs of their country; and to improve those schools already existing.

Although among these the first five seem perhaps, at first glance, the more important, and the more immediately urgent, the last two contain the real crux of the whole situation, and show that Turkish women have grasped the essential nature of their problem; because it remains true in Turkey as elsewhere, that in woman's economic independence and in her intellectual training lies the secret of her social position.

This programme laid down by the "Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women" finds strong support also in the attitude of the Government of Turkey towards the education and uplift of women. According to a recent statement from the Minister of Public Instruction the Turkish Government is now constantly endeavouring "to extend and to perfect the instructions given to girls and to fit it to the progress and civilisation of the present century—in fact, to modernise it completely. It is with this aim that it has been decided to establish numerous lycées, normal schools for teachers, and schools for domestic training. The Government is working in every way for the intellectual and moral development of the future wives and mothers of Turkey."

Before the Constitution little attention was paid to the education of girls. Mohammedan girls went to the mosque school until they were about twelve years old; or they could attend the lowest grades of the Government schools, where they learned reading, writing, embroidery, a little arithmetic and the Koran. The daughters of a few well-to-do families were taught at home by foreign governesses, but their instruction consisted chiefly in needlework, music, drawing and painting and French. The new régime is attempting to remodel the school for girls as well as those for boys, and many steps have already been taken to raise the grade of the schools to which girls are admitted. Girls' schools are now therefore in process of reorganisation, and it is impossible to speak with any certainty with regard to their actual grading. In general it may be said that the course offered by the Government for girls includes three years in the *İpdiyâye* or Kindergarten and Primary grades, and three years in the *Rüşdiye* or Secondary grades. Outside Constantinople this is all the public education furnished for girls. In Constantinople there are three higher schools, one the "*Sultaniye*," which furnishes a further course of liberal instruction, the second the "*Dar-ul-Muallimat*," intended for the training of teachers, and the third the "*Senaye*," or Professional School for Girls.

The *Dar-ul-Muallimat* existed in Stamboul under the Hamidian régime. At that time, however, it was characterised by the general inefficiency of the period. It was under the direction of a sleepy old Effendi, who spent his time lying on a divan in his office smoking a narghilé, and drinking coffee; and classes were conducted when it was thought best, always with the attempt not to place too great a strain upon the nervous systems and delicate organisms of youth and beauty. Since the Constitution the school has been thoroughly reorganised, and has been moved to a large and commodious Turkish

konak surrounded by a beautiful garden. It is now conducted by a efficient Swiss woman with a Turkish co-principal, under the directorship of a member of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

At first the Government attempted to educate here girls living in Constantinople, and to send them to teach in the schools of the Interior. This plan was found impracticable because of the social restrictions to which Turkish women are subject, since they are, of course, not permitted to associate in any way with men other than those of their own immediate families. It was therefore decided to bring the girls from the provinces and to offer them special inducement in the way of paying for their entire support during their course of study, after which they might teach and live with their families at home. This method has succeeded remarkably well, and there are now one hundred and forty-three students from various parts of the Ottoman Empire including, among other places, Syria, Kurdistan, and until recently Tripoli and Crete. This offer is made not only to Mohammedans but to all Ottomans, and there some are Armenians, Hebrews and Greeks in attendance.

This school is conducted with the most rigid regard for Turkish custom and usage. Owing to the presence of men teachers the pupils are required to remain veiled during all hours of the day. The religious teaching also is very strict, the students being obliged to adhere to the orthodox requirement of ablution and prayer five times daily. On the floor of the prayer rooms rugs are spread in oblique rows, to suit the direction in which Mecca lies. The copies of Koran are kept carefully covered with an embroidered black cloth and the usual inlaid Koran stands are near at hand. The work of seeing that the one hundred and forty-three students rise before daybreak and go through then and four times afterwards, every day, the necessary ablutions before prayer, is an arduous task, and is the exclusive duty of a woman employed especially for this purpose. Moreover, these religious requirement interfere very seriously with the arranging of a satisfactory programme. In earlier days, before the many and complicated demands of modern life arose, there were probably sufficient time and opportunity for ablution and prayer five times daily, whereas under present-day conditions, whether in commercial life or in the schools, it becomes a serious question. The non-Mohammedan Ottomans in the school are not required to attend religious services or teaching.

Besides this training for teachers furnished by the *Dar-ul-Muallimat*, the Turkish Government is now providing training for girls along other practical lines. There was established last autumn in Stamboul a Professional School for girls under the direction of a Belgian woman. The aim of this school is to give to young girls instruction and education in preparation for the social duties of woman, and to fit them, if necessary, to earn their own living. The great demand for education of this sort is shown by the fact that within two months after registration the numbers in the school had grown to five hundred and seventy, and many were constantly applying that could not be accommodated. A diploma is given to girls who successfully pass the examinations at the end of the three professional years. For the completion of a further year of study a certificate is given enabling them to teach in professional schools.

Up to the present time the greater part of the actual work of organisation of the Government schools has come from other than Turkish sources. It is a hopeful sign that the Turkish Government is now looking forward to training its own women for this purpose. Soon after the Constitution a number of Ottomans (all non-Mohammedans) were sent to Europe to study. Some of these women are now teaching in the Government schools in Turkey. A great step in advance of this, however, is made when the Turkish Government undertakes to train its Mohammedan women on Western models. There are now at the American College for Girls at Constantinople eight students supported by the Government, and these girls are pledged to several years of service in the Government school. The total number of girls being educated by the Turkish Government in schools in Europe and in the American College is now thirty-five. In addition to this, the Government has recently sent several Mohammedan women to Switzerland to study drawing and method of teaching. This indicates that Turkey is in this matter trying to train her own people to help themselves instead of relying as completely as has formerly been the case on outside aid.

The fact that the prejudice against the freedom and education of women is surely, if slowly, breaking down, is shown most conclusively however, is the fact that within a week of the present writing the *Dar-ul-Finoun*, Imperial University, in Stamboul, has opened its door to women. Within the short time already elapsed fully two hundred women have been in attendance. At present, as a beginning, the character of the work is that of University Extension, and no regular registration is required, but the University plans to arrange a regular programme which all who are enrolled must follow, and to impose a specific entrance requirement. The lectures now offered are in pedagogy, hygiene, domestic economy, science, "the rights of women," and history. The courses are given by the University professors, and by prominent specialists. One of the buildings of the University is devoted to this use in the afternoon.

the classes being put at this time in order to allow women who may be busied with domestic duties in the morning, to attend. Separate classes are, of course, arranged for the women, according to the usage of the country. Promise is made, also, that women shall soon be admitted to courses in the Medical School.

The economic independence of woman through her own efforts is, in its larger aspects, a very recent development in Turkey. Turkish women have always inherited money in their own right, and have theoretically managed their own property. In fact, however, in these matters they have most often been controlled by their male relatives. The great ignorance in which the Turkish girl has hitherto been brought up has usually prevented her from being able to look after her own fortune, or to hold her own against the intrigues and the selfish interests of father, brothers or husband as the case might be. It is, however, an entirely different matter when a woman is able to earn her own living, for in this case her money is obtained by her own efforts, and is hers from the very start. In the humbler walks of life Mohammedan women have for a long time been producers as well as consumers. Midwifery has long been practised by them, and they have been employed in a few poorly paid occupations—notably in the silk and fig and carpet factories. As an economic agent, moreover, the Turkish peasant woman of the Interior who bears a large part of the burden of cultivating the soil is not to be ignored, especially since where she thus contributes as much as does the man to the production of wealth, the freedom that she enjoys is proportionately greater than that of her more idle, and economically less important city sister.

Still more significant, however, is it when woman producers become at the same time capitalists, or join the more skilled employments and the professional ranks, and in Turkey at the present time both of these have been taken. Very recently there has been formed in Smyrna a company of women to open a shop for the sale of local products, and a sewing establishment for young Mohammedan girls. As we have seen also, both the Dar-ul-Moualimat and the Professional School for Girls aim at furnishing the higher training needed for the trades and for the profession of teaching. That Turkish women are ready to take advantage of these opportunities is proved by the fact that they are already found on the staffs of the Government schools and others. A great innovation has been made within recent months in the appointment of a Mohammedan woman as a teacher of gymnastics in the Sultanié, above mentioned.

Teaching has been in Turkey as elsewhere the first profession to be seriously pursued by educated women.

Various other professions, however, would seem to lie open to them in the not far distant future. As writers of prose and poetry some Turkish women are already distinguished themselves. The ground for female lawyers would seem also in a measure to have been prepared, for women have always been allowed to enter the courts as witnesses or to plead their own cases. In the field of nursing and of medicine, Turkish women have shown themselves willing and anxious to play a part, and for this the need in Turkey is especially great. Owing to the seclusion of woman, Turkish women have been in great measure deprived of medical aid, even in extreme cases, and many lives have been sacrificed which might have been saved had female physicians been available.

The lengths to which this tradition against allowing men to see women other than those of their immediate family is sometimes carried is shown in the following story told by one of the prominent physicians of Constantinople to a correspondent of *Le Jeune Turc*. Having been called to attend a Mohammedan woman, the physician was received by her husband in the drawing-room of the harem, and told that the woman was in bed in the adjoining room, and that the door between would be opened for him to interrogate the patient. On his insisting that to diagnose the case he must examine the woman and feel her pulse, the husband reflected a moment, and then, struck a brilliant idea, suggested quite seriously that his wife should stand behind the door and that the doctor should get the register of her pulse by means of a wire attached to her wrist and passed from one room to the other! This is an exceptional case, of course, but others like it might be cited, and while at the present time most men in the capital probably do allow male physicians to attend the women of their families, the state of things revealed in the above anecdote is probably still very prevalent in the Interior.

It is only very recently that Turkey has awakened to the gravity of this situation, and that any sort of attempt has been made to remedy it. The subject of opening to women the career of medicine is being very eagerly urged at the present time. The daily papers and the periodicals have taken up the question, and are laying bare the backwardness of Turkey in this respect, especially in view of the peculiar social conditions there. Hitherto there has been no regular medical training offered for women in the Ottoman Empire, nor have women trained in foreign medical schools been granted a license to practise medicine in Turkey. A few non-Mohammedan women are now acting as physicians, but without any legal sanction. It is, of course, true that in the promised opening of the medical lectures in

the University a very important step will have been taken in this direction, and it is to be hoped that others may speedily follow.

Owing to the circumstances described in the foregoing pages, the care of women has fallen largely to the mercies not always too tender, of ignorant and inexperienced nurses mostly of the servant class, whose work, moreover, has been attended with every sort of superstition. These conditions are being somewhat improved at the present day. The Medical School for Men at Haidar Pasha in Constantinople provides a course in midwifery, at the end of which a permit is granted to practise as a midwife. In both Government and foreign hospitals also women are now taken and trained in a practical way under the superintendence of the practising doctors and nurses, but for this no certificate beyond a private recommendation is given. Of both these opportunities some Mohammedan women are availing themselves.

The need of trained nurses was especially felt during the late Turco-Balkan war. At the beginning of the war no trained Turkish women were available for any of the assistance needed. Among other steps taken to fill the demand, a few classes in first-aid were organised at various hospitals throughout the city, to which women of all nationalities were admitted. Many Turkish girls and women attended them with enthusiasm, and for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, Mohammedan women nursed and took care of their fellow countrymen. It is true that they were not in any sense thoroughly trained for this work, but the love and devotion with which they pursued it reveals the spirit which they would bring to the profession if it were once really opened to them.

The Society of the Red Crescent, under the presidency of Princess Nimet, of which many Mohammedan women are members, and which took a very active part in relief work among the sick and wounded and refugees during the late war, has conceived a plan of offering to women a complete training as nurses. Before the war broke out, the Red Crescent had already established a school at the Kadirga Hospital in Stamboul. This, however, had to be discontinued to allow the rooms to be used for the wounded soldiers. The classes have now been resumed, and the Society proposes to build a hospital to which a school for women nurses shall be attached, and meanwhile to continue the lectures on nursing at the Kadirga Hospital.

We have outlined above a few of the more important phases of the constructive feminist movement in Turkey. Although, as will have been seen, this movement is a very recent one, it has proved already one distinctly to be reckoned with. The growing spirit of independence that has accompanied it, upheld by the increasing ability of woman to support herself and to manage her own affairs, makes it impossible to treat lightly the protests that are the outcome of the growing strength of her position. These protests find expression chiefly against two of the main customs of Islam—that of the veil and that of polygamy.

A loud outcry against the veil is being raised by the women of Constantinople. It is claimed by them that Mohammed did not enjoin the wearing of the veil as a changeless institution of Islam, but that his injunctions on this subject belong to that part of the Koran which can be modified with the changing needs of the times. They hold that the economic and social conditions of the twentieth century make it impossible for millions of human beings to remain entirely outside of the activities of the present day, as is made necessary by the wearing of the veil and the seclusion that it implies. They urge, therefore that the veil "which hangs between them and the world" be removed.

The protest against polygamy is closely allied to that against the veil. It is true that at the present time polygamy is decreasing. Most men cannot afford the luxury of more than one wife, and the opposition of women to the custom has not been without effect. So long, however, as the law and custom of Islam allow polygamy, so long will the evil essentially endure; and the demand that it shall be legally abolished is very strong. The day when either the veil or polygamy is done away with entirely is still far off, but the growing economic and social strength of woman will doubtless appreciably affect the situation. Might we in closing be allowed to hazard the prediction that both polygamy and the veil will disappear in Turkey just in so far as woman possesses the ability and intelligence not only to earn her own living but also to make a reasoned and effective protest against the seclusion to which she has been subjected?—ELLEN DEBORAH ELLIS and FLORENCE PALMER, of the American College for Girls, Constantinople.

(The Contemporary Review.)



The Heart of a Woman.

A REMARKABLE dramatic poem by Rabindranath Tagore has just been published by Macmillan, entitled "Chitra" (2s. 6d. net).

THE MODERN WOMAN.

"Chitra, the lovely heroine of Tagore's drama, distinctly partakes of the type of the New Woman," says *Current Opinion*. "Her troubles are those that will beset the next generation when suffrage has borne its fruit. Tagore's message to women seems to be: 'Do not pretend to possess a femininity which you have lost. Be yourself, be what you are, irrespective of the accident of sex.'"

"Truly from the East come the prophets and seers" says Mary Maud in *Votes for Women*, "and yet it seems wonderful that twenty five years ago, Tagore, an Indian, should have shown us the very heart of a modern woman, put his finger so surely on the pulse of what is now called the 'Woman's Movement.'"

TAGORE'S STORY.

"The drama is based on an old story from the Mahabharata, but Tagore has freely made it his own. Chitra is a daughter of the 'Kingly house of Manipur.' The Lord Shiva had promised to her 'royal grandfathers an unbroken line of male descent.' 'But the divine word proved powerless to change the spark of life in my mother's womb—so invincible was my nature, woman though I be.'"

"Chitra thus explains herself to the gods, Madana and Vasanta, the gods of Love and Eternal Youth. Her father has therefore brought her up as his son: her hands are 'strong to bend the bow,' but she has 'never learnt Cupid's archery, the play of eyes.' One day, in the forest in which she hunts freely, clad as a youth, she encounters a man, and knows herself for the first time a woman. He is Arjuna, the hero of the Kuru clan, and 'the one great idol of Chitra's dreams.'"

THE POWER OF THE WEAK.

"Overcome with emotion, she lets him go without a word, after he has told 'the boy,' who haughtily demands it, his name with an amused smile. Though knowing that Arjuna was vowed to twelve years' celibacy, Chitra next morning dons all a woman's unaccustomed dress, the richest she possesses, and seeks him in the forest temple of Shiva. Arjuna is very short with this grand and forward lady—tells her of his vow and 'that he is not fit to be her husband'; so Chitra, who is not 'the woman to nourish her despair in lonely silence, feeding it with nightly tears and covering it with the daily patient smile, a widow from birth,' seeks the help of the gods, asking for the 'power of the weak' and 'the weapon of the unarmed hand.' For, as she tells them—

"It is the labour of a lifetime to make one's true self known and honoured. Had I but the needed time I could win his heart by slow degrees, and ask no help of the gods."

"She knows the value of a man's vow—'unnumbered saints and sages have surrendered the merits of a lifelong penance at the feet of a woman!' And that she may bring to her feet the beloved Arjuna, she asks that that 'primal injustice, an unattractive plainness,' may be removed from her, and for a single day she may be 'superbly beautiful even as beautiful as was the sudden blooming of love in my heart.'"

"Not for a day, but for a year the gods grant her her request. The Princess is supposed to go on a pilgrimage, and the now beautiful Chitra repairs to Shiva's temple and again meets Arjuna. He soon kneels at her feet, 'her love-hungered guest,' but she reminds him of his well known vow.

MAN'S HIGHEST HOMAGE.

"You have dissolved my vow, even as the moon dissolves the night's vow of obscurity, is his answer.

"And Chitra, true woman, is not satisfied:—

"Whom do you seek in these dark days, in these milk-white arms, if you are ready to pay for her the price of your probity? Not my true self, I know. Surely this cannot be love, this is not man's highest homage to woman?"

"Arjuna tells her 'she is the wealth of a world, the end of all poverty, the goal of all effort, the one woman!' and she answers: Alas! it not I, not I, Arjuna. It is the deceit of a god! Go, go, my hero, go. Woo not falsehood, offer not your great heart to an illusion. Go?"

"But the moment of yielding comes: his call, 'Beloved, my most beloved!' is answered by her 'Take me, take all I am.' She tells the Love God:

"Heaven came so close to my hand that I forgot for a moment that it had not reached me. But when I woke in the morning from my dream, I found that my body had become my own rival. It is my hateful task to deck her every day, to send her to my beloved and see her caressed by him. O god! take back thy boon."

"THIS LOVE IS NOT FOR A HOME."

"The god will not deal so hastily with Arjuna—he bids Chitra wait for the autumn, then may Arjuna 'accept the abiding fruitful truth in thee!' So Chitra goes forth to win Arjuna—the woman to reveal herself to the man.

"Arjuna talks of home.

"Chitra: 'Home! But this love is not for a home!'

"Arjuna: 'Not for a home?'

"Chitra: 'No, never talk of that. Take to your house what is abiding and strong. Leave the little wild flower where it was

born: leave it beautifully to die at the day's end, among all fading blossoms and decaying leaves. Do not take it to your palace hall to fling it on the stony floor which knows no pity for things that fade and are forgotten.'"

"Arjuna: 'Is ours that kind of love?'

"Yes, no other. Why regret it?' asks Chitra.

"Arjuna fears that his warrior's right arm is forgetting its duties. 'The restless spirit is on me. I long to go hunting.'"

"Chitra inquires if the enchanted deer he pursues is caught. 'You give chase to the fleet-footed spirit of beauty, aiming at her every dart; yet this magic deer runs ever free and untouched.'"

"Arjuna is puzzled. 'Come close to me, unattainable one. . . . Let my heart feel you on all sides and live with you in the peaceful security of love.'"

"Why this vain effort to catch and keep the tints of the cloud, the dance of the waves, the smell of the flowers?' asks Chitra; for still it is her beauty he seeks.

"So they come to the last day of the enchanted year. Arjuna has heard the villagers talk of the danger of robbers, and is told that the warden of that kingdom is a woman, the Princess Chitra. He questions his love what kind of a woman this may be of whom they speak so much—the valour of a man and a woman in tenderness."

"Ah, but she is not beautiful! . . . Could you have seen her only yesterday by the forest path, you would have passed by without deigning to look at her."

"Yet still he thinks of Chitra—'In fulfilment of what vow has she gone; of what could she stand in need?'

"Her needs!' cries Chitra 'Why, what has she ever had, the unfortunate creature? Her very qualities are as prison walls shutting her woman's heart in a bare cell! Do not ask of her life—it will never sound sweet to man's ears.'"

"SHALL I THEN APPEAL?"

"But Arjuna only questions more, for his heart has grown restless and he would rouse his love to 'race on swift horses,' and arise 'out of this slumberous prison of green gloom' and 'perfumed intoxication.' The idea of the unknown and heroic Chitra has seized his mind. Then Chitra questions him closely. If by some magic she could shake herself free from voluptuous softness, fling the timid bloom of beauty from her body like borrowed clothes, stand up straight and strong with the strength of a daring heart, spurning the wiles and acts of twining weakness:—

"If I hold my head high like a tall young mountain fir, on longer trailing 'in the dust like a banana, shall I then appeal to man's eye? . . . Ah, no you could not bear it! . . . Would it please your heroic soul if the playmate of the night aspired to be the helpmeet of the day, if the left arm learnt to share the burden of the proud right arm?'"

THAT ULTIMATE

"Arjuna is puzzled:—

"I never seem to know you. . . . Sometimes in the enigmatic depths of your sad look, in your playful words mocking at their own meaning, I gain glimpses of a being trying to rend a veil. . . . Illusion is the first appearance of truth. I grope for that ultimate you, that bare simplicity of truth."

"And the next day he finds it.

"Standing before Arjuna in her original male attire, and with no god-given beauty, Chitra unveils herself:—

"I am not perfectly beautiful as the flowers with which I worshipped. I have many flaws and blemishes. I am a traveller in the great worldpath, my garments are dirty and my feet are bleeding with thorns. Where should I achieve flower-beauty, the unsolled loveliness of a moment's life? The gift that I proudly bring you is the heart of a woman."

"Here have all pains and joys gathered, the hopes, and fears, and shames of a daughter of the dust; here love springs up struggling towards immortal life. Herein lies an imperfection which is yet noble and grand. If the flower-service be finished, my master, accept this as your servant for the days to come."

"She confesses that she was that 'shameless one' who sought him in the temple of Shiva as though she were a man—he did right to reject her. 'she was my disguise.' Then by a boon of the gods she obtained for a year a radiant form, and 'wearing my hero's heart with the burden of that deceit. Most surely I am not that woman. I am Chitra—no goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference.' If he allows her to stand by his side in the path of danger, to share the great duties of his life, then he shall know her true self. 'To-day I can only offer you Chitra, the daughter of a King.'"

THE VISION.

"Arjuna says: 'Beloved, my life is full.'"

"So the story ends—the vision is completed. No 'lesser man,' no beautiful idol, but as the right hand to the left hand, as the bird's one wing to the other wing, so do the man and woman complete each other, so shall Humanity learn to soar on equal wings. First must the woman see this truly—truly know herself and the place she should fill; then she can reveal it to the man.

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